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# THE HISTORIANS' HISTORY OF THE WORLD

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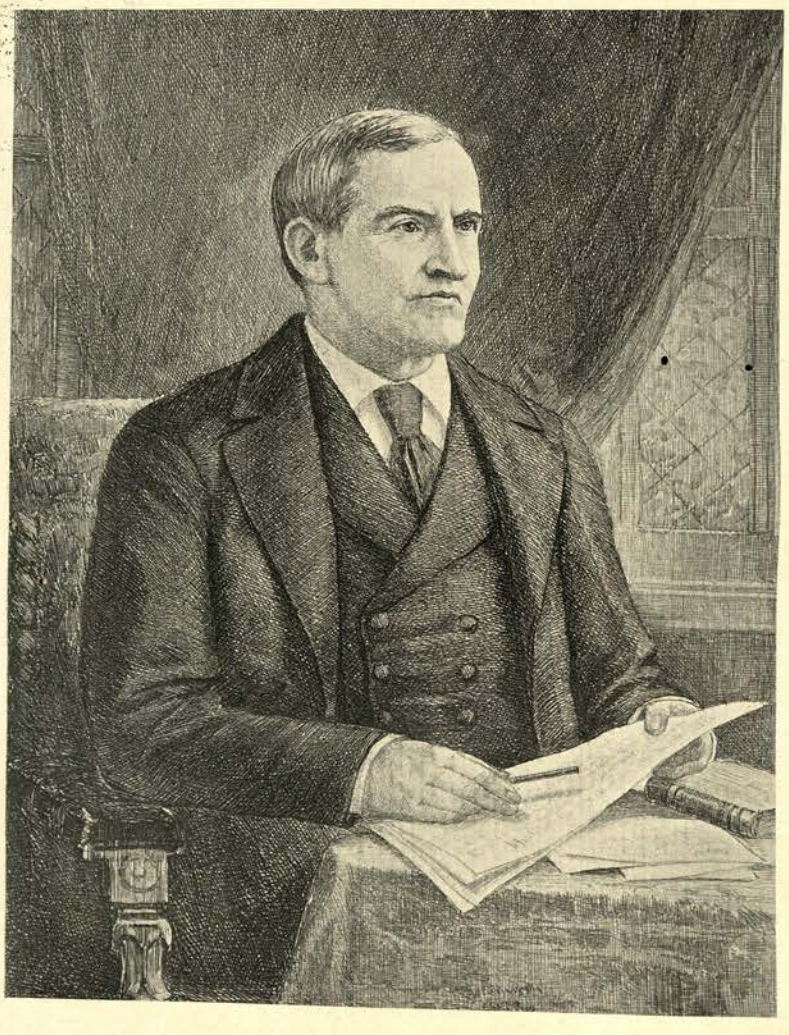

FRANCIS PARKMAN

# THE HISTORIANS' HISTORY OF THE WORLD . . .

A COMPREHENSIVE NARRATIVE OF THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONS AS RECORDED BY THE GREAT WRITERS OF ALL AGES

35732

EDITED BY HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS, LL.D.

WITH THE COLLABORATION OF MANY SPECIALISTS

AND WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY

**Prof. Thomas K. Cheyne**, *Oxford University*
**Prof. Adolf Erman**, *University of Berlin*
**Prof. Joseph Halévy**, *College of France*
**Prof. C. W. C. Oman**, *Oxford University*
**Prof. David H. Müller**, *University of Vienna*
**Prof. Albert B. Hart**, *Harvard University*
**Prof. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff**, *University of Berlin*
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**Prof. R. Koser**, *University of Berlin*
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**Dr. Paul Brönnle**, *Royal Asiatic Society*
**Prof. Theodor Nöldeke**, *University of Strasburg*

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TOGETHER WITH A STUDY OF

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THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1865

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WITH ADDITIONAL CITATIONS FROM

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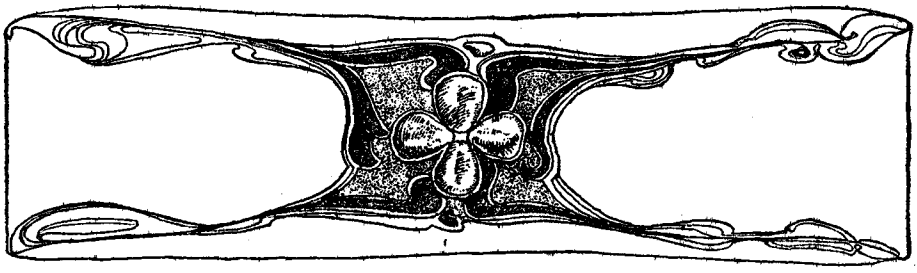


# THE ESSENTIALS OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LL.D.,

Professor of History in Harvard University

## DIPLOMACY OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD

By the practice of a century, the name American has been commonly applied to that part of America which has now become the most powerful nation in the western world. There is no important American question which does not interest the United States; and the greatest American problems—such as Cuba, the Isthmus, Pacific trade, and the future of South America—can be solved only by the United States. Nevertheless, the beginnings of American diplomacy are to be discovered in the relations of European colonising powers during the three centuries previous to the Revolution.

The earliest of these preliminary diplomatic questions was that of territory. The first claimants to America were Spain and Portugal, who in 1494 divided the new discovered lands by a meridian through the mid-Atlantic. Brazil was subsequently found to be east of this line, and therefore Portuguese. In 1578 England came forward as a distinct claimant for a share in the New World, on the basis of John Cabot's discoveries in 1497; and also began a furious attack by sea, first on the Spanish monopoly of colonial trade, then upon Spanish vessels and towns. The resulting war, marked by the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, was followed, in 1604, by the first English-Spanish treaty on American matters, in which the English refused to give any pledge not to colonise the American coast; and they speedily founded their first permanent colony of Virginia. A fourth colonising power was France, whose attempts to plant settlements in Carolina and Florida were defeated by the Spaniards. They then made settlements in Acadia (Nova Scotia) in 1604, and at Quebec. Hardly were these little colonies founded when the English began to dispute them, and inaugurated a century and a half of conflict for supremacy in America. Two other colonising powers were Holland, which planted the colony of New Netherland in 1621, and Sweden, which colonised Delaware in 1638.

The American diplomacy of the seventeenth century had reference to the claims of these six powers, and is marked by three notable treaties: the Treaty of St. Germain (1632) recognised Acadia and Canada as French; in the Treaty of Breda (1667), the conquest of the Hudson and Delaware coun-

tries by England was acknowledged; in the Treaty of Madrid (1670), for the first time Spain admitted that there were rightful English colonies in America.

During the eighteenth century Spain, France, and Great Britain were each developing a system of monopoly of their colonial trade. The English and their continental colonists were always violating the colonial system of France and Spain by trading with the rich French and Spanish islands; and also broke their own navigation acts by receiving goods and vessels from other parts of the world than England and other English colonies. During the century also a series of fierce European wars extended to the colonies. King William's War was terminated by the Peace of Ryswick (1697); Queen Anne's War ended in the Peace of Utrecht (1713); King George's War was closed by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748); and the Seven Years' War in Europe (called in America the French and Indian war) ended in the Peace of Paris (1763). In these four struggles England gradually gained supremacy at sea, acquired Nova Scotia (1713), and then by combined sea and land attack took Cape Breton and Quebec (1758–1759), and thus overwhelmed the French power in Canada. In 1762 the Spanish possessions of Manila and Havana were both captured by British fleets. By the Treaty of Paris (1763) they were given up; but the French were totally excluded from the North American continent. After two centuries of combined fighting and diplomacy, Great Britain thus became master of the whole North American continent east of the Mississippi River, and to the west and south had no rival except the slowly decaying Spanish Empire.

### DIPLOMACY OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE CONFEDERATION (1775–1789 A.D.)

The removal of the French power from America opened the way for the development of the United States, a new factor in American and world politics. The English colonies in 1775 revolted and formed an irregular government, which at once began to assume the sovereign power of making war and of negotiating treaties. Nothing could be simpler than the principles of our foreign policy during the revolution. The first was, as an independent power, to negotiate alliances with England's enemies. The capture of Burgoyne's army in 1777 led France to make with the United States the first two treaties of our national history: a commercial treaty, providing for the exchange of goods on liberal terms, and also setting forth the privileges of neutral trade which either power should enjoy, if at peace while the other was at war; and the only treaty of alliance which the United States has ever made. This alliance was the means of securing the independence of America.

The second purpose of revolutionary diplomacy was to secure commercial treaties with other European powers, and treaties made with Holland in 1782, with Sweden in 1784, and with Prussia in 1785 were the fruits of this policy. All these treaties were a reaction from the regulation of colonial trade by European powers under the earlier colonial *régime*.

The third object was a treaty with England which should recognise American independence, and confirm the territorial results of the war. The preliminary treaty of peace of 1782 (made "definitive" in 1783) was the first great triumph of American diplomacy with England. By it the independence of America was recognised fully, and the boundaries acknowledged by England included: (1) the thirteen communities which had joined in the war; (2) the magnificent Northwest Territory; (3) the rich area between the Ohio river and the thirty-first parallel, as far west as the Mississippi. The result

of the treaty was an unmistakable proof of the expansive spirit of the American people, land-hungry from the beginning.

During the next six years, under the Articles of Confederation, the external policy of the United States was simply to complete and register the results of the war. Territorial difficulties arose both in the north and south. England continued to hold posts inside our undisputed northern boundary; and since Spain owned Florida, Louisiana, and Texas, a land barrier was thrust between the American settlements and the Gulf of Mexico. In 1786 a vain attempt was made to secure the navigation of the Mississippi to its mouth. While colonies of England the United States were subject to restrictions on their commerce, but they enjoyed a specially favoured status in English home and West Indian ports. After the war they lost the profitable trade in their own vessels to the West Indies. To recover some of these former privileges the United States vainly sought a commercial treaty with England. The Confederation expired in 1788, in the midst of a confusion of unsatisfied desires and of unexecuted treaties.

## DIPLOMACY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (1793–1805 A.D.)

The federal constitution, which went into force in 1789, made possible a firmer foreign policy by concentrating authority over foreign relations in the federal government, and by giving to the president (with the consent of the senate as to appointments and treaties) power completely to control foreign negotiations, and to make treaties which should be the law of the land. It was a period of cataclysm in international affairs. The United States now appeared as the first independent American contestant for a share in the affairs of America, and had many advantages over her two great competitors, Great Britain and Spain. When, by that sudden culmination of explosive forces long accumulating which we call the French Revolution, war was brought about between England and France (1793), the American merchant marine took such a share of the carrying trade of Europe that the government whose flag that marine carried became a factor in world politics.

Only with the greatest difficulty did the United States save herself from being swept into the maelstrom of European war. The government was bound to France by a treaty of alliance, and by ties of friendship and obligation; nevertheless President Washington, in April, 1793, issued a proclamation of neutrality, which marks in international relations the new principle, that a maritime power could remain neutral through a general European war. This attitude was unwelcome both to England and to France; and both powers instantly began to capture American merchantmen on grounds strange to international law, and very unfavourable to the United States. Our important export of provisions was disturbed by the seizure of grain ships, on the ground that provisions were contraband of war. Vessels were captured, especially by the English, because bound to ports which had been proclaimed in blockade, although there was no blockading force in front of them. The American contention that "free ships make free goods" was roundly denied by Great Britain; and a revival of the so-called "Rule of 1756" affected an immense trade which immediately sprang up from the French colonies in American ships. In opposing these harsh and unwarrantable principles, the United States was standing for the rights of neutrals throughout the world, and at all times.

Up to the American revolution, every white inhabitant of America was a subject of some European country. The creation of the United States opened up a new problem of the transfer of allegiance from one nation to another, and it became a serious issue when Englishmen naturalised in the United States were "impressed" from the decks of American merchantmen by English cruisers. Such impressments were also a personal indignity which exasperated sailors, shipowners, and the American public. The French minister, Genet, by his attempt to make the United States a naval base for France, and by his violent attacks upon the administration in 1793, alienated the natural sympathy of many Americans with France; but England by refusing a commercial treaty, and by captures and impressments, offended so much more deeply that in 1794 our first provision was made for a navy. What seemed unavoidable trouble was averted by the negotiation of the Jay Treaty in 1794, which adjusted with England many of the pending questions of commerce of the rights of neutrals.

The pendulum now swung the other way; France, enraged at the Jay Treaty, grossly insulted a special commission sent over by President Adams in 1797, when certain unofficial go-betweens, known as *X*, *Y*, *Z*, demanded a bribe. The result was our only war with France, lasting from 1798 to 1800. The peace of 1800 with France included a commercial treaty; and the United States was now in more favourable relations with the world than ever before, for the Jay Treaty had settled most of the old difficulties with England, and a fortunate treaty with Spain in 1795 surrendered the Spanish claims north of the thirty-first parallel, and opened a long-desired commerce through New Orleans to the gulf. The Peace of Amiens of April, 1802, between France and England, seemed to promise a long period of commercial prosperity.

These expectations were soon dispelled, for war soon began again in Europe. Yet questions of commerce and defence were for the moment set aside by the astounding news in 1802 that Louisiana had gone back to France. It was then that the peace-loving Jefferson declared that on "the day that France takes possession of New Orleans . . . we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation." That the greatest military power of the time should be our near neighbour, and should sit athwart the streams which led from the interior to the gulf, was a danger which roused the nation, and caused the United States to resume the policy of territorial expansion. Threats of war were freely made, but a kaleidoscopic change in European politics caused Napoleon to give up his scheme of the restoration of the French colonial empire in America; and in 1803 he threw Louisiana into the lap of the United States with the same princely indifference with which the Caliph Haroun al-Raschid would throw a purse of gold to a beggar in the streets. For a payment of about $12,000,000 the United States received the whole stretch of the western Mississippi valley, to the farthest tributaries of the Missouri, the Platte, and the Arkansas. Yet even this rich accession was incomplete, so long as we were shut off from the eastern gulf, and the United States never rested until West Florida was acquired by successive acts of armed occupation, and then reached out impatiently for East Florida and for Texas.

The energy of a Yankee skipper and the forethought of Jefferson now completed the arch of territory crossing the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Captain Gray of Boston in 1792 discovered a great river in Oregon, which he named for his ship, the *Columbia*; and in 1805 the Lewis and Clark overland expedition sent out by Jefferson reached the Pacific. A third evidence of a purpose to keep Oregon was a little trading post at Astoria planted in 1810 by John Jacob Astor.

## DIPLOMACY OF THE WAR OF 1812 (1805–1815 A.D.)

No sooner was Louisiana fairly annexed than the commercial question again thrust its way to the front. At the renewal of the war in 1803 the British admiralty courts began to set up new and harsh principles as to neutral trade, especially the Rule of 1756; and refused to grant a satisfactory substitute for the expired Jay Treaty. Napoleon retorted with his Continental System intended to prevent the export of British goods to any territory controlled by or allied with France. Great Britain retaliated by "Orders in Council" in 1806 and 1807, aimed to cut off the trade of neutrals with France and her allies. France rejoined with equally furious and unprincipled "Decrees," and in the eleven years from 1803 to 1812 fifteen hundred American merchantmen were captured by the French and the British. At the same time the principle of impressments was pushed to the point of attacking the American frigate *Chesapeake* on the high seas and taking off certain British deserters.

President Jefferson, although he had just successfully carried out a brilliant little naval war with the Barbary pirates, preferred commercial restriction to war; and congress enacted at various times laws of non-intercourse with offending powers, non-importation of their goods, and an embargo on the exportation of American products. The last-named measure Napoleon professed to like; to some degree it distressed the British merchants, but it proved so ruinous to American shipowners and exporters that it was given up after fourteen months' trial, in 1809. The next three years show a weak and fluctuating foreign policy, ineffectual against two powerful nations, each of which was perfectly willing to incur the ill-will of the United States if it could only damage its adversary. In the summer of 1812 the United States declared war on Great Britain. The official reasons for this war were: aggressions on neutral trade; British orders in council (though they were grudgingly withdrawn at the last moment); supposed influence of the British in Indian hostilities on the northwest frontier (an influence which is now disproved); and impressments. A deeper cause was a just indignation at the reckless and overbearing behaviour of the English government, English diplomats, and English squadrons in American waters.

The tactical object of the War of 1812 was the conquest of Canada; but owing to bad military organisation and the lack of able commanders, every attempt at permanent occupation of any part of Canada was an abject failure. On the contrary, the British occupied a large part of Maine, took and burned Washington, landed on the gulf coast, and occupied Astoria in Oregon. Nevertheless, the defeat of invading expeditions on Lake Champlain, and below New Orleans, by raw militia behind breastworks proved that a permanent conquest of America was impossible; while the unexpected victories of American ships of war in ship duels, and the brilliant success of American privateers, made such an impression of maritime power that Great Britain accepted the favourable peace in 1814. This Treaty of Ghent provided that all territorial conquests should be restored; a separate commercial treaty was soon negotiated, which put an end to the long difficulties between the two countries; and the end of the war took away all occasion for interference with American neutral trade. On the question of impressments, no promise could be obtained, but the practice ceased and was never renewed. Three years later a convention was made (which is still in force)

giving certain fishery privileges on the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador. The long period of commercial contention with Great Britain and other European powers had come to an end.

### LATIN AMERICA AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE (1815–1826 A.D.)

At the end of the War of 1812 the only powers of the North American continent were the United States, Spain, Great Britain, and Russia, which was planting trading posts on the Pacific coast. These conditions were absolutely changed by a series of revolutions in the Spanish-American colonies from 1806 to 1822, which deprived Spain of every possession in America, except a few coast fortifications and the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico. The principal countries among these new American states were recognised as independent by the United States in 1822. The trade of these nations, at last free from the Spanish colonial system, was thrown open to the world; while a warm sympathy with struggling republics, and an unfounded belief in the perfectibility of Spanish-American human nature, led the people of the United States to take the liveliest interest in the success of the new neighbours.

After the crushing of Napoleon, the affairs of Europe passed into the control of a sort of syndicate, made up of France, Prussia, Russia, and Austria, united in a pompous and ambiguous treaty called the Holy Alliance, the real purport of which was that if revolution should break out anywhere, the combined military force of the Christian allies should be available to stamp it out. Accordingly, when revolutionists got control of Spain the allies sent a French army which conquered the country and restored the hated Bourbon sovereign (1823). An immediate result was that the Spanish government called upon the allies to extend to America their system of crushing the revolutionary spirit.

The real influence of the naval war of 1812 was now visible in American diplomacy; for George Canning, British foreign minister, was so impressed by the force of the United States that he proposed to the United States to join in a declaration against the plan. About the same time the Russian government took occasion to expound its "political system," meaning the principle that the Spanish-Americans ought to obey the Spanish government.

The man for the hour was John Quincy Adams, secretary of state, whose foresight, lively national spirit, and power of vigorous expression enabled him to carry his convictions against the hesitation of President Monroe. Instead of joining in a protest with Great Britain, which would have pledged the United States not to annex any Spanish-American territory, he drew up a declaration which was substantially incorporated into Monroe's annual message of 1823. This is the celebrated Monroe Doctrine, of which the essential principles are: that it proceeds from the United States alone; that it protests strongly against the proposed intervention of third parties in an American question not their own; that it insists that European powers have no right to take part in general American questions, because the United States takes no part in distinctly European questions; it vigorously opposes the transfer to America of the "European political system" which had been put forward by Russia; and it takes the opportunity to attack the territorial pretensions of that power by a clause declaring that the American continents are all occupied, and no longer subject to "colonisation" by any European power, though then-existing colonies should be respected.

This is the Monroe Doctrine, intended to secure the peace of America by preventing the bringing in of new influences, new quarrels over territory, and new efforts to establish European authority. The doctrine was completely successful in all its branches. Russia hastened to make treaties, withdrawing most of her territorial claims. The plan of intervention instantly collapsed. From that day to this Europe has recognised that in all American questions, except those of the continued possession of territory occupied by European nations in 1823, and the settlement of difficulties between a single European and a single American power, the United States has a far greater interest and influence than any other power. In 1826 a congress of the Spanish-American states was held at Panama, one object being to secure from the United States a distinct pledge that it would protect them; and though Adams thought he saw an opportunity to place the United States at the head of a group of American states, congress would not support him, and our Latin-American neighbours were allowed to work out their own destinies with very little interference from the United States.

## DIPLOMACY OF TERRITORIAL EXPANSION (1829–1861 A.D.)

During the thirty years from 1830 to 1860 came an epoch of the breaking down of the barriers of trade. In 1833 the United States began to recede from its protective policy, and in 1846 adopted a revenue tariff, which continued to the Civil War. This policy corresponded with a movement in Europe to remove discriminations and reduce duties. About 1830 Great Britain finally yielded the long-contested point of the West India trade in American ships, and in 1847 the last remnants of the British navigation acts disappeared. With a commercial marine second only to that of Great Britain, the United States represented throughout the world the principle of unrestricted trade; and by commercial treaties with China (1844) and Japan (1853) inaugurated our diplomatic relations with Asia.

In this period also two very perplexing and protracted boundary questions were settled with Great Britain. The northeastern, or Maine, controversy depended on the construction of the treaty of 1782, for it described a division line which could not be laid down upon the actual ground. It was happily settled in 1842 by a compromise in the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. At the other extremity of the continent difficulty arose from the rival claims of England and the United States to Oregon, a region hitherto unoccupied by any civilised nation. A convention was made with England in 1818 for the joint occupation of the disputed belt, pending a later settlement, and in 1819 Spain withdrew any claims north of the forty-second parallel; in 1825 the Russians ceased to claim south of 54 degrees and 40 minutes. As the natural wealth of the coast and its importance as a Pacific point of departure became evident, the boundary controversy grew fiercer; but in 1846 it was adjusted by a compromise on the forty-ninth parallel.

Though ready to come to a reasonable accommodation on the northern border, the government of the United States put forth very different principles in the southward. Texas, California, Central America, and Cuba became objects of eager diplomacy. Americans in considerable numbers made their way to Texas, then a province of Mexico, and formed a community, which in 1835 secured its independence by force of arms. The Texans were anxious to enter the American Union, but they were staved off, because likely to bring a powerful reinforcement to the slave power within the United States; not till

1845 was Texas at last admitted by the then novel process of incorporation into the Union through a joint resolution of congress. President Polk came into office in 1845 with the purpose of annexing California, with its splendid port of San Francisco. He took advantage of outstanding quarrels with Mexico, and of a preposterous claim of the Texans to the whole territory as far as the Rio Grande, and made war on Mexico (August, 1846). In a few months California was taken, and New Mexico, a necessary land-bridge between the east and the Pacific coast, was also occupied. These conquests were confirmed by the Peace of 1848 with Mexico. The beginning of a distinct policy of annexation of Cuba was an attempt of Polk to purchase the island in 1848. Then followed a series of filibustering expeditions, and in 1854 the Ostend Manifesto announced the open and avowed purpose of annexing it by force, a purpose with some difficulty prevented by the pressure of anti-slavery sentiment.

The annexation of California showed the need of rapid and secure communication across the isthmus; the consequence was a treaty with the United States of Colombia (1846) giving the United States equality of use and large powers of control over any canal that might be constructed across the isthmus of Panama. The only other available isthmus route, the Nicaragua, was flanked by the so-called "Mosquito Protectorate" of Great Britain. To remove that exclusive influence, the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 provided for a joint guaranty of the Nicaragua route, and for the principle of neutrality over any other route. Though that treaty was ambiguous and gave rise to ten years' dispute, it destroyed any exclusive claim of Great Britain, and prevented other nations from assuming any responsibility for the canal.

### DIPLOMACY OF THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD (1861–1877 A.D.)

The outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 for a time threw American diplomacy into the background; but old questions reappeared and new questions arose, which taxed to the utmost our skilful secretary of state, Seward, and our ministers abroad. Questions of neutral trade and of privateering looked very different when we were at war and England was a neutral; and the status of a community which had revolted seemed very different to Northern statesmen from what it seemed to the fathers of the revolution. Hence the overturning of cherished precedents; hence protests because foreign powers recognised the Confederacy as a belligerent; hence the search of the British ship *Trent* on the high seas; hence the capture of vessels not bound to Southern ports, but having on board military supplies. Gradually Seward's diplomacy was triumphant. He prevented the recognition of the independence of the Confederacy by Great Britain or France, and stopped the fitting out of Confederate cruisers in England.

The war, however, left a crop of difficult questions. The United States set up the Alabama Claims for the fitting out of the cruisers in England. English statesmen saw that they had set a precedent very difficult for themselves in later wars; they therefore took the unusual step of an apology for their action in the *Alabama* case, and they entered into an arbitration at Geneva (1872), of which it was the foregone conclusion that they must pay an indemnity. The *Alabama* claims were thereby settled by the payment of fifteen and a half million dollars.

The question of the allegiance of the emigrant, which had caused the war of 1812, came up again when Germans and others, naturalised in the United

States, were seized and punished, on returning home, for failure to perform military service. To obviate this trouble, by a series of treaties (1868) European countries agreed to the principle that people who left their country without the intention of returning, and remained five years, whether naturalised or not, thereby cancelled their obligations to and the privileges of their native country. The welcome to foreign immigrants by the Chinese Treaty of 1868 was extended to people of that nation.

With other American states our relations during this period were in general peaceful; but an attempt to subvert an American republic—exactly the case foreseen by Monroe's doctrine—almost led to war with France. In 1860 a French expedition entered Mexico, remained, increased, set up a so-called empire, protected by French bayonets, and ignored Seward's repeated intimations that a French dependency was not to be thought of. At the end of the Civil War the hints of the United States were reinforced by the appearance of a hundred thousand bluecoats in Texas. As a result, the French were reluctantly withdrawn in 1867, and the so-called Mexican Empire instantly collapsed.

The Civil War revealed the need of a naval station in the West Indies, and the question of isthmus transit again came up. The result was a new phase of the canal question, involving treaties with Honduras and Nicaragua in 1864 and 1867, similar in spirit to the earlier treaty with Colombia. Seward also negotiated a treaty for the cession of the Danish islands in the West Indies, and for the acquisition of Samana Bay in San Domingo. Both plans failed because the senate would not sanction them; but Seward was quick to take up with an offer of Russia to cede Alaska (1867). General Grant revived the project of annexing San Domingo in 1871; but again the senate refused to confirm the policy of annexation of a region inhabited by a half-barbarous people. Nevertheless, against the will of the government, the United States was involved in West Indian questions by a revolt of the Cubans in 1868, followed by ten years of spasmodic guerilla warfare. Avoiding war with Spain when an opportunity was presented by the brutal execution of Americans captured on the ship *Virginius* (1873), the United States, by a threat of uniting with European powers in armed intervention to stop hostilities, brought about a peace in 1878.

### PERIOD OF AGGRESSIVE DIPLOMACY (1877-1895 A.D.)

In 1878 the United States seemed to have adjusted most of its difficulties with foreign nations except a series of irritating disputes with many Latin-American states, arising out of failures to protect the lives and property of Americans within their limits. These questions of claims had in many cases been settled by conventions calling for money indemnities, which were unpaid, or partially paid. The United States occasionally was misled into the support of fictitious claims which offended our neighbours; on the other hand, the interminable delays and broken promises caused a deep-seated distrust of the Latin Americans and of their ability to keep up orderly governments. Some statesmen, especially Mr. Blaine, thought that the influence of the government ought to be used somehow to keep our unruly neighbours in order.

Another change of angle in our foreign policy was brought about by the high tariff, which was repeatedly increased at various times from 1861 to 1890, and which was inconsistent with the spirit of liberal trade arrangements

which had characterised our ante-bellum diplomacy. Foreign customers like France and Germany began to put retaliatory tariffs on American products, and import duties on South American staples checked the trade with those countries. At the same time, the decline of the American merchant marine, due in great part to the substitution of iron for wooden ships, diminished the vessel-owning interest, which always favours brisk foreign trade.

A third new factor in American diplomacy was the awakening of the American people to the possibilities of the Pacific, an interest which was first clearly revealed in the determination to establish and to keep an influence in the Samoan Islands (1889). In the Hawaiian Islands also, in 1893, most of the white residents, chiefly Americans, united in a revolution, which resulted in an independent republic.

Our Asiatic relations were disturbed by a change of policy as to Chinese immigration. By a series of drastic laws from 1880 to 1893, sometimes in defiance of treaties, sometimes in accordance with new treaties, the further coming in of Chinese labour was absolutely prohibited.

Another phase of this new interest in the Pacific was a long dispute with Great Britain on the seal fisheries in the North Pacific. Mr. Blaine successively set up the doctrines that Bering Sea was a closed sea (a proposition against which John Quincy Adams had vigorously protested in 1823); that the seals were "a seal herd," the property of the United States wherever they went; and that it was "*contra bonos mores*" to extirpate so valuable an animal. After exercising the right of search by capturing British fishermen on the open sea, the matter was submitted to arbitration in 1893; and the decision went against the United States on all questions of exclusive right outside the three-mile boundary limit.

Meanwhile, our relations with Latin America had taken on a new phase through the desire of Mr. Blaine, when secretary of state in 1881, to put an end to the destructive wars between Latin American powers, and to strengthen the commercial relations of the United States with Latin America. His attempt to induce Chili to treat its conquered enemy Peru with consideration was misinterpreted by our minister to Peru, who ventured to threaten Chili with the power of the United States (1881). The threat was disregarded, but a latent feeling of hostility was left. Ten years later, after a Chilian revolution, the successful party charged the United States with giving aid and comfort to their rivals. The ill-feeling led in 1891 to an attack upon the crew of the United States ship *Baltimore* in the harbour of Valparaiso, in which several men were killed; and as months passed without a suitable apology, in 1892 President Harrison sent to congress what was practically a war message. Before it went in, the delayed apology was cabled.

Mr. Blaine was also sincerely anxious to make reciprocity treaties with the Latin-American countries, and when he was a second time secretary of state, in 1890, he called a Pan-American Congress to discuss inter-American affairs. The Congress passed a sheaf of resolutions, and made elaborate plans, but no progress could be made against the hostility of those controlling the financial policy of the government to any international trade which meant a lowering of tariff duties.

The isthmian canal question also went through a great transformation during this period. A French company, headed by De Lesseps, the successful engineer of the Suez Canal, was formed in 1879. In vain did Secretary Evarts urge that the United States had a "paramount interest" in the canal; in vain did President Hayes declare that a canal would be "part of our coast line"; in vain did Secretary Blaine quote the phrases of Monroe's message,

and declare that a canal under European auspices would be a "political system." Congress and the people remained indifferent, and the French company continued operations for ten years, till bankrupted by scandalous mismanagement and theft (1889). A public sentiment began to manifest itself for exclusive American control, and Secretary Blaine made desperate efforts to get rid of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, which provided for a joint guarantee of any future canal.

The first public and formal announcement of a new policy in Latin-American affairs was a message sent by President Cleveland to congress (1895) recommending war with Great Britain unless that power consented to arbitrate certain territory disputed between British Guiana and Venezuela. The message included despatches written by Secretary Olney, expressing a policy which deserves to be called "the Olney Doctrine." He held in effect that to press territorial claims on an American state is an attempt to "control their destiny," contrary to the Monroe Doctrine; that European colonies in America were "unnatural and inexpedient"; that "to-day the United States is practically sovereign on this continent"; that his exposition was the original Monroe Doctrine, was international law, and was binding on other nations. The supremacy of the United States in America was, however, still claimed because the United States did not interfere in European affairs. Olney's doctrine, which goes to a point never before reached by an American statesman, had two immediate effects. Great Britain agreed to the arbitration (under which most of the disputed territory was assigned to her); and Great Britain woke to the fact that the American people were disposed to claim for themselves a much more important place in the world's affairs than ever before.

### THE UNITED STATES AS A WORLD POWER (1895–1904 A.D.)

Within three years one of the main props of Mr. Olney's doctrine was destroyed, when the United States began to claim a share in the affairs of the eastern hemisphere, while at the same time reasserting a special and almost exclusive authority in the western world. The three elements in this portentous change in diplomatic outlook were Cuba, Asia, and the isthmus. A second Cuban War broke out in 1895. The tradition of the United States ever since the Civil War had been one of strict neutrality in all wars, and we took no sides between Spain and the insurgents until 1898, when reports of the cruelty of the Spaniards, and the blowing up of the battle-ship *Maine* in the harbour of Havana, aroused the hostility of the Americans.

In April, 1898, we engaged in our first war with Spain, the avowed purpose being the removal of Spanish domination over Cuba. The war was successful by sea and land: Cuba was evacuated by the Spaniards, and soon after turned over to the Cubans; Porto Rico was invaded and retained as a conquest. Thus the long-desired West India naval stations were secured, and a United States possession was set athwart the main highway from Europe to the isthmus of Panama. On the other side of the globe a fleet was sent to find the Spanish fleet in the Philippines. It found it in the bay of Manila, destroyed it, and thereby completely upset the Spanish government of those islands. In the treaty of peace, negotiated in August, 1898, the United States insisted that the Philippines also be transferred, and the annexation of those islands, which are about four hundred and fifty miles from the mainland of Asia, made the United States an Asiatic power. Since the relations of Asia are controlled by European powers, the United States then and there

abandoned that doctrine of two spheres which was the basis of our special influence in America from John Quincy Adams to Richard Olney. Our true status as a world power, concerned in world questions, was shown in 1900, when the United States joined in a military expedition to rescue the Europeans besieged in Peking; and when the genius of John Hay, the greatest secretary of state since John Quincy Adams, compelled the European powers to accept the American policy of keeping China intact, and preserving "the open door" of equal commercial privilege.

After the exclusion of Spain from America, the only other great nation having a large territorial interest was Great Britain; and the next step in American diplomacy was to come to an understanding with that power. The Suez Canal, nominally neutralised, is really owned and controlled by Great Britain; hence that power was willing to acknowledge similar rights in the isthmus of Panama. By a treaty of 1901 the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was abrogated, and the United States was left free to construct a canal, and to exercise full control over it.

At last the desire of fifty years seemed crowned. The French company was a commercial failure and was willing to sell its plant for what it would bring. No other European power dreamed of interfering. Hence the United States in 1903 negotiated a treaty with Colombia for the construction of a canal across the isthmus of Panama by the government. Colombia declined to ratify the treaty, but the people of the department of Panama revolted, were immediately recognised as independent by the United States, and made a treaty allowing the United States full control of the canal.

A new competitor for American territory appeared about 1900 in the German Empire, which cast longing eyes on South America as a field for German colonisation. No formal treaties were made upon this subject, but a tacit understanding was reached by President Roosevelt and the German emperor that Germany would under no circumstances acquire territory, or found naval stations, or occupy places as a military demonstration. No objection, however, was made to the blockading of the coast of Venezuela (1902) by Germany, Italy, and England; but the United States declined to sanction any march into the country.

Thus in the year 1904 the United States has come to entertain a very different set of diplomatic principles from those of 1783. A succession of annexations by purchase, incorporation, or conquest shows an expansive spirit. The high tariff and the impossibility of securing ratification of reciprocity treaties proves a purpose to limit trade with all parts of the world except our own possessions. The long active principles of isolation and of the two spheres of world politics have been broken to pieces by our entry into Asiatic affairs, and our consequent interest in the interplay of European powers. Our ancient rival and enemy Great Britain has become our nearest diplomatic friend. The policy of cordial reception of immigrants from every quarter of the globe has given place to a spirit of restriction everywhere, and of exclusion of Mongolian races. The old-time principle that the Panama isthmus route was for the benefit of all nations, and should not come into any one hand, has been abandoned, and, with the common consent of Europe, the United States assumes sole authority over the new waterway. While reaching out in the Pacific and eastern Asia for objects not yet clearly defined, the United States has found it necessary to assume a new set of responsibilities in the West Indies and in Central America, and to become in effect the arbiter of Mexico and of South America.

# SOME IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

By A. C. McLAUGHLIN

Director of the Bureau of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C.

In attempting to discuss in a few pages some salient facts of the Revolutionary period in American history, we are forced to select only two or three of the most significant general truths. The Revolutionary period may be considered as beginning with the Peace of Paris in 1763, for then, although England was triumphant over all her foes, began her severest trial; then for the first time she was confronted in all seriousness with the tremendous problem of imperial organization; then she was called on to appreciate at the full the delicate and difficult task of managing wisely and well a vigorous, progressive, and hardy folk, separated from the mother country by three thousand miles of water and already possessed of habits and political practices that must not be rudely disregarded. The Revolutionary period may be considered as ending with the adoption of the constitution of the United States, for in that document and in the various state constitutions that had already been formed we find the thinking and the determined effort of a generation.

Before taking up the distinctly political questions that demand our attention in a cursory view of the Revolution, we may stop to notice the difficulty of England's task and how unready she was in many ways to meet it. In 1763 she had had colonies for a hundred and fifty years, and especially during the last fifty they had been growing with great rapidity, but England had not developed any wholly satisfactory method of administration, and, though it would be an exaggeration to say that she had neglected them and allowed them to go their way, she certainly had suffered them to grow without burdensome restraint. There had arisen across the Atlantic thirteen political communities that were as yet loyal to the mother country, but were filled with the self reliance and assertiveness begotten by the opportunities of the new world. These communities of intelligent men had in a considerable degree passed away from the conventionalities of Europe, and were gradually growing toward the freer and broader democracy that was to establish itself completely in the early part of the nineteenth century. We may well wonder whether any method of colonial administration or any system of imperial organisation could long have held the Americans and English together; certainly any effort on the part of England to legislate affecting American interests was in danger of arousing objection if not opposition, and any piece

of affirmative legislation bearing directly on American social, commercial, or political habits was likely to bring forth the divergence of the two peoples and awaken to retort the assertive spirit of the colonists. England had not sought to rule her colonies with an iron hand, or to heap upon them, as had France, the burdens of the feudal *régime*. The very freedom that had been allowed them, their very self dependence, increased the difficulty of discovering satisfactory organisation; no system that could be discovered could be satisfactory unless there was a recognition of differences between the colonies and the mother country. In fact the situation may be thus expressed: the greater the difference in social habits, in political practices and thought, and in commercial interests, the greater was the need of recognising that difference as a permanent factor in the problem of colonial administration or imperial organisation, and, at the same time, the greater was the difficulty of co-operation and essential understanding. Of course the problem might to some extent have been postponed and avoided; every question might have been decided on its merits as the question arose; all the relations between the colonies and the mother country might have been determined by an application of the rules of justice and morality. But for such high-minded statesmanship England was not yet prepared, and the events ushered in by the Stamp Act seemed to demand, in a measure, the acceptance of a fixed theory of imperial power.

Now England was called on to undertake this great task when she was herself politically unsound, when her governmental system was from any point of view unreasonable and corrupt. The most important governmental positions were in the hands of venal placemen; political bribery and the purchasing of elections were as common in public life as were hard and deep drinking, high and reckless play, among the members of the governing classes of the country. Seats in parliament were systematically purchased, unblushingly offered for sale and shamelessly bargained for. Even the classic corporation of Oxford publicly announced that if its members in parliament wished re-election they could obtain their desire by the payment of a certain amount. Chatham, lamenting the low state of public morals, spoke of the torrent of private corruption that was overflowing his country, and declared "the riches of Asia have been poured in upon us and have brought with them not only Asiatic luxury, but I fear Asiatic principles of government." The first two facts of general interest we notice, therefore, were the immense difficulty of England's task, and her unfitness, for the moment, to enter upon it with virtue, wisdom, and self denial. Any view of the Revolution would be misleading, however, which did not point out that some of the ablest English statesmen argued unceasingly for the cause of the colonists, and, if they did not accept the theories of colonial leaders, saw fully the danger that lay in the aggressiveness and assertiveness of the mother country. On the other hand, thousands of colonists had no sympathy with the extreme opposition to the law of parliament, and saw much more to be gained by union and loyalty than by rebellion. Not all of the colonists advocated going to war in behalf of the ideas which were ultimately fought for and which were finally imbedded in American constitutions and laws.

If we turn our attention to the controversy with the purpose of seeing the most important political principles involved, we see that the most significant difficulties were of three kinds: (1) those connected with the theory and practice of representation; (2) those connected with the idea of individual liberty, or, conversely, those connected with the extent of governmental power over the individual; (3) those connected with the determination of the extent, character, and foundations of local self government, or, to state

the fact differently, those connected with the proper distribution of authority between the centre and the parts in a broad and composite empire. On each one of these three main topics of argument and dispute England and America held different tenets; frequently their methods of thought totally varied. From America's interpretation and from her insistence on certain principles came fundamental institutions of the United States. Doubtless there had been long preparation in English and colonial history for the more significant theories which the Americans propounded; but the insistence upon these doctrines for some years in the heat of argument brought them clearly to view and prepared them for expression in the written documents and the institutions that were finally established. It is this thrusting forth of ideas in government that constitutes the source of chiefest interest for the student of the Revolution. The war was not the despairing and impulsive uprising of a people who had been beaten down by cruelties and bitter oppressions; it was not an insurrection based on personal hatreds or on dread of a ruling dynasty. Whatever may have been the underlying reason for the final clash of arms—and doubtless there were many underlying reasons—Daniel Webster but exaggerated the truth when he declared that the American people took arms against a preamble and fought eight years against a declaration. From this aspect the American Revolution stands as a mark of distinction to Great Britain, as one of her claims to greatness among nations. If the problem of colonial organisation did prove in a crisis beyond the comprehension of her statesmen, if, in a moment of weakness and weighed down by political corruption, she lost her most valuable American possessions, the principles on which the war was fought by the colonists themselves were a tribute to her past and to her own productive energy. England cannot be robbed of all that was good and promising in the American Revolution.

The three main centres of dispute may now be considered separately: (1) When England, disregarding her previous practices, sought by the Stamp Act to raise money in America (1765), there was at once strenuous opposition. The assertion was emphatically made by colonial leaders that taxation without representation was unjust and contrary to the principles of the English constitution, to the privileges of which the colonists as Englishmen were entitled. The colonists maintained that money could not be taken from them without their own consent, and, as they could have no representative in the British parliament, parliament had no right to tax them. Among other replies to this contention, the British pamphleteers and debaters asserted that the colonists were "virtually represented," by which term they seemed to mean that a member of the house of commons, chosen in Cornwall or Middlesex, really represented Massachusetts and Virginia because he was a member of parliament, and not simply a deputy of those that cast their ballot at the polls. They declared, too, that the parliament represented, that is to say stood for and cared for, the whole realm, including the colonies beyond the sea.

The opponents of the colonial claims brought out with distinctness the fact that the Americans were as much represented as the great majority of the people of Great Britain, "of whom," said Lord Mansfield, "among nine millions, there are eight who have no votes in electing members of parliament." "Every objection, therefore," he said, "to the dependency of the colonies upon parliament, which arises to it upon the ground of representation, goes to the whole present constitution of Great Britain, and I suppose it is not meant to new model that too." There was the rub. In resenting the claim of right which the Americans set up, the parliamentary orators were uphold-

ing what Pitt justly termed the rotten part of the constitution. The English representative system was then in such a condition that no one could accept the American doctrine without condemning the very basis of parliament. Large and populous cities were without representation, while little hamlets had the right to elect members. Eighty-seven peers could return to the commons two hundred and eighteen members from England and Wales alone. At one time the duke of Norfolk controlled the selection of eleven members of the house; the duke of Newcastle controlled seven. "Seats were held in both houses alike by hereditary right."

The conditions in England were so extravagantly unreasonable that in later years the representative system was remodelled in the Reform Bill of 1832; but it should be noticed that the American idea and practice were essentially different from the English of the Revolutionary time, and that America was really insisting on her own ideas. In the colonies, it is true, universal suffrage did not prevail, but it was common for the men of a certain district or town to choose, without constraint from without, one of their own number to represent them in the assembly, to speak for them and to guard their interests. No locality with a considerable population would have brooked a denial of its right to send one of its citizens to the legislature. Such was not, nor ever had been, the English practice or theory. Moreover, England had really never established more than the principle that money should not be taken from the people without the consent of parliament; it had not deliberately laid down and made good the doctrine that no taxes should be levied without the consent of the country at large.

In all that the Americans claimed, they did not pretend to be demanding a revision of the English constitution; they demanded only a recognition of what they believed the constitution already was. A revolution, of course, may be based on the assertion that existing institutions are altogether wrong and harmful; America based her revolt on the charge that existing institutions, which were good and admirable, were neglected and distorted by law-makers. This fact gives a peculiar interest to the theory of the struggle; but it must be confessed that, even if it is true that the colonial doctrines were a natural product of English history, and even if it is true that the colonies were carrying out into fuller practice the spirit of the doctrines which the English people had earlier struggled for, still in their arguments, under the guise of demanding the old and the well-established, they were really asking for the new. They were demanding an acceptance, in the structure of the English state, of new principles which were a distinct advance upon what had as yet been embodied in the English constitution. They were asking for legal recognition of a politico-ethical proposition.

(2) As opposed to American assertions that parliament had no right to levy internal taxes on the colonies, the English lawyers could cite precedent and quote legal maxims, and even cite Locke's *Essay on Government* for their purposes, but after all it is hard to see that they got much farther than asserting the sovereignty of parliament and declaring that taxation is part of the general legislative authority. They did not get much beyond laying down an absolute assertion which they took to be undeniable. The leaders of American sentiment undertook, in one way or another, to deny or refute this assertion, but the most interesting for our purposes is the method employed most tellingly by Samuel Adams, under whose influence were prepared the ablest state documents of Massachusetts. Adams and those who thought with him were ready in their turn to lay down a set of absolute propositions. They made effective use of the reasoning and statements of Locke,

whom we may call the philosopher of the revolution of the seventeenth century, the century in which the cleavage of the English race began. Adams asserted that Americans were entitled to the laws of Englishmen, and that "it is the glory of the British prince, and the happiness of all his subjects, that their constitution hath its foundation in the immutable laws of nature; and as the supreme legislative as well as the supreme executive derives its authority from that constitution, it should seem that no laws can be made or executed that are repugnant to any essential law in nature." Inevitably Adams went farther, and the doctrine which he laid down is of immense importance in the development of American government. If every free government is bound to regard the laws of nature, which are unchangeable, then every free government is bound by a fixed law; this principle Adams proclaimed once and again. "There are, my lord," he wrote, "fundamental rules of the constitution, which it is humbly presumed neither the supreme legislative nor the supreme executive can alter. In all free states the constitution is fixed."

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of assertions like these. Such fundamental propositions, put forth at a crisis, repeated over and over again when a people are alert and interested, must have profound effect. At least here we see in this contention between parliament and the American leaders the central line of opposition between English ideas of government and those basic principles which underlie the constitutions of the United States. The principle of the English constitutional system is to-day the principle that all political power is in the hands of government; the principle of the American constitutional system is that not all power is in the hands of government; all American government is of limited authority.

Moreover, as we have seen, there comes out with sharpness and distinctness in this controversy the American idea that government should be restrained by a fixed law; the English idea was that the law of the constitution was ever changing and from day to day was what parliament made it. It may be easy for us, when once we see how radically opposed are these two systems of government, to draw conclusions that are not altogether warranted; it may be easy to say at once that from these Revolutionary assertions came the written constitutions of America; that from these declarations came the fundamental notions of American political theory. But of course we should remember that nothing happens without cause, and on contemplation we see that the principles put forth by the colonists were the natural statements of men who had lived under colonial charters and had been accustomed all their lives to see their own governments limited by fixed and rigid law. We see also —and this is more important—that it was America that was carrying out the principles along which English liberty had developed. It will not do to say that, from the sheer technical point of view, the colonists were right and the parliamentarians wrong, for as a matter of fact the course of English history had not established the principle that parliament was limited or checked by any fixed constitution; the commons had gradually acquired power and authority at the expense of the king, and by one way and another had limited him, but as mere theory the established principle of the English constitution was that the king, lords, and commons, constituting together the crown in parliament, could do everything and anything of a political character. While it will not do to say that English debaters and pamphleteers were misstating the law of the constitution, we can say that the English colonists had developed in the free air of the new world an idea which had been struggled for throughout the centuries; they were ready to announce and establish the doctrine

that there should be "a government of law and not of men." That was a thoroughly British maxim; all struggle against arbitrary and capricious government was a comment on this principle. When the British parliament said there was no limit to its authority, when it asserted that the mere fact that it did a thing was a proof of the legality of the act, the colonists in response may have denied the law of the English constitution, but they gave utterance to a principle which was itself a product of English history. They declared that there were some things that even parliament could not do: it could not take away one's property without his consent, for to do so would be to neglect the fundamental law of nature and disregard the constitution which in England and in all free countries was "fixed." The colonists were announcing a proposition begotten of the centuries of British history, when they proclaimed that there must be in all free states a government of law and not of men, and that if parliament had a right of its own free will to bind the colonists in all cases whatsoever, then they were subjects of an absolute and autocratic government.

There is very little evidence that the Englishmen really understood the drift and essential character of the American argument. They could read and deny such essays as those of John Dickinson, and they could meet all sorts of legal assertion and even quote Locke for their own needs; but they gave as a rule no indication of appreciating the internal significance of the colonial doctrine. We ought to see, however, that the philosophical and legal theories that were put forth by the Americans were not left by the colonists in mid-air, nor used merely for argument. The Declaration of Independence stated some of them clearly: that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. We see here the doctrine that certain rights belonging to man in a state of nature cannot be taken away because they have never been surrendered by natural man to society. This doctrine of inalienable right, which has played such an important part in American history, found perhaps even better statement in the Virginia constitution of 1776, which was drawn up before the Declaration of Independence and owes its phraseology in these important parts to George Mason. The weight of such statements as these may be more apparent when we remember that the state constitutions of America contain to-day substantially these Revolutionary provisions, and lay down certain rights and privileges as beyond the molestation of government. As Mr. Bryce says, "All of these [thirty-one states that include 'life and liberty' in their Bills of Rights], except the melancholy Missouri, add the 'natural right to pursue happiness.'"

These, at least, were some of the more important principles that came out in the course of the Revolutionary debates and that were finally crystallized in American constitutions. We need, however, to notice that there were certain other differences of opinion between England and America, and that these, too, were to have their lasting effect. We come now most evidently face to face with what we termed at the beginning of this essay the problem of colonial organisation. The British, while willing to admit the right of the colonial legislatures to exist on sufferance, and apparently not wishing to snuff them out altogether, acted nevertheless as if the assemblies were at any moment subject to be prorogued, dissolved, chided, or put out of existence altogether at the behest of the men at Westminster. The gist of the British statement—for it can hardly be called argument—was that the English empire was so constituted that all political power resided at the centre; if the colonial assemblies were to exist at all, they existed only by sufferance of parliament. In one way or another the colonists protested against this theory of the

imperial system; they did not at first deny the authority of parliament over them, but they did deny that such authority included certain rights, and especially the right to tax them without their consent. According to the American theory, therefore, even at the beginning, the British empire was composed of integral parts, and each had, in some respects at least, the right of self-control unaffected by the law of the central legislature; each had at least the right to tax itself. To see how in response to British assertions this notion of the constitution of the English empire widened would be well worth our study; but we must now satisfy ourselves by saying that the advanced American leaders—confronted continually by the British assertion that to deny the power to tax was in logic to deny the authority of parliament altogether—came to the point of asserting that parliament had no authority at all within the colonies, that the bond of connection between Great Britain and America was the king, and that the British empire had at least fourteen parliaments, one in Europe and thirteen across the Atlantic.

Not all Americans accepted this doctrine in its entirety; but even those that did accept it must have hesitated to admit its fullest conclusions; for to deny the authority of parliament was going some distance toward denial of a unity or a wholeness to the British empire; and, moreover, unless parliament had some authority beyond the British Isles, where rested the power to make war or peace, to regulate commerce and make treaties, to do certain other things of a purely general character? The difficulty of the situation is well illustrated by the following extract from the diary of John Adams, who recounts the trouble experienced by the first Continental Congress in deciding just what theory of the English constitution would be set forth: "The two points which laboured the most were: (1) Whether we should recur to the law of nature, as well as to the British constitution, and our American charters and grants. Mr. Galloway and Mr. Duane were for excluding the law of nature. I was very strenuous for retaining and insisting on it, as a resource to which we might be driven by parliament much sooner than we were aware. (2) The other great question was, what authority we should concede to parliament; whether we should deny the authority of parliament in all cases; whether we should allow any authority to it in our internal affairs; or whether we should allow it to regulate the trade of the empire with or without any restrictions. After a multitude of motions had been made, discussed, negatived, it seemed as if we should never agree upon anything. Mr. John Rutledge, of South Carolina, one of the committee, addressing himself to me, was pleased to say, 'Adams, we must agree upon something; you appear to be as familiar with the subject as any of us, and I like your expressions—"the necessity of the case," and "excluding all ideas of taxation, external and internal"; I have a great opinion of that same idea of the necessity of the case, and I am determined against all taxation for revenue. Come, take the pen and see if you can't produce something that will unite us.' Some others of the committee seconding Mr. Rutledge, I took a sheet of paper and drew up an article. When it was read, I believe not one of the committee was fully satisfied with it; but they all soon acknowledged that there was no hope of hitting on anything in which we could all agree with more satisfaction. All therefore agreed to this, and upon this depended the union of the colonies. The sub-committee reported their draft to the grand committee, and another long debate ensued, especially on this article, and various changes and modifications of it were attempted, but none adopted." The resolution as formally adopted by the Continental Congress declared that the colonists were entitled to the "free and exclusive

power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures" "in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed. But, from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interest of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament as are, *bona fide*, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members; excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America, without their consent."

It is apparent from this that the men of the first Continental Congress could not reach an agreement as to the actual structure of the British empire, but they admitted that it was desirable to have some single body superintending commerce and external relations. If the general proposition of the Congress could by any process have been hardened into law, the English empire would have been constituted with fourteen parliaments, one of which, besides its ordinary legislative functions, would have had the right to regulate matters of purely general interest. In other words, tentatively the colonists were suggesting the idea of what we may call the federal organisation of the British system. Each of the self-governing colonies would, under this principle, be really self-governing, free from interference with its local concerns, and yet submitting to the regulation of its external trade and its foreign relations by a central government. It is plain enough that we have here an intimation of the kind of organisation which the states after declaring their independence finally worked out for themselves. It is noteworthy, too, that some Englishmen were beginning to see the possibility of solving the great problem of imperial organisation in some way besides merely asserting the comprehensive power of parliament; for Thomas Pownall declared that a colony was, "so far as respects its own jurisdiction within its own community, national though not independent," and he maintained that the colonists had a right to political liberty consistent with the vital unity, efficiency, and "salus suprema of the imperium of the sovereign state."

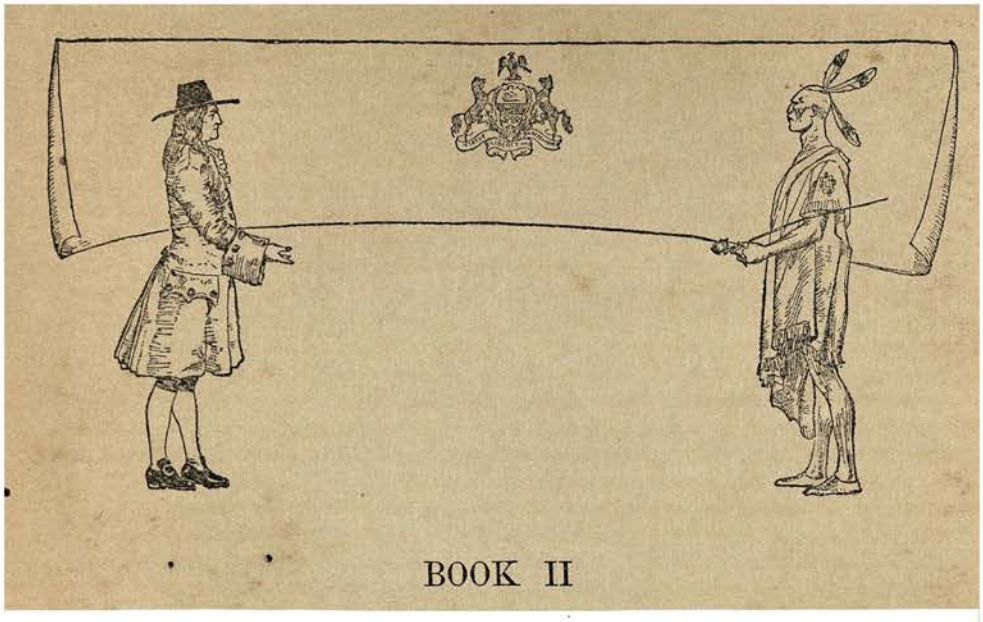
Such a proposition as this of Pownall seems to have received no consideration at Westminster, for indeed the incompetence of most of the British legislators to rise to the faintest conception of an organisation more complicated than the simple one they demanded is pathetic though not surprising. Burke, indeed, reaching a stage of real statesmanship, denounced the narrow logic of the lawgivers, and declared fervently that the question for parliament was not the question of power, but of duty. But most of the members of parliament did not try to get beyond the most rigid conception: either the colonies were subject to the parliament in all respects or they were subject in none. This inability to see one step beyond the narrowest confines of puny logic was enough to ruin the English empire. Nothing, as the old maxim goes, distorts history as does logic; certainly it may also be said that nothing so much as logic paralyses capacity for statesmanship.

And yet this problem of reconciling local liberty with general control, of combining local self government with imperial unity, was a problem of immense difficulty; and, if the Americans finally solved the problem, perhaps we should thank the situation and not credit American statesmen with peculiar wisdom. When America declared her separation from Great Britain in 1776, the problem of organising an empire of thirteen states crossed the Atlantic. The Americans must now find some way of organising the states into a unity harmonious with local liberty. Their first effort was not a success. The Articles of

Confederation, proposed in 1777 and fully adopted in the early part of 1781, were not suited to the needs of the situation. In most respects these Articles were products of decades of practice and experience, but in some particulars, and even in the distribution of power between the Congress of the Confederation and the individual states, there were some bad mistakes. The congress was not allowed to collect taxes, either direct internal taxes or duties, and it was not even allowed the power that the second Continental Congress was willing to concede to parliament, from the very necessity of the case, namely, the right to regulate commerce.

The commercial and social disorder of the years succeeding the war taught the Americans, however, the need of better organisation, and it is in the constitution of the United States that we see the consummation, the fruit of the American Revolution. We see first that by the adoption of the constitution the Americans solved the problem of reconciling local self government and local self-determination with imperial unity, of conserving local liberty and at the same time guarding general interests. This was done by establishing a federal state, what the German publicists call a *Bundesstaat*, "a banded state." The adoption of the federal constitution, too, marks the end of the Revolutionary period, because it ends a decade and more of constitution-making within which fundamental political notions were formulated and crystallised. By these constitutions, governments were established resting on the consent of the governed and subject to their will. The fundamental principle of them all was that government is but the creature and the servant of the people; they brought out clearly enough that government and the state are not identical, and that government cannot set the limits to its own authority; they announced by their practical work of construction the principle that there should be a government of law and not of men, because the constitution as law was set above all mere legislative enactment, and the framers of the constitution went as far as the art of man would allow to establish law above caprice. The American Revolution has therefore its interest, not because of the cleavage of the English race, however momentous that fact may be, nor because of the war and bloodshed, though it involved nearly one half of civilised mankind and profoundly stirred the rest; but because of the essential principles involved, because out of it came constitutions speaking the language of philosophy and involving ideas that in their wide and practical application were new in the history of mankind.

The principles fought for by the Americans were not lost on England herself. Her representative system, though influenced still by the practices of centuries and by the conditions of society, has been made to approach the model for which the colonists were contending. The theory that her government is omnipotent still remains, but individual freedom is secure. Her self-governing colonies are safely protected by habit and convention, while some of them are based on parliamentary enactments possessing in fact, if not in theory, the force and effect of written constitutions. Her general colonial system, though unsystematic, and though one of opportunism and not of law, recognises to the full the right of colonial self government. In fact England, instead of imitating Rome, in the building of a great empire, or of following the example of Spain as the mistress of numberless possessions and dominions, has scattered her colonists over the world as Greece strewed her citizens through the islands of the Ægean, and as Greece held them only by ties of blood and affection for the mother city, so England's political bond is weak, while the tie of patriotism and affection is strong.



# BOOK II

# LATER COLONIAL AND NATIONAL PERIODS

## CHAPTER I

## DUTCH, QUAKER, AND OTHER COLONIES

THE close association between the Dutch and Quaker colonies in America was due to no mere accident of contiguity. William Penn was Dutch on his mother's side, and one sees in all his political ideas the broad and liberal temper that characterised the Netherlands before and beyond any other country in Europe. In the cosmopolitanism which showed itself so early in New Amsterdam and has ever since been fully maintained, there were added to American national life the variety, the flexibility, the generous breadth of view, the spirit of compromise and conciliation needful to save the nation from rigid provincialism.—JOHN FISKE.[b]

### DUTCH INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN HISTORY

HERE follows a pleasant relief from the previous chapters of seizure and bloodshed, a case of colonisation by purchase and treaty. It is true that the shrewd barterers gave the Indians paltry sums for large estates, but there was no competition to raise the market prices, and the title of the Indians was neither clear nor recorded. Most important of all was the recognition of the Indian's priority, of his right to existence, and of a wish to respect his feelings. There had been various isolated instances of this plan of purchase, as we have already seen, and William Penn hardly deserves his full measure of popular esteem as the first to deal fairly with the Indians. Furthermore, the pleasant relations suffered interruption, as they are bound to

do in all human intercourse, and there were quarrels, struggles, and bloodshed in the forests, as in all European cities and towns.

Besides, the colonists quarrelled together and with their neighbours of other nations. The Dutch crushed the Swedish, and were in turn taken and retaken by the English. And there were the usual wrangles with the home government, little preliminaries to the long, fierce struggle that was to rage from 1776 to 1783. And yet the general story of this chapter is one of benevolence and wisdom unusual in history.

The Declaration of Independence, which was the thesis of the most important of colonial wars, had something of a prototype in the Union of Utrecht of 1581, by which twelve Holland provinces declared their independence of Spain and stated the grievances that absolved them from allegiance. This document has been fully discussed in our history of the Netherlands. The Dutch, who had done so many brave and stubborn things, made a settlement in America partly for gain, partly as an act of war against their inveterate Spanish foe. Land was bought from the Indians and their friendship cultivated. The Dutch settlers were quite as religious as the Puritans, and had fought far longer and far more bitterly for their creed, but they usually showed an easy-going tolerance of other opinions that lifted them to a higher mental plane. The final overthrow of their authority was, as we shall see, due less to the superiority of the English than to peculiar conditions of unpreparedness, at the moment of English descent. As it was, Dutch civilisation has persisted in many ways in America, and even their language remains to this day in isolated communities of New Jersey.

It was fortunate for the unity of the colonies that the English should obtain the ascendency and force their language upon the settlements. It was also fortunate that many ideals of the stout, independent, tolerant Dutch mind should have persisted.

An eloquent brief for the Dutch has been prepared by Douglas Campbell.[c] He justly complains that American history has been written too much from the English viewpoint. He finds Puritanism a powerful factor in the life of Holland, whose war with Spain was in many ways a Puritan war; he insists that Puritanism was, in fact, not a creation of an obscure English sect, as people commonly assume, but rather a great Continental reaction against ritual religion and social corruption. He points out how the conception of the Dutch as a boorish and besotted people is the survival of an English insularism, whereas, in fact, they were, according to Motley,[d] "the most energetic and quick-witted people of the world," indeed the Yankees of Europe, alert in invention of tools and machinery, with an excellent internal government, with an advanced state of personal liberty. Their education was of a high grade, and Leyden, to commemorate its relief from the famous siege, instead of celebrating with fireworks or statues, built a splendid university. In 1609 Holland had about the same population as England, and far greater wealth. In the sixteenth century the Dutch emigrated to England by the thousand, settling thickly in the regions where the Separatist church had its beginning.

During the sojourn of the Pilgrims in Holland, there was ample opportunity for them to learn the conditions of Dutch liberty, so different from the conditions then existent in intolerant aristocracy-ridden England. Campbell claims that the Puritans brought from Holland the public school idea, and that its first establishment in America was by the Dutch settlers; that the Articles of Confederation, the written constitution, the organisation of the senate, the township system, the secret written ballot, the public

prosecutor, public examination of witnesses, the relief of an acquitted prisoner from costs, the independence of the judiciary, the recording of deeds and mortgages, the freedom of religion and press, the education of girls as well as boys, the absence of primogeniture, prison reforms, and, indeed, the whole spirit of American society, so radically different from the English of that day, had their origin in Holland. John Fiske [b] wisely calls attention to the many exaggerations of such a view and points out the larger element of personal liberty in the English colonies, and yet, though Campbell's book is rather a brief than a judgment, it is in effect a salutary protest against making England too much the mother-country of America.

Even in the foundation of Pennsylvania, which was an English colony, Campbell emphasises the fact that Penn's mother was a Dutch woman and that Penn knew the Dutch language well and spent years of travel and residence under Dutch influence. When the short-lived Swedish colony came to America it was in boats hired from the Dutch, and the whole idea came from the Dutch brain of the discontented Ussellinx.

WILLIAM PENN
(1644-1718)

This colony had been the dream of Gustavus Adolphus, but he did not live to see it made reality. "New Sweden," like New Amsterdam, was purchased from the Indians and the relationship was generally pleasant. But gradually friction with Dutch neighbours brought down wrath and final capture. The Swedes were absorbed later into the states of New Jersey and Delaware. The brief life of the settlement reminds one of the vanished legendary colonies the Scandinavians planted centuries before. By 1600 the race of bold Norse sea-rovers had died out, and left the colony to come over in boats hired from Holland. Later, after the United States had been well established, Swedes and Norwegians both again flocked over in large numbers, settling in the middle west and giving certain localities a distinct foreign nature.

The Quakers were in some ways Puritans. They were an offshoot of the same reaction, though their policy of peace at any price was distinctly different from that of the Puritans, at whose hands the Quakers suffered bitter treatment for a time, notably in Massachusetts, as already described. In spite of their policy of non-resistance, however, they had sturdiness enough of character and high enough sense of equality to establish a firm foundation in a wilderness. If they would not resist, neither would they yield. And of one of them, William Penn, John Fiske [b] is moved to say, "Take him for all in all, he was by far the greatest among the founders of American

commonwealths." This chapter is to be devoted to the Dutch, the Swedes, the Quakers, and others. We shall begin with the first to arrive.[a]

## THE FIRST DUTCH COLONIES

As the country on the Hudson had been discovered by an agent of the Dutch East India Company, the right of possession was claimed for the United Provinces; and in the very year in which Hudson perished (1610), merchants of Amsterdam fitted out a ship with various merchandise to traffic with the natives. The voyage was prosperous, and was renewed. When Argall, in 1613, returning from his piratical excursion against the French settlement at Port Royal, entered the waters of New York, he found three or four rude hovels,[1] already erected on the island of Manhattan, as a summer shelter for the few Dutch mariners and fur traders, whom private enterprise had stationed there. His larger force made him for the time the lord of the harbour, and in Virginia he boasted of having subjected the establishments of Holland to the authority of England; but the Dutch, as he retired, continued their profitable traffic, and even remained on Manhattan during the winter.

Had these early navigators in the bays around New York anticipated the future, they might have left careful memorials of their voyages. The states general had assured to the enterprising a four years' monopoly of trade with newly discovered lands (March 27th, 1614); and a company of merchants, forming a partnership, but not a corporation, availed themselves of the privilege. Several ships, in consequence, sailed for America; and from the imperfect and conflicting statements we may infer, that perhaps in 1614, the first rude fort was erected, probably on the southern point of Manhattan Island; and the name of an island east of the sound still keeps the record that Adrian Blok sailed through the East river, discovered Long Island to be an island, and examined the coast as far as Cape Cod. The discovery of Connecticut river is undoubtedly due to the Dutch; the name of its first European navigator is uncertain. [It was probably Block.] That in 1615 the settlement at Albany began, on an island just below the present city, is placed beyond a doubt by existing records. It was the remote port of the Indian trader, and was never again abandoned. Yet at this early period there was no colony; not a single family had emigrated; the only Europeans on the Hudson were commercial agents and their subordinates. The Pilgrims, in planning their settlements, evidently esteemed the country unappropriated; and to the English mariner, the Hollanders were known only as having a trade in Hudson's river. As yet the United Provinces made no claim to the territory.

The cause of the tardy progress of colonisation is to be sought in the parties which divided the states. The independence of Holland had brought with

[1 As we have stated in our chapter on Virginia, the long-accepted statement that Argall went to New Netherlands is branded as false by some recent authorities. In 1648 the so-called Plantagenet[e] stated that Argall and Dale returning from Canada "landed at Manhatas Isle in Hudson's river, where they found four houses built, and a pretended Dutch governor under the West India Company's of Amsterdam share or part, who kept trading boats and trucking with the Indians." The discovery of official correspondence between the Virginian and English governments proves, according to Fernow,[f] that Argall never touched at New Netherlands, though in 1621 he so planned; indeed, by the very knowledge that the Dutch were there "a demurre in their proceding was caused." Fiske,[b] however, accepts the original story without comment.]

[1615-1621 A.D.]

it no elective franchise for the people; the municipal officers were either named by the stadtholder, or were self-elected, on the principle of close corporations. The municipal officers elected delegates to the provincial states; and these again, a representative to the states general. The states, the true representative of a fixed commercial aristocracy, resisted the tendencies to popular innovations with a unanimity and decision never equalled even in the struggle of the English parliament against reform; and the same instinct which led the Romans to elevate Julius Cæsar, the commons of England to sustain Henry VII, the Danes to confer hereditary power on the descendants of Frederic III, the French to substitute absolute for feudal monarchy, induced the people of Holland to favour the ambition of the stadtholder. This division of parties extended to every question of domestic politics, theology, and international intercourse. The friends of the stadtholder asserted sovereignty for the states general; while the party of Olden Barneveld and Grotius, with greater reason in point of historic facts, claimed sovereignty exclusively for the provincial assemblies. Prince Maurice desired continued warfare with Spain, and favoured colonisation in America; the aristocratic party, fearing the increase of executive power, opposed colonisation because it might lead to new collisions. Thus the Calvinists, popular enthusiasm, and the stadtholder were arrayed against the provincial states and municipal authorities. The colonisation of New York by the Dutch depended on the issue of the struggle; and the issue was not long doubtful. The excesses of political ambition, disguised under the forms of religious controversy, led to violent counsels. Olden Barneveld and Grotius were taken into custody, and the selfishness of tyranny not only condemned the first political writer of the age to imprisonment for life, but conducted an old man of threescore years and twelve, the most venerable of the patriots of Holland, to the scaffold.

These events hastened the colonisation of Manhattan. That the river Hudson for a season bore the name of Prince Maurice, implies his favour to those who harboured there. A few weeks after the first acts of violence, in November, 1618, the states general gave a limited act of incorporation to a company of merchants; yet the conditions of the charter were not inviting, and no organisation took place. But after the triumph over intestine commotions, while the Netherlands were displaying unparalleled energy in their foreign relations, the scheme of a West India company was revived. The Dutch planted colonies only under the auspices of chartered companies; the states would never undertake the defence of foreign possessions.

The Dutch West India Company, which became the sovereign of the central portion of the United States, incorporated (June 3rd, 1621), for twenty-four years, with a pledge of a renewal of its charter, was invested, on the part of the Netherlands, with the exclusive privilege to traffic and plant colonies on the coast of Africa from the tropic of Cancer to the cape of Good Hope; on the coast of America, from the straits of Magellan to the remotest north. England, in its patents, made the conversion of the natives a prominent purpose; the Dutch were chiefly intent "on promoting trade." The English charters gave protection to the political rights of the colonists against the proprietaries; the Dutch, who had no popular liberty at home, bestowed no thought on colonial representation; the company, subject to the approval of the states general, had absolute power over its possessions. The charge of New Netherlands belonged to the branch at Amsterdam. The government of the whole was intrusted to a board of nineteen.

Thus did the little nation of merchants give away continents; and the corporate company, invested with a claim to more than a hemisphere, gradu-

ally culled from its boundless grant the rich territories of Guinea, Brazil, and New Netherlands. Colonisation on the Hudson was neither the motive nor the main object of the establishment of the Dutch West India Company; the territory of the New Netherlands was not described either in the charter or at that time in any public act of the states general, which neither made a formal specific grant nor offered to guarantee the tranquil possession of a single foot of land. The company was to lay its own plans, and provide for its own protection.[1]

Yet the period of the due organisation of the company was the epoch of zealous efforts at colonisation. The name of the southern county and cape of New Jersey still attests the presence of Cornelius Mey, who not only visited Manhattan (1623), but entering the bay, and ascending the river of Delaware, known as the South River of the Dutch, took possession of the territory. On Timber creek, a stream that enters the Delaware a few miles below Camden, he built Fort Nassau. The country from the southern shore of Delaware bay to New Holland or Cape Cod became known as New Netherlands.*g*

Mey was succeeded by Verhulst, who arrived with three ships, bringing out horses, cattle, sheep, and swine, with a number of new settlers. Next year Peter Minuit was appointed director. The island of Manhattan, "rocky and full of trees," was purchased of the Indians in 1626 for sixty guilders, about twenty-four dollars; and a block-house, surrounded by a palisade of cedars, was erected at its southern extremity, and called Fort Amsterdam. About this fort, the headquarters of the colony, a little village slowly grew up—rudiment of the present metropolis of New York. Six farms were laid out on Manhattan Island; and specimens of the harvest were sent to Holland in proof of the fertility of the soil.*h*

Reprisals on Spanish commerce were the great object of the West India Company; the North American colony was, for some years, little more than an inconsiderable establishment for trade, where Indians, even from the St. Lawrence, exchanged beaver-skins for European manufactures. The Spanish prizes, taken by the chartered privateers on a single occasion in 1628, were almost eightyfold more valuable than the whole amount of exports from New Netherlands for the four preceding years.

In 1627 there was a first interchange of courtesies with the Pilgrims. De Razier [or De Rasieres], the second in command among the Dutch, went as envoy to Plymouth (October 4th). On the south of Cape Cod he was met by a boat from the Old Colony, and "honourably attended with the noise of trumpets." A treaty of friendship and commerce was proposed. The Pilgrims, who had English hearts, questioned the title of the Dutch to the banks of the Hudson, and recommended a treaty with England; the Dutch, with greater kindness, advised their old friends to remove to the rich meadow on the Connecticut. Harmony prevailed. "Our children after us," said the Pilgrims, "shall never forget the good and courteous entreaty which we found in your country, and shall desire your prosperity forever." Such was the benediction of Plymouth on New Amsterdam; at the same time, the Pilgrims, rivals for the beaver trade, begged the Dutch not to send their skiffs into the Narragansett.

These were the rude beginnings of New York. Its first age was the age of hunters and Indian traders; of traffic in the skins of otters and beavers; when the native tribes were employed in the pursuit of game, and the yachts

[1 Fiske*b* says epigrammatically, "It was not government of the people, by the people, and for the people; but it was government of the people, by the director and council, for the West India Company."]

of the Dutch, in quest of furs, penetrated every bay, and bosom, and inlet from Narragansett to the Delaware. It was the day of straw roofs, and wooden chimneys, and windmills.

### THE CHARTER OF FEUDAL AND COMMERCIAL LIBERTIES

The experiment in feudal institutions followed. While the company of merchant warriors, conducting their maritime enterprises like princes, were conquering the rich fleets of Portugal and Spain, and, by their successes, pouring the wealth of America into the lap of the Netherlands, the states general interposed to subject the government of foreign conquests to a council of nine; and the College of Nineteen adopted a charter of privileges for patrons who desired to plant colonies in New Netherlands.

The document is curious, for it was analogous to the political institutions of the Dutch of that day. The colonies in America were to resemble the lordships in the Netherlands. To everyone who would emigrate on his own account, as much land as he could cultivate was promised; but emigration was not expected to follow from the enterprise of the cultivators of the soil. The boors in Holland enjoyed as yet no political franchises, and were equally destitute of the mobility which is created by the consciousness of political importance. To subordinate proprietaries New Netherlands was to owe its tenants. He that within four years would plant a colony of fifty souls became lord of the manor, or patroon, possessing in absolute property the lands he might colonise. Those lands might extend sixteen miles in length; or, if they lay upon both sides of a river, eight miles on each bank, stretching as far into the interior as the situation might require; yet it was stipulated that the soil must be purchased of the Indians. Were cities to grow up, the institution of their government would rest with the patroon, who was to exercise judicial power, yet subject to appeals. The schoolmaster and the minister were praised as desirable; but no provision was made for their maintenance. The selfish spirit of monopoly forbade the colonists to make any woollen, or linen, or cotton fabric; not a web might be woven, not a shuttle thrown, on penalty of exile. To impair the monopoly of the Dutch manufacturers was punishable as a perjury! The company, moreover, pledged itself to furnish the manors with negroes; yet not, it was warily provided, unless the traffic should prove lucrative. The isle of Manhattan, as the chosen seat of commerce, was reserved to the company.

This charter of liberties was fatal to the interests of the corporation; its directors and agents immediately appropriated to themselves the most valuable portions of the territory. Three years before the concession of a charter for Maryland, Godyn purchased of the natives the soil from Cape Henlopen to the mouth of Delaware river; this purchase of a territory more than thirty miles long was now ratified by a deed, and duly recorded (July 15th, 1630). This is the first deed for land in Delaware, and comprises the soil of the two lower counties of that state. The opposite shore in New Jersey was also bought by Godyn and Bloemaert, while Pauw became the proprietor of Pavonia, the country round Hoboken, and Staten Island. At the same time, five Indian chiefs, in return for parcels of goods, conveyed the land round Fort Orange, that is, from Albany to the mouth of the Mohawk, to the agent of Van Rensselaer; and a few years afterwards the purchase was extended twelve miles farther to the south.[1]

[1 Fernow *f* is inclined to doubt that "this abortive attempt of establishing the colony of Zwanendael" deserves the credit of founding the state of Delaware.]

FIRST COLONIES ON THE DELAWARE AND ON THE CONNECTICUT (1631 A.D.)

The tract of land acquired by Godyn and his associates was immediately colonised. The first settlement in Delaware, older than any in Pennsylvania or New Jersey, was undertaken by Godyn, Van Rensselaer, Bloemaert, and the historian De Laet (1630). De Vries,[i] the historian of the voyage, was its conductor, and held an equal share in the enterprise, which was intended to cover the southern shore of Delaware Bay with fields of wheat and tobacco. Embarking from the Texel (December 12th), in vessels laden with stores of seeds, and cattle, and agricultural implements, he reached the bay in 1631, and on the soil of Delaware, near Lewiston, planted a colony of more than thirty souls. The voyage of De Vries was the cradling of a state. That Delaware exists as a separate commonwealth is due to the colony of De Vries. According to English rule, occupancy was necessary to complete a title to the wilderness. The Dutch now occupied Delaware; and Harvey, the governor of Virginia, in a grant of commercial privileges to Clayborne, recognised "the adjoining plantations of the Dutch." De Vries ascended the Delaware as far as the site of Philadelphia; Fort Nassau had been abandoned; the colony in Delaware was as yet the only European settlement within the bay.

After more than a year's residence in America, De Vries returned to Holland; but Osset, to whose care he committed the colony, could not avoid contests with the Indians. A chief lost his life; the relentless spirit of revenge prepared an ambush, which ended in the murder of every emigrant. At the close of the year, De Vries, revisiting the New World, found the soil which he had planted strewn with the bones of his countrymen.

Thus Delaware was reconquered by the natives; and before the Dutch could renew their claim, the patent granted to Baltimore gave them an English competitor. From the wrecks of his colony, De Vries sailed to Virginia, and as, in the following spring, he arrived at New Amsterdam, he found Worter van Twiller, the second governor of the colony, already in the harbour. Quarrels had broken out among the agents, and between the agents and their employers; the discontented Minuit had been displaced, and the colony had not prospered. The historian of Long Island records no regular occupation of lands on that island till three years after the arrival of Van Twiller.

The rush of Puritan emigrants to New England had quickened the movements of the Dutch on the Connecticut, which they undoubtedly were the first to discover and to occupy. The soil round Hartford was purchased of the natives, and a fort was erected (January 8th, 1633) on land within the present limits of that city, some months before the pilgrims of Plymouth colony raised their block-house at Windsor, and more than two years before the people of Hooker and Haynes began the Commonwealth of Connecticut. To whom did the country belong? Should a log-hut and a few straggling soldiers seal a territory against other emigrants? The English planters were on a soil over which England had ever claimed the sovereignty, and of which the English monarch had made a grant; they were there with their wives and children, and they were there forever. It were a sin, said they, according to De Vries,[i] to leave so fertile a land unimproved. Altercations continued for years.

The Dutch fort long remained in the hands of the Dutch West India Company; but it was surrounded by English towns. At last the swarms of the English in Connecticut grew so numerous as not only to overwhelm the

feeble settlement at Hartford, but, under a grant from Lord Stirling, to invade the less doubtful territories of New Netherlands. In the second year of the government of William Kieft (1640), the arms of the Dutch on the east end of Long Island were thrown down in derision, and a fool's head set in their place.*g*

### THE FOUNDING OF NEW SWEDEN (1638 A.D.)

It was not against English encroachments alone that the Dutch of New Netherlands had to contend. Ussellinx, the original projector of the Dutch West India Company, dissatisfied at his treatment by those who had availed themselves of his projects, had looked round for a new patron. To Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, greatly distinguished a few years afterwards by his victories in Germany, which saved the Protestants of that empire from total ruin and raised Sweden to a high pitch of temporary importance, Ussellinx proposed a plan for a Swedish trading company. This plan the king inclined to favour [the king himself pledging 400,000 daler], and a charter for such a company was presently issued [June 14th, 1626]. But the scheme was cut short by the breaking out of the German war, and the untimely death of the hero of the north at the victorious battle of Lutzen. The plan of Ussellinx, or a portion of it, was revived by Peter Minuit, whom we have formerly seen director of New Netherlands, and who, after his recall from that government, went to Sweden, where he was patronised by the celebrated Oxenstierna, minister of Queen Christina, the daughter of Gustavus. Furnished, by his assistance, with an armed vessel, the *Key of Calmar* [*Kalmar Nycken*], a tender called the *Griffin* [*Gripen*], and fifty men, Minuit set sail late in 1637 to establish a Swedish settlement and trading post in America. He touched at Jamestown, in Virginia, took in wood and water, and, during a stay of ten days, endeavoured to purchase a cargo of tobacco, but refused to show his papers, or to state the object of his voyage, which was likely to conflict with the claims of the English as well as of the Dutch. Afterwards, in April, 1638, when he entered the Delaware, he told the Dutch traders whom he met that his visit was only temporary. But presently he bought of the Indians a tract of land near the head of the bay, on the west shore, where he built a fort called Christina, in honour of the Swedish queen—first commencement of the colony of New Sweden.

Kieft, the director of New Netherlands, greatly dissatisfied at this intrusion, maintained, in repeated protests, that the whole South river and bay, as Minuit well knew, belonged to the Dutch, having been in their possession many years, "above and below beset with their forts and sealed with their blood." But to these protests Minuit paid no attention. He presently sailed for Sweden, leaving a garrison behind of twenty-four men, well supplied with arms, goods, and provisions. Not strong enough to attack the Swedish fort, or unwilling to take the responsibility, Kieft referred the subject to the company. Sweden, then at the head of the Protestant interest in Europe, was a powerful state, collision with which was not to be risked, and the company did not authorise interference with the Swedish settlers. The wiser course was adopted of seeking to raise the Dutch province from a mere trading station to a prosperous colony. A proclamation was issued in September, offering free trade to New Netherlands in the company's ships, and transportation thither to all wishing to go.*h*

Meantime tidings of the loveliness of the country had been borne to Scandinavia, and the peasantry of Sweden and of Finland longed to exchange

their lands in Europe for a settlement on the Delaware. Emigration increased; at the last considerable expedition, there were more than a hundred families eager to embark for the land of promise, and unable to obtain a passage in the crowded vessels. The plantations of the Swedes were gradually extended; and to preserve the ascendency over the Dutch, who renewed their fort at Nassau, Printz, the governor, in 1643 established his residence in Tinicum, a few miles below Philadelphia. A fort, constructed of vast hemlock logs, defended the island; and houses began to cluster in its neighbourhood.

Pennsylvania was, at last, occupied by Europeans; that commonwealth, like Delaware, traces its lineage to the Swedes, who had planted a suburb of Philadelphia before William Penn became its proprietary. The banks of the Delaware from the ocean to the falls were known as New Sweden. The few English families within its limits, emigrants from New England, allured by the beauty of the climate and the opportunity of Indian traffic, were either driven from the soil, or submitted to Swedish jurisdiction.

While the limits of New Netherlands were narrowed by competitors on the east and on the south, and Long Island was soon to be claimed by the agent of Lord Stirling, the colony was almost annihilated by the vengeance of the neighbouring Algonquin tribes.*g*

### WARS WITH THE INDIANS, (1640–1644 A.D.)

The Raritans, a tribe on the west shore of the Hudson, were accused of having attacked a Dutch bark with design to rob it. They were also suspected, falsely it would seem, of stealing hogs from Staten Island. On these grounds, an expedition was sent against them, their crops were ravaged, and, in spite of the orders of Van Tienhoven, the leader, several warriors were barbarously killed. The Raritans amused the director with proposals of peace, but took the opportunity to attack Staten Island (July, 1641), where they killed four of De Vries' servants, and burned his buildings. Kieft persuaded some of the neighbouring tribes to assist him, by offering ten fathoms of wampum for the head of every Raritan. That tribe was soon induced to make peace; but, meanwhile, a new quarrel had broken out.

Twenty years before, the servants of Director Minuit had murdered an Indian warrior, upon whose infant nephew, according to the notions of the Indians, the duty devolved of revenging his uncle's death. The nephew, now grown up, had performed that duty by killing an inoffensive old Dutchman. The murderer was demanded, but his tribe, who dwelt up the Hudson about Tappan, refused to give him up, on the ground that, in revenging his uncle's death, he had done only what he ought.

The director summoned a meeting of masters of boweries and heads of families (August 28th) to consult what should be done. As the harvest was not yet gathered, they advised to protract matters by again demanding the murderer, but, meanwhile, to prepare for an expedition. To assist in these preparations, a board of "Twelve Men" was appointed by the commonalty (January 21st, 1642). This popular board presently turned their attention to civil affairs. Kieft's council consisted only of himself and La Montaigne, a Huguenot gentleman, Kieft having two votes. The Twelve Men desired that the number of counsellors might be increased to five; they asked local magistrates for the villages; and offered several other suggestions, to which the director at first seemed to lend a favourable ear, but he soon issued a proclamation, forbidding the board, "on pain of corporal punishment," to meet again without his express permission, such meetings "tend-

[1643 A.D.]

ing to the serious injury both of the country and our authority." The Indians asked for peace, promising to give up the murderer.

A new difficulty presently arose. One of the Hackensacks, a tribe on the Hudson opposite Manhattan, had been made drunk by some colonists, and then robbed. In revenge, he killed two Dutchmen. The chiefs offered wampum by way of atonement, remonstrating, at the same time, against the practice of selling brandy to their people, as having been the cause of the present difficulty. Kieft, like Massachusetts in the case of the Pequots, would be content with nothing but blood. Whilst this dispute was still pending, the Mohawks attacked the late hostile tribe about Tappan. They fled for refuge to the Dutch, who took pity on them, and gave them food; and they soon scattered in various directions, the greater part joining the Hackensacks. There had been all along at New Amsterdam a peace party, headed by De Vries, who counselled patience and forbearance, and insisted on the necessity of keeping on good terms with the Indians, and a war party, led by Secretary Van Tienhoven, restless, passionate, and eager for blood. At a Shrovetide feast, warm with wine, Kieft was persuaded by some leaders of the more violent party to improve the present opportunity to punish the Indians so lately entertained at New Amsterdam for not having fulfilled their former promise to give up the murderer. In spite of the remonstrances of Bogardus, La Montaigne, and De Vries, two companies were fitted out, one of soldiers, under Sergeant Rodolf, the other of volunteers, headed by a chief instigator of the expedition, one of the late Twelve Men, Maryn Adriaensen, once a freebooter in the West Indies. There were two encampments of the Indians, against which these two companies proceeded, "in full confidence," so their commission says, "that God would crown their resolution with success."

The Indians, taken utterly by surprise, and supposing themselves attacked by the formidable Mohawks, hardly made any resistance. De Vries *i* tells us, that, being that night at the director's house, he distinctly heard the shrieks of the victims sounding across the icy river. Warriors, old men, women, and children were slain without mercy, to the number of eighty or more. Babes, fastened to the pieces of bark which the Indian women use as cradles, were thrown into the water, and the miserable mothers, who plunged in after them, prevented by the Dutch party from relanding, perished with their infants. The wounded who remained alive the next morning were killed in cold blood, or thrown into the river. Thirty, however, were taken prisoners and carried the next day to New Amsterdam, along with the heads of several others.

Roused by these injuries, eleven petty tribes, some on the mainland, and the others on Long Island, united to make war on the Dutch, whose scattered boweries now extended thirty miles to the east, twenty miles north, and as far south from New Amsterdam. The houses were burned, the cattle killed, the men slain, and several women and children made prisoners. The Indians, partially supplied with firearms, and wrought up to the highest pitch of rage and fury, were truly formidable. The terrified and ruined colonists fled on all sides into New Amsterdam. Roger Williams *j* was there (March 1st) on his first voyage to England. "Mine eyes saw the flames of their towns," he writes, "the frights and hurries of men, women, and children, and the present removal of all that could to Holland."

A fast was proclaimed. The director, assailed with reproaches and in danger of being deposed, was obliged to take all the settlers into the company's service for two months.

The Indians, satiated with revenge, soon made advances towards a reconciliation, which the Dutch eagerly met. De Vries proceeded to Rockaway, where an interview was had with one of the principal hostile chiefs. He was persuaded, with several of his warriors, to visit New Amsterdam, and a treaty of peace was speedily arranged (March 25th, 1643). A month after, the Hackensacks and other tribes on the river came into the same arrangement. But the presents given were not satisfactory, and they went away in no very good humour.

Shortly after this pacification, Kieft wrote to the commissioners for the United Colonies of New England, congratulating them on their recent union. He complained, however, of certain misrepresentations lately made to the Dutch ambassador in London by Lord Say and Hugh Peters, the Massachusetts agent, and he desired to know whether the commissioners intended to uphold the people of Connecticut in their "insufferable wrongs," especially their treatment of the Dutch residents at the fort of Good Hope. The commissioners, at their next meeting, in September, sent back, in reply, a whole batch of complaints on the part of Connecticut and New Haven, to which Kieft rejoined, vindicating the Dutch title to the shores of the sound.

Whilst the director was engaged in this controversy, New Amsterdam was visited by Sir Edmund Plowden, whose grant of New Albion has been mentioned in a former chapter. But the "Albion knights," as they were called in the charter, had no means to enforce their pretensions, and the earl-palatine presently retired to Virginia, without any attempt at the conversion of the twenty-three kings of Charles or Delaware river, set forth in the patent as the great object of the grant.

Meanwhile, the Indian war broke out anew. A tribe on the Hudson, north of the Highlands, which had taken no share in the former war, attacked and plundered a Dutch canoe coming from Fort Orange, laden with furs. The frontier boweries were again assailed by a new confederacy of seven tribes, some of them inhabitants of the mainland and others of Long Island. The colony of Achter Cul, behind Newark bay, was completely ruined. So were Vredeland and Newtown. It was at this time that Mrs. Anne Hutchinson was slain, with all of her family, except a granddaughter taken prisoner. The Lady Moody's settlement at Gravesend was also attacked; but she had a guard of forty men, who repulsed the Indians.

In this emergency the commonalty had again been resorted to. A meeting of the inhabitants had been called by the director, and a board of "Eight Men" appointed (September 13th) to aid and advise in the conduct of the war. To prevent the English settlers from leaving the province, fifty or more were taken into the company's pay, the commonalty having agreed to meet a third of the expense. Underhill, one of the heroes of the Pequot war, whose former residence in Holland had made him familiar with the Dutch language, and who had lately removed to Stamford, was appointed to command the Dutch soldiers. Application was also made at New Haven, through Underhill and Allerton, a New England merchant who had removed from Plymouth to Manhattan, for an auxiliary force of a hundred and fifty men; but the people of that colony had not forgotten their expulsion from the Delaware; they doubted also the justice of the quarrel, and, on that ground, refused their aid. The Eight Men, in an appeal to Holland (October 24th), give an affecting account of the wretched condition of the colony. The inhabitants, driven from their boweries, of which only three remained on the island of Manhattan, were mostly clustered in straw huts about a ruinous and hardly tenable fort, themselves short of provisions, and their cattle in danger

of starving. A palisade, kept up for the next fifty years, where Wall street now runs, was presently erected as a protection for New Amsterdam.

Several expeditions against the Indians were meanwhile undertaken. Councillor La Montaigne, with a force of three companies, Dutch burghers under Captain Kuyter, English colonists under Lieutenant Baxter, and Dutch soldiers under Sergeant Cock, crossed to Staten Island. The Indians kept out of the way, but their village was burned, and several hundred bushels of corn were destroyed. The same party proceeded soon after in three yachts against the Indians near Stamford, who had committed great ravages. They landed at Greenwich. The invaders marched some forty miles into the country in January, 1644, killed an Indian or two, took prisoners some women and children, destroyed a little corn, set fire to the forts, and returned to New Amsterdam.

Another expedition was directed against a tribe on Long Island, hitherto esteemed friendly, but recently accused of secret hostilities. The Dutch had given the name of Hemstede to the district inhabited by this tribe. La Montaigne sailed with a hundred and twenty men, Dutch soldiers under Cock, English led by Underhill, and burghers under Pietersen. Underhill, with eighteen men, marched against the smaller village, and La Montaigne, with the main body, against the other. Both parties were completely successful. They took the villages by surprise, and, with the loss of only one killed and three wounded, slew upwards of a hundred Indians. But the victory was disgraced by atrocious cruelties on two Indian prisoners, hacked to pieces with knives in the streets of New Amsterdam.

Captain Underhill, having been sent to Stamford to reconnoitre, was despatched in February, with Ensign Van Dyck and a hundred and twenty men, in three yachts, upon a new enterprise against the Indians in that neighbourhood. He landed at Greenwich, and, after a tedious march in the snow, crossing on the way a rocky hill, and fording two rivers, silently approached the Indian village by moonlight. A large number of Indians, assembled to celebrate some festival, made a desperate resistance; but, after an hour's fighting, during which many Indians were slain, the village was set on fire, and all the horrors of the Pequot massacre were renewed. It was said that five hundred perished in the battle or the flames. The victors slept on the field. Fifteen had been wounded, but none killed. They reached Stamford the next day at noon, where they were kindly entertained by the English settlers, and, two days after, arrived at New Amsterdam, where a public thanksgiving was ordered.

Some of the hostile tribes now asked for peace, but others still continued the war. The Dutch West India Company, made bankrupt by the expenses of military operations in the Brazils, had been quite unable to afford any assistance, and a bill for 2,622 guilders, $1,045, drawn upon it by the director, which some of the New England traders at Manhattan had cashed, came back protested. The director imposed an excise duty on wine, beer, brandy, and beaver. Though no aid could be obtained from Holland, unexpected but opportune assistance arrived from Curaçoa, in a body of a hundred and thirty soldiers lately expelled from Brazil, where the Portuguese had risen against the Dutch. The inhabitants of Curaçoa, who did not need, and had no means to maintain these soldiers, sent them to New Amsterdam; and their arrival enabled Kieft to dismiss, but "in the most civil manner," the English auxiliaries hitherto employed. These soldiers were billeted on the inhabitants, and the excise duties were continued to provide them with clothing. The Eight Men denied the right to levy these taxes, and the brewers

resisted; but Kieft insisted on payment. Presently the Eight Men appealed to Holland in a protest complaining in emphatic terms of Kieft's conduct in the origin and progress of the war. The inhabitants also expressed their opinions with much freedom, and the schout-fiscal at New Amsterdam soon had his hands full of prosecutions for defamation of the director's character.

Rensselaerswick, the only portion of the province which had escaped the ravages of this war, had received, in 1642, an accession of settlers, among them John Megalapolensis, a "pious and well-learned minister," to whom we are indebted for the earliest extant account of the Mohawks. Under the guns of the Fort Aurania, but within the jurisdiction of the patroon, a little village had sprung up near the bend of the river, and hence familiarly known among the inhabitants as the *Fuyk*, or *Beversfuyk*, but officially as *Beverwyck*, the present Albany. Here a church had been built, and here resided Van Cuyler, the president-commissary; also Van der Donck, graduate of the University of Leyden, schout-fiscal of the colony, and author of a description of New Netherlands.

Very jealous of his feudal jurisdiction, aspiring, in fact, to a substantial independence, the patroon would grant no lands unless the settlers would agree to renounce their right of appeal to the authorities at New Amsterdam. He was equally jealous of his monopoly of importation; but Van der Donck, unwilling to be esteemed "the worst man in the colony," especially "as his term of office was short," was rather backward in enforcing the severe laws against irregular trade. This lukewarmness produced a violent quarrel between him and the zealous Van Cuyler. Van der Donck was even accused of secretly fomenting among the inhabitants a spirit of discontent against these regulations, represented "as an attempt to steal the bread out of their mouths"—a discontent which showed itself not only in a protest against Van Cuyler, signed "in a circle," but even in violent threats against that faithful officer's life.

A part of the English settlers at Stamford had sought safety from the Indians by crossing to Long Island, where they commenced a settlement at Hempstead (November 16th, 1643) under a Dutch patent. Advantage was taken of this peace to obtain some additional cessions on Long Island, and Vlissengen, now Flushing, was granted (October 16th, 1645), to a company of Anabaptist refugees from Massachusetts.

The settlements about New Amsterdam, almost ruined by the late war, could hardly muster a hundred men. Of thirty flourishing boweries, but five or six remained. The complaints against Kieft, and the disastrous condition of the colony, caused much discussion. It appeared, from a statement of accounts, that New Netherlands had cost the company more than half a million of guilders ($200,000) over and above all receipts. Kieft meanwhile became more and more unpopular. Amongst other stretches of authority which made the people of New Netherlands complain that "under a king they could not be worse treated," he had denied the right of appeal from his decisions to the authorities in Holland. Even a new set of prosecutions for libel could not protect the unpopular director from being called by very hard names, and threatened with still rougher usage whenever he should lose the protection of his office. In 1646 he became involved in an unfortunate quarrel with Bogardus, the minister, whom he accused of drunkenness in the pulpit. Bogardus retorted from that very pulpit "in the most brutal manner," and followed up the controversy with the greater zeal when the recall of Kieft became presently known.

[1647 A.D.]

### THE GOVERNORSHIP OF STUYVESANT (1647 A.D.)

In consequence of the numerous and loud complaints against Kieft, the directors of the West India Company had resolved to intrust the government of New Netherlands to Petrus Stuyvesant, the governor of Curaçoa, whom the loss of a leg at the siege of St. Martin's, then occupied by the Portuguese, had obliged to return to Holland. It was resolved, also, to remove the remaining restrictions on the trade of New Netherlands by throwing open the right of imports and exports to free competition; but New Amsterdam still remained the sole port of entry.

PETER STUYVESANT
(1602–1682)

Virginia and Maryland, the two English colonies on the south, numbered, by this time, some twenty thousand inhabitants; New England, on the north, counted near as many more; while the whole of New Netherlands had hardly two or three thousand colonists, even including the Swedes on the Delaware. Beverwick was a hamlet of ten houses; New Amsterdam was a village of wooden huts, with roofs of straw, and chimneys of mud and sticks, abounding in grog-shops and places for the sale of tobacco and beer. At the west end of Long Island were six plantations under the jurisdiction of the Dutch, but several of them were inhabited chiefly by English. Under the charter of 1640, these villages enjoyed the privilege of a magistracy, acting chiefly as a local tribunal, annually selected by the director from a triple nomination made by the magistrates of the previous year. Officers corresponding to a constable and clerk were named by the director. Even this limited enjoyment of municipal rights did not extend to New Amsterdam, where the director and fiscal acted as town magistrates.

The West India Company was largely concerned in the slave trade, and some slaves were imported into New Netherlands. Most of them remained the property of the company, and the more trusty and industrious, after a certain period of labour, were allowed little farms, paying, in lieu of all other service, a stipulated amount of produce; but this emancipation did not extend to the children—a circumstance inexplicable and highly displeasing to the commonalty of New Netherlands, who could not understand "how anyone born of a free Christian mother could nevertheless be a slave."

Upon the arrival of the new director, Kieft complained of Kuyter and Melyn, patroons of Staten Island, late leaders of the Eight Men, for slander

in their protest of 1644. Stuyvesant, who had the arbitrary temper and the haughty airs so common with military officers, took the side of authority, and Kuyter and Melyn were fined, banished, and refused an appeal. They sailed for Holland along with Kieft and Bogardus, in a ship richly laden with furs; but, in consequence of having two Jonahs on board—so, at least, Winthrop [k] thought—fugitives from New England justice, who had sought refuge at New Amsterdam, and whom the Dutch authorities had refused to deliver up, the ship was cast ashore on the coast of Wales, and Kieft, Bogardus, and some eighty others perished—an event "sadly to be lamented," as Winthrop admits, "on account of the calamity," but which he relates, nevertheless, with very evident zest, as a palpable judgment on New England's enemies.

To avoid responsibility, Stuyvesant constituted a board of Nine Men, similar to those of his predecessor, and with similar results. Van der Donck, late of Rensselaerswick, who had received, for his services in the treaty with the Mohawks, the patroonship of Colen Donck, now Yonkers, just above Manhattan, became the leader of this new board in 1649; and in spite of the arbitrary violence of the director, who arrested him, imprisoned him, and excluded him from his seat, he drew up a memorial, which was signed by all the Nine Men, addressed to the states-general of Holland, and praying their protection, and the substitution of a burgher government for that of the company; also a remonstrance setting forth the grievances of the province, and citing the example of New England, where "neither patroons, nor lords, nor princes are known, but only the people." This appeal was carried to Holland by Van der Donck himself. To counterwork it, Stuyvesant sent after him Secretary Van Tienhoven, fortified with a letter obtained, through Baxter's influence, from the English magistrates of Gravesend, testifying to his good administration.

### EMBROILMENTS WITH NEW ENGLAND

Thus entangled at home and attacked in Holland, the director was simultaneously engaged in an embarrassing correspondence with New England. Besides the old matters, the New England commissioners complained loudly of the Dutch tariff, and of the selling of powder and guns to the Indians, and of some special grievances committed by Stuyvesant; who, after repeatedly soliciting an interview, in a manner which betrayed his weakness, proceeded to the house of Good Hope, in September, 1650, to negotiate in person with the New England commissioners. The matters in dispute related to boundaries, the entertainment of fugitives, and to several specific injuries mutually alleged, all of which it was at last agreed to refer to four arbitrators, all of them English, two named by Stuyvesant, and two by the commissioners. By their award, all the eastern part of Long Island, composing the present county of Suffolk, was assigned to New England. The boundary between the Connecticut colonies and New Netherlands was to begin at Greenwich bay, to run northerly twenty miles into the country, and beyond "as it shall be agreed"; but nowhere to approach the Hudson nearer than ten miles. The Dutch retained their fort of Good Hope, with the lands appurtenant to it; but all the rest of the territory on the river was assigned to Connecticut. Fugitives were to be mutually given up.

The question as to the Delaware, left unsettled, led speedily to new troubles. The project of planting on that river was revived at New Haven. A company of adventurers bound thither touched at Manhattan, and, relying on

the late treaty, and on letters from the governors of New Haven and Massachusetts, freely avowed their purpose. Stuyvesant, however, seized the ship, detained the emigrants, and, to strengthen the Dutch interest on the river, on the very spot which the New Haven adventurers had intended to occupy, and within five miles of the Swedish fort of Christiana, he built Fort Casimir, on the present site of New Castle. This was denounced at New Haven as a violation of the treaty; and the war which broke out in 1653 between Cromwell and the Dutch suggested the idea of the conquest of New Netherlands, still torn by internal dissensions. The disarming of Fort Bearen, and the imprisonment at New Amsterdam of Van Slechtenhorst, Cuyler's successor as commissary, had produced at Rensselaerswick great ill feeling, which Stuyvesant aggravated by assuming jurisdiction over Beverwick as within the precinct of the company's fort. Van der Donck's complaints, being staved off by the company, resulted only in the establishment, in February, 1653, of a very narrow municipal government for New Amsterdam, composed of two burgomasters and five schepens, of whom, however, the director claimed the nomination, while the provincial schout continued to act as city schout also. Yet even with the board it was not easy to agree either as to the revenue it should enjoy or the expenses it should pay—a matter of no little interest in the embarrassed state of the finances, burdened by a loan for repairing the city palisade, and adding a trench and rampart as defences against New England invasion. The obstinacy of Massachusetts became the safety of the Dutch, as related in the preceding chapter.[h]

### THE DUTCH CONQUEST OF NEW SWEDEN

With the Swedes, powerful competitors for the tobacco of Virginia and the beaver of the Schuylkill, the Dutch were to contend for the banks of the Delaware. In the vicinity of the river, the Swedish company was more powerful than its rival; but the whole province of New Netherlands was tenfold more populous than New Sweden. From motives of commercial security, the Dutch built Fort Casimir, in 1651, as we saw, on the site of New Castle, within five miles of Christiana, near the mouth of the Brandywine. To the Swedes this seemed an encroachment; jealousies ensued; and at last (1654), aided by stratagem and immediate superiority in numbers, Rising [or Rysingh], the Swedish governor, overpowered the garrison.

The aggression was fatal to the only colony which Sweden had planted. The metropolis was exhausted by a long succession of wars; the statesmen and soldiers whom Gustavus had educated had passed from the public service; Oxenstierna was no more. Sweden had ceased to awaken fear or inspire respect; and the Dutch company fearlessly commanded Stuyvesant [who had been absent in the Barbadoes] to "revenge their wrong, to drive the Swedes from the river, or compel their submission." The order was renewed; and in September, 1655, the Dutch governor, collecting a force of more than six hundred men, sailed into the Delaware with the purpose of conquest. Resistance was unavailing. One fort after another surrendered: to Rising honourable terms were conceded (September 25th, 1655); the colonists were promised the quiet possession of their estates; and, in defiance of protests and the turbulence of the Scandinavians, the jurisdiction of the Dutch was established. Such was the end of New Sweden,[1] the colony that connects

[1 Such of the Swedes as consented to take an oath of allegiance were guaranteed the possession of their lands. Those who refused were shipped to Holland. All civil connection with

America with Gustavus Adolphus and the nations that dwell on the gulf of Bothnia. It maintained its distinct existence for a little more than seventeen years, and succeeded in establishing permanent plantations on the Delaware. The descendants of the colonists, in the course of generations, widely scattered and blended with emigrants of other lineage, constitute probably more than one part in two hundred of the present population of the United States. At the surrender, they did not much exceed seven hundred souls. Free from ambition, ignorant of the ideas which were convulsing the English mind, it was only as Protestants that they shared the impulse of the age.

### THE GROWTH OF NEW AMSTERDAM; ITS COSMOPOLITAN TOLERATION

The conquest of the Swedish settlements was followed by relations bearing a near analogy to the provincial system of Rome. The West India Company desired an ally on its southern frontier; the country above Christiana was governed by Stuyvesant's deputy; whilst the city of Amsterdam became, by purchase, in December, 1656, the proprietary of Delaware, from the Brandywine to Bombay Hook; and afterwards, under cessions from the natives, extended its jurisdiction to Cape Henlopen. But did a city ever govern a province with forbearance? The noble and right honourable lords, the burgomasters of Amsterdam, instituted a paralysing commercial monopoly, and required of the colonists an oath of absolute obedience to all their past or future commands. But Maryland was free; Virginia governed itself. The restless colonists, almost as they landed, and even the soldiers of the garrison, fled in troops from the dominion of Amsterdam to the liberties of English colonies. The province of the city was almost deserted; the attempt to elope was punishable by death, and scarce thirty families remained.

During the absence of Stuyvesant from Manhattan (September, 1655), the warriors of the neighbouring Algonquin tribes, never reposing confidence in the Dutch, made a desperate assault on the colony. In sixty-four canoes, they appeared before the town, and ravaged the adjacent country. The return of the expedition restored confidence. The captives were ransomed, and industry repaired its losses. The Dutch seemed to have firmly established their power, and promised themselves happier years. New Netherlands consoled them for the loss of Brazil. They exulted in the possession of an admirable territory, that needed no embankments against the ocean. They were proud of its vast extent, from New England to Maryland, from the sea to the great river of Canada, and the remote northwestern wilderness. They sounded with exultation the channel of the deep stream, which was no longer shared with the Swedes. Its banks were more inviting than the lands on the Amazon.

Meantime the country near the Hudson gained by increasing emigration. Manhattan was already the chosen abode of merchants; and the policy of the government invited them by its good will. If Stuyvesant sometimes displayed the rash despotism of a soldier, he was sure to be reproved by his employers. Did he change the rate of duties arbitrarily? The directors, sensitive to commercial honour, charged him "to keep every contract inviolate." Did he tamper with the currency by raising the nominal value of foreign coin? The measure was rebuked as dishonest. Did he attempt to fix the price of labour by arbitrary rules? This also was condemned as

the mother country was henceforth terminated; but the Swedish Lutheran church, the rights and freedom of which were secured by the capitulation, continued to recognize an ecclesiastical dependence on Sweden down to the time of the American Revolution.—HILDRETH.*h*]

[1656 A.D.]

unwise and impracticable. Did he interfere with the merchants by inspecting their accounts? The deed was censured as without precedent "in Christendom"; and he was ordered to "treat the merchants with kindness, lest they return, and the country be depopulated." Did his zeal for Calvinism lead him to persecute Lutherans? He was chid for his bigotry. Did his hatred of "the abominable sect of Quakers" imprison and afterwards exile the blameless Bowne? "Let every peaceful citizen," wrote the directors, "enjoy freedom of conscience; this maxim has made our city the asylum for fugitives from every land; tread in its steps, and you shall be blessed."

Private worship was, therefore, allowed to every religion. Opinion, if not yet enfranchised, was already tolerated. The people of Palestine, from the destruction of their temple, an outcast and a wandering race, were allured by the traffic and the candour of the New World; and not the Saxon and Celtic races only, the children of the bondmen that broke from slavery in Egypt, the posterity of those who had wandered in Arabia, and worshipped near Calvary, found a home, liberty, and a burial-place on the island of Manhattan.[1]

The emigrants from Holland were themselves of the most various lineage; for Holland had long been the gathering-place of the unfortunate. Could we trace the descent of the emigrants from the Low Countries to New Netherlands, we should be carried not only to the bank of the Rhine and the borders of the German Sea, but to the Protestants who escaped from France after the massacre of Bartholomew's eve; and to those earlier inquirers who were swayed by the voice of Huss in the heart of Bohemia. New York was always a city of the world. Its settlers were relics of the first fruits of the Reformation, chosen from the Belgic provinces and England, from France and Bohemia, from Germany and Switzerland, from Piedmont and the Italian Alps.

The religious sects, which, in the middle ages, had been fostered by the municipal liberties of the south of France, were the harbingers of modern freedom, and had therefore been sacrificed to the inexorable feudalism of the north. After a bloody conflict, the plebeian reformers, crushed by the merciless leaders of the military aristocracy, escaped to the highlands that divide France and Italy. It was found, on the progress of the Reformation, that they had by three centuries anticipated Luther and Calvin. The hurricane of persecution, which was to sweep Protestantism from the earth, did not spare their seclusion; mothers with infants were rolled down the rocks, and the bones of martyrs scattered on the Alpine mountains. Was there no asylum for the pious Waldensians? The city of Amsterdam (December 19th, 1656) offered the fugitives a free passage to America, and a welcome reception was prepared in New Netherlands for the few who were willing to emigrate.

The persecuted of every creed and every clime were invited to the colony. When the Protestant churches in Rochelle were razed, the Calvinists of that city were gladly admitted; and the French Protestants came in such numbers that the public documents were sometimes issued in French as well as in Dutch and English. Troops of orphans were sometimes shipped for the milder

[1 New York was already, indeed from the beginning it had been, a cosmopolitan city. As Holland was a refuge for all persecuted sects, so representatives of most of them had found their way to New Amsterdam. Even twenty years before, according to Jogues,[i] the Jesuit missionary, not less than eighteen different dialects were spoken in it. Refugee Protestants from Spanish Flanders, Bohemia, France, and the valleys of the Alps, fugitive sectaries from New England, Jews, and even some Catholics, were to be found there. Yet public worship was only permitted to the Dutch Reformed churches (progenitors of a now numerous communion, which, down to the American Revolution, remained ecclesiastically dependent on the classis of Amsterdam), to the Swedish Lutherans at the South river, and to such of the English on Long Island as substantially conformed in doctrine and practice to the Established Church.—HILDRETH.[h]]

destinies of the New World; a free passage was offered to mechanics; for "population was known to be the bulwark of every state." The government of New Netherlands desired "farmers and labourers, foreigners and exiles, men inured to toil and penury." The colony increased; children swarmed in every village; the new year and the month of May were welcomed with noisy frolics; new modes of activity were devised; lumber was shipped to France; the whale pursued off the coast; the vine, the mulberry planted; flocks of sheep as well as cattle were multiplied; and tile, so long imported from Holland, began to be manufactured near Fort Orange. New Amsterdam could, in 1664, boast of stately buildings, and almost vied with Boston. "This happily situated province," said its inhabitants, "may become the granary of our fatherland; should our Netherlands be wasted by grievous wars, it will offer our countrymen a safe retreat; by God's blessing, we shall in a few years become a mighty people."

### AFRICAN SLAVES IN NEW NETHERLANDS

Thus did various nations of the Caucasian race assist in colonising the central states. The African also had his portion on the Hudson. The West India Company, which sometimes transported Indian captives to the West Indies, having large establishments on the coast of Guinea, at an early day, in 1626, introduced negroes into Manhattan, and continued the negro slave-trade without remorse. We have seen Elizabeth of England a partner in the commerce, of which the Stuarts, to the days of Queen Anne, were distinguished patrons; the city of Amsterdam did not blush to own shares in a slave-ship, to advance money for the outfits, and to participate in the returns. In proportion to population, New York had imported as many Africans as Virginia. That New York is not a slave-state like Carolina is due to climate, and not to the superior humanity of its founders. Stuyvesant was instructed to use every exertion to promote the sale of negroes. They were imported sometimes by way of the West Indies, often directly from Guinea, and were sold at public auction to the highest bidder. The average price was less than one hundred and forty dollars. The monopoly of the traffic was not strictly enforced; and a change of policy sometimes favoured the export of negroes to the English colonies. The enfranchised negro might become a freeholder.

### THE FIRST STRUGGLES FOR POPULAR LIBERTY

With the Africans came the African institution of abject slavery; the large emigrations from Connecticut engrafted on New Netherlands the Puritan idea of popular freedom. There were so many English at Manhattan as to require an English secretary, preachers who could speak in English as well as in Dutch, and a publication of civil ordinances in English. Whole towns had been settled by New England men, who planted New England liberties in a Congregational way, with the consent and under the jurisdiction of the Dutch. Their presence and their activity foretold a revolution.

In the fatherland, the power of the people was unknown; in New Netherlands, the necessities of the colony had given it a twilight existence, and delegates from the Dutch towns, at first twelve, then perhaps eight in number, had, as we have seen, mitigated the arbitrary authority of Kieft. There was no distinct concession of legislative power to the people; but the people had,

without a teacher, become convinced of the right of resistance. The brewers (August 18th, 1644) refused to pay an arbitrary excise: "Were we to yield," said they, "we should offend the Eight Men, and the whole commonalty." The large proprietaries did not favour popular freedom; the commander of Rensselaer Stein had even raised a battery, that "the canker of freemen" might not enter the manor; but the patroons cheerfully joined the free boors in resisting arbitrary taxation. As a compromise, it was proposed that, from a double nomination by the villages, the governor should appoint tribunes, to act as magistrates in trivial cases, and as agents for the towns, to give their opinion whenever they should be consulted. Town-meetings were absolutely prohibited.

Discontents increased. Van der Donck and others were charged with leaving nothing untried to abjure what they called the galling yoke of an arbitrary government. A commission repaired to Holland for redress; as farmers, they claimed the liberties essential to the prosperity of agriculture; as merchants, they protested against the intolerable burden of the customs; and when redress was refused, tyranny was followed by its usual consequence—clandestine associations against oppression. The excess of complaint obtained for New Amsterdam a court of justice like that of the metropolis (April 4th, 1652); but the municipal liberties included no political franchise; the sheriff was appointed by the governor; the two burgomasters and five schepens made a double nomination of their own successors, from which "the valiant director himself elected the board." The city had privileges, not the citizens. The province gained only the municipal liberties, on which rested the commercial aristocracy of Holland. Citizenship was a commercial privilege, and not a political enfranchisement. It was not much more than a license to trade.

The system was at war with Puritan usages; the Dutch in the colony readily caught the idea of relying on themselves; and the persevering restlessness of the people had led to a general assembly (or Landtag) of two deputies from each village in New Netherlands (November to December, 1653), an assembly which Stuyvesant was unwilling to sanction, and could not prevent. As in Massachusetts, this first convention sprung from the will of the people; and it claimed the right of deliberating on the civil condition of the country:

> The states-general of the United Provinces [such was the remonstrance and petition, drafted by George Baxter, and unanimously adopted by the convention] are our liege lords; we submit to the laws of the United Provinces; and our rights and privileges ought to be in harmony with those of the fatherland, for we are a member of the state, and not a subjugated people. We, who have come together from various parts of the world, and are a blended community of various lineage; we, who have, at our own expense, exchanged our native lands for the protection of the United Provinces; we, who have transformed the wilderness into fruitful farms, demand that no new laws shall be enacted but with the consent of the people, that none shall be appointed to office but with the approbation of the people, that obscure and obsolete laws shall never be revived.

Stuyvesant was taken by surprise. He had never had faith in "the wavering multitude"; and doubts of man's capacity for self-government dictated his reply:

> Will you set your names to the visionary notions of the New England man? Is no one of the Netherlands' nation able to draft your petition? And your prayer is so extravagant you might as well claim to send delegates to the assembly of their high mightinesses themselves. (1) Laws will be made by the director and council. Evil manners produce good laws for their restraint; and therefore the laws of New Netherlands are good. (2) Shall the people elect their own officers? If this rule become our cynosure, and the election of magis-

trates be left to the rabble, every man will vote for one of his own stamp. The thief will vote for a thief; the smuggler for a smuggler; and fraud and vice will become privileged. (3) The old laws remain in force; directors will never make themselves responsible to subjects."

The delegates in their rejoinder (December 13th) appealed to the inalienable rights of nature. "We do but design the general good of the country and the maintenance of freedom; nature permits all men to constitute society, and assemble for the protection of liberty and property." Stuyvesant, having exhausted his arguments, could reply only by an act of power; and dissolving the assembly, he commanded its members to separate on pain of arbitrary punishment.[1] "We derive our authority from God and the West India Company, not from the pleasure of a few ignorant subjects": such was his farewell message to the convention which he dispersed.

The West India Company declared this resistance to arbitrary taxation to be "contrary to the maxims of every enlightened government." "We approve the taxes you propose"—thus they wrote to Stuyvesant—"have no regard to the consent of the people"; "let them indulge no longer the visionary dream that taxes can be imposed only with their consent." But the people continued to indulge the dream; taxes could not be collected; and the colonists, in their desire that popular freedom might prove more than a vision, listened with complacency to the hope of obtaining English liberties by submitting to English jurisdiction.

### ENGLISH ENCROACHMENTS

Cromwell had planned the conquest of New Netherlands; in the days of his son, the design was revived; and the restoration of Charles II threatened New Netherlands with danger from the south, the north, and from England.

In previous negotiations with the agent of Lord Baltimore, the envoy of New Netherlands had, in 1659, firmly maintained the right of the Dutch to the southern bank of the Delaware, pleading purchase and colonisation before the patent to Lord Baltimore had been granted. On the restoration, Lord Baltimore renewed his claims to the country from New Castle to Cape Henlopen. The college of Nineteen of the West India Company was inflexible; conscious of its rights, it refused to surrender its possessions, and (September 1st, 1660) resolved "to defend them even to the spilling of blood." The jurisdiction of his country was maintained; and when young Baltimore, with his train, appeared at the mouth of the Brandywine, he was honoured as a guest; but the proprietary claims of his father were triumphantly resisted. The Dutch, and Swedes, and Finns kept the country safely for William Penn. At last, the West India Company, desiring a barrier against the English on the south, transferred the whole country on the Delaware to the city of Amsterdam (February and July, 1663).

With Virginia, during the protectorate, the most amicable relations had been confirmed by reciprocal courtesies. Even during the war of 1653, between England and Holland, friendly intercourse had continued. Equal rights in the colonial courts were reciprocally secured by treaty in 1659. But upon the restoration, the act of navigation, at first evaded, was soon enforced; and by degrees, Berkeley, whose brother coveted the soil of New Jersey, threatened hostility. Clouds gathered in the south.

[1 Baxter was deposed from the magistracy of Gravesend, and, when he attempted an insurrection, was imprisoned.]

[1662-1663 A.D.]

In the north, affairs were still more lowering. Massachusetts did not relinquish its right to an indefinite extension of its territory to the west; and the people of Connecticut not only increased their pretensions on Long Island (October, 1662) but, regardless of the provisionary treaty, claimed West Chester, and were steadily advancing towards the Hudson. To stay these encroachments, Stuyvesant himself repaired to Boston (September, 1663), and entered his complaints to the convention of the United Colonies. But Massachusetts maintained a neutrality; the voyage was, on the part of the Dutch, a confession of weakness; and Connecticut inexorably demanded delay. An embassy to Hartford renewed the language of remonstrance with no better success. Did the Dutch assert their original grant from the states general? It was interpreted as conveying no more than a commercial privilege. Did they plead discovery, purchase from the natives, and long possession? It was replied that Connecticut, by its charter, extended to the Pacific. "Where, then," demanded the Dutch negotiators, "where is New Netherlands?" And the agents of Connecticut, with provoking indifference, replied, "We do not know."

These unavailing discussions were conducted during the horrors of a half-year's war with the savages around Esopus (June–November, 1663). The rising village on the banks of that stream was laid waste; many of its inhabitants murdered or made captive; and it was only on the approach of winter that an armistice restored tranquillity. The colony had no friend but the Mohawks. "The Dutch," said the faithful warriors of the Five Nations, "are our brethren. With them we keep but one council fire; we are united by a covenant chain."

The contests with the natives, not less than with New England, displayed the feebleness of New Netherlands. The province had no popular freedom, and therefore had no public spirit. In New England there were no poor; in New Netherlands the poor were so numerous it was difficult to provide for their relief. The Puritans easily supported schools everywhere, and Latin schools in their villages; on Manhattan a Latin school lingered, with difficulty, through two years, and was discontinued. In New England the people, in the hour of danger, rose involuntarily and defended themselves; in the Dutch province, men were unwilling to go to the relief even of villages that were in danger from the Indians, and demanded protection from the company, which claimed to be their absolute sovereign.

The necessities of the times wrung from Stuyvesant the concession of an assembly (November 1st, 1663); the delegates of the villages would only appeal to the states general and to the West India Company for protection. But the states general had, as it were, invited aggression by abstaining from every public act which should pledge their honour to the defence of the province; and the West India Company was too penurious to risk its funds, where victory was so hazardous. A new and more full diet was held in April, 1664. Rumours of an intended invasion from England had reached the colony; and the popular representatives, having remonstrated against the want of all means of defence, and foreseeing the necessity of submitting to the English, demanded plainly of Stuyvesant, "If you cannot protect us, to whom shall we turn?" The governor, faithful to his trust, proposed the enlistment "of every third man, as had more than once been done in the fatherland." And thus Manhattan was left without defence; the people would not expose life for the West India Company; and the company would not risk bankruptcy for a colony which it valued chiefly as property. The established government could not but fall into contempt. In vain was the

libeller of the magistrates fastened to a stake with a bridle in his mouth. Stuyvesant confessed his fear of the colonists. "To ask aid of the English villages would be inviting the Trojan horse within our walls." "I have not time to tell how the company is cursed and scolded; the inhabitants declare that the Dutch have never had a right to the country." Half Long Island had revolted; the settlements on the Esopus wavered; the Connecticut men had purchased of the Indians all the seaboard as far as the North river. Such were the narratives of Stuyvesant to his employers.

### THE ENGLISH CONQUEST; NEW AMSTERDAM BECOMES NEW YORK (1664 A.D.)

In the mean time the United Provinces could not distrust a war with England. No cause for war existed except English envy of the commercial glory and prosperity of Holland. In profound confidence of firm peace, the countrymen of Grotius were planning liberal councils; at home they designed an abandonment of the protective system and concessions to free trade; in the Mediterranean, their fleet, under De Ruyter, was preparing to suppress the piracies of the Barbary states, and punish the foes of Christendom and civilisation. And at that very time the English were engaging in a piratical expedition against the Dutch possessions on the coast of Guinea. The king had also, with equal indifference to the chartered rights of Connecticut, and the claims of the Netherlands, granted to the duke of York (March 12th, 1664), not only the country from the Kennebec to the St. Croix, but the whole territory from the Connecticut river to the shores of the Delaware; and under the conduct of Richard Nichols, groom of the bedchamber to the duke of York, the English squadron, which carried the commissioners for New England to Boston, having demanded recruits in Massachusetts, and received on board the governor of Connecticut, approached the narrows, and quietly cast anchor in Gravesend bay (August 28th). Long Island was lost; soldiers from New England pitched their camp near Breukelen ferry.

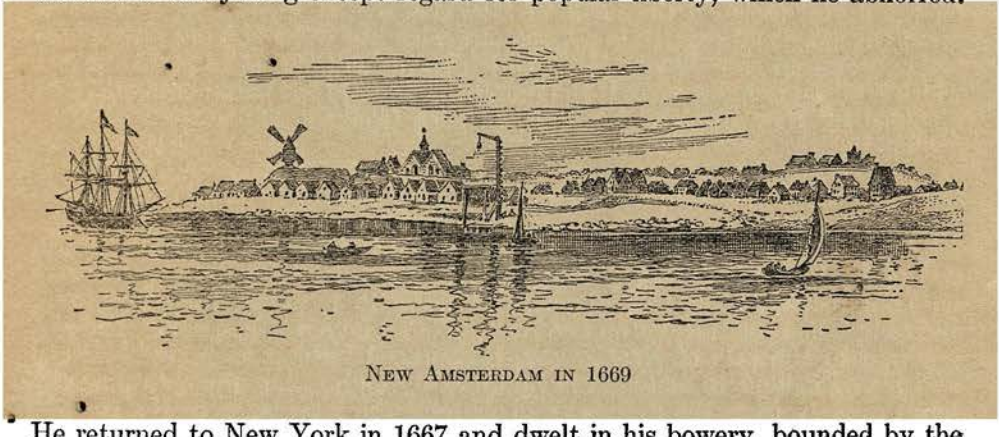
In New Amsterdam there existed a division of councils. Stuyvesant, faithful to his employers, struggled to maintain their interests; the municipality, conscious that the town was at the mercy of the English fleet, desired to avoid bloodshed by a surrender. A joint committee from the governor and the city having demanded of Nichols the cause of his presence, he replied by requiring of Stuyvesant the immediate acknowledgment of English sovereignty, with the condition of security to the inhabitants in life, liberty, and property. At the same time, Winthrop of Connecticut, whose love of peace and candid affection for the Dutch nation had been acknowledged by the West India Company, advised his personal friends to offer no resistance. "The surrender," Stuyvesant nobly answered, "would be reproved in the fatherland." The burgomasters, unable to obtain a copy of the letter from Nichols, summoned, not a town meeting—that had been inconsistent with the manners of the Dutch—but the principal inhabitants to the public hall, where it was resolved that the community ought to know all that related to its welfare.

On a more urgent demand for the letter from the English commander, Stuyvesant angrily tore it in pieces; and the burgomasters, instead of resisting the invasion, spent their time in framing a protest against the governor. On the next day (September 3rd) a new deputation repaired to the fleet; but Nichols declined discussion. "When may we visit you again?" said the commissioners. "On Thursday," replied Nichols; "for to-morrow I will speak

with you at Manhattan." "Friends," it was smoothly answered, "are very welcome there." "Raise the white flag of peace," said the English commander, "for I shall come with ships of war and soldiers." The commissioners returned to advocate the capitulation, which was quietly effected on the following days. The aristocratic liberties of Holland yielded to the hope of popular liberties like those of New England.[g]

It was with bitter regret that the old soldier Stuyvesant was persuaded not to resist the English, by a remonstrance signed by ninety-three prominent citizens, including his own son, and enforced by the tears of women and children. "Let it be so," he said; "I had rather be carried to my grave." Fiske[b] says that no canon of morality can justify Charles II in this conquest, and that it merited the revenge of the Dutch when in their next war they burned the English fleet at Chatham and blockaded the Thames—"the sorest military humiliation that England has ever known since William the Norman landed in Sussex."

After the surrender, Stuyvesant went to Holland to justify himself, and received the most cordial support from the people he had governed with fairness in everything except regard for popular liberty, which he abhorred.



NEW AMSTERDAM IN 1669

He returned to New York in 1667 and dwelt in his bowery, bounded by the present Fourth avenue, Sixth and Seventeenth streets, and the East river. He and the English governor, Nichols, were great friends. Stuyvesant died in 1672, aged eighty, and is buried in St. Mark's church, founded by his widow in 1687.[a]

The articles of surrender, framed under the auspices of the municipal authority, by the mediation of the younger Winthrop and Pynchon, accepted by the magistrates and other inhabitants assembled in the town hall (September 8th) and not ratified by Stuyvesant till the surrender had virtually been made, promised security to the customs, the religion, the municipal institutions, the possessions of the Dutch. The enforcement of the Navigation Act was delayed for six months. During that period direct intercourse with Holland remained free. The towns were still to choose their own magistrates, and Manhattan, now first known as New York, to elect its deputies with free voices in all public affairs.[1]

[1 At the treaty of July, 1667, the Dutch were allowed, as compensation for New Netherlands, to retain the colony of Surinam, in Guiana, then lately planted by some English adventurers, but captured by the Dutch during the war—an exchange the policy of which was doubted by many, who thought colonies within the tropics more profitable than plantations in North America. For the first hundred years Surinam kept pretty equal pace with

The colonists were satisfied; very few embarked for Holland; it seemed rather that the new benefit of English liberties was to be added to the security of property. The recruits from Massachusetts were dismissed. In a few days (September 24th, 1664) Fort Orange, now named Albany, from the Scottish title of the duke of York, quietly surrendered; and the league with the Five Nations was wisely renewed. October 1st, the Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware capitulated.

For the first time the whole Atlantic coast of the old thirteen states was in possession of England. The country had obtained geographical unity.

### THE SEPARATION OF NEW JERSEY FROM NEW YORK (1664 A.D.)

The dismemberment of New Netherlands ensued on its surrender. The duke of York had already, on June 23rd–24th, two months before the conquest, assigned to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, both proprietaries of Carolina, the land between the Hudson and the Delaware. In honour of Carteret, the territory, with nearly the same bounds as at present, except on the north, received the name of New Jersey. If to fix boundaries and grant the soil could constitute a commonwealth, the duke of York gave political existence to New Jersey. The Dutch had been the first to plant the soil which Hudson had discovered; the moral character of the commonwealth was moulded by New England Puritans, English Quakers, and dissenters from Scotland.

### THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW JERSEY

A few families of Quakers had found a refuge in New Jersey before the end of 1664. More than a year earlier, New England Puritans, sojourners on Long Island, solicited and obtained leave to establish themselves and their cherished institutions on the Raritan. To favour colonisation, Nichols, ignorant of the sale of New Jersey, encouraged farmers from Long Island and New England to emigrate in numbers by authorising them to purchase lands directly from the natives; and without the knowledge of the proprietaries, the coast from the old Dutch [not Danish as some have claimed] settlement of Bergen to Shrewsbury was adorned with a semicircle of villages.

Meantime England witnessed one of the most interesting occurrences in American history. Avarice paid its homage to freedom; and the bigoted royalists, who were now lords of the soil, indifferent to liberty, yet desirous to foster the rapid settlement of their province, vied with New England in the invention of a liberal constitution (February 10th, 1665). Security of persons and property under laws to be made by an assembly composed of the governor and council, and at least an equal number of representatives of the people; freedom from taxation except by the act of the colonial assembly; a combined opposition of the people and the proprietaries to any arbitrary impositions; freedom of judgment, and conscience, and worship, to every peaceful citizen; in a word, a guaranty against the abuse of any prerogative, whether of the king, the parliament, or the proprietary—these were the pledges of prosperity to New Jersey, and the invitation to all inhabitants of the

New York. Subsequently, by the aid of Dutch capital and an active slave trade, it advanced with rapid strides, being one of the first American plantations into which the cultivation of coffee was successfully introduced. But, about the time of the American Revolution, it received a terrible check in a servile insurrection, resulting, after a destructive war, in the establishment of an independent negro community in the rear of the colony.—HILDRETH.*h*]

[1665–1672 A.D.]

English dominions. To the proprietaries were reserved a veto on provincial enactments, the appointment of judicial officers, and the executive authority. Lands were promised largely at a moderate quitrent; the servant, at the period of enfranchisement, became a freeholder. The duke of York, now president of the African Company, was the patron of the slave-trade, as well as of Berkeley and Carteret; the proprietaries of New Jersey, more true to the prince than to humanity, offered a bounty of seventy-five acres of land for the importation of each able slave. Quitrents were not to be collected till 1670. That the tenure of estates might rest on equity, the Indian title to lands was in all cases to be quieted.

Such was the institution of a separate government for New Jersey, the only portion of New Netherlands which at once gained popular freedom. The concession of political franchises gave it a distinct existence; in vain did Nichols protest against the division of his province, and struggled to recover for his patron the territory which had been released in ignorance. He was not seconded by the people of New Jersey, and, therefore, his complaints were fruitless. The colony quietly received Philip Carteret as its governor (August, 1665); and the cluster of four houses, which, in honour of the fashionable, kind-hearted Lady Carteret, was now called Elizabethtown, rose into dignity as the capital of the province. To New England, even from the first the nursery of men and hive of swarms of emigrants, messengers were despatched to publish the tidings that Puritan liberties were warranted a shelter on the Raritan. And New England men, whose citizens had already overrun Long Island, had, years before, struggled for a settlement on the Delaware, and had just been purchasing an extensive territory in Carolina, came and bargained with the Indians for Newark. The province increased in numbers and prosperity. Everything was of good augury, till quitrents were seriously spoken of. But on the subject of real estate in the New World the Puritans and the lawyers differed widely. The New England men always asserted that the earth had been given to Noah and his posterity; that the heathen, as a part of his lineal descendants, had a rightful claim to their lands; that therefore a deed from the Indians was paramount to any land-title whatever. The Indian deeds, executed partly with the approbation of Nichols, partly with the consent of Carteret himself, were pleaded as superior to proprietary grants; disputes were followed by confusion; the established authority fell into contempt; and the colonists, conscious of their ability to take care of themselves, appointed their own magistrates and managed their own government. There was little danger from the neighbouring Indians, whose strength had been broken by long hostilities with the Dutch; the Five Nations guarded the approaches from the interior, and the vicinity of older settlements saved the emigrants from the distresses of a first adventure in the wilderness. Philip Carteret withdrew to England, leaving the colonists to domestic peace.

The mild system of New Jersey did not extend beyond the Delaware; the settlements in New Netherlands on the opposite bank, consisting chiefly of groups of Dutch around Lewistown and New Castle, and Swedes and Finns at Christiana creek, at Chester, and near Philadelphia, were retained as a dependency of New York. The claim of Lord Baltimore was denied with pertinacity. At last, in 1672, the people of Maryland, desiring to stretch the boundary of their province to the bay, invaded Lewistown with an armed force. The county was immediately reclaimed, as belonging by conquest to the duke of York; and Delaware still escaped the imminent peril of being absorbed in Maryland.

POPULAR DISCONTENT IN NEW YORK; TEMPORARY RECONQUEST BY THE DUTCH

In respect to civil liberties, the territory shared the fortunes of New York; and for that province the establishment of English jurisdiction was not followed by the expected concessions. Connecticut, surrendering all claims to Long Island, obtained a favourable boundary on the main (December 1st, 1664). The city of New York was incorporated; the municipal liberties of Albany were not impaired; but the province had no political franchises, and therefore no political unity. In the governor and his subservient council were vested the executive and the highest judicial powers; with the court of assizes, composed of justices of his own appointment, holding office at his will, he exercised supreme legislative power, promulgated a code of laws, and modified or repealed them at pleasure. No popular representation, no true English liberty, was conceded. Once, indeed, and only once, an assembly was held (March, 1665) at Hempstead, chiefly for the purpose of settling the respective limits of the towns on Long Island. The rate for public charges was there perhaps agreed upon; and the deputies were induced to sign an extravagantly loyal address to the duke of York. But "factious republicans" abounded; the deputies were scorned by their constituents for their inconsiderate servility; and the governor, who never again conceded an assembly, was "reproached and vilified" for his arbitrary conduct. Even the Dutch patents for land were held to require renewal, and Nichols gathered a harvest of fees from exacting new title-deeds.

Under Lovelace, his successor, the same system was more fully developed. Even on the southern shore of the Delaware, the Swedes and Finns, the most enduring of all emigrants, were roused to resistance. "The method for keeping the people in order is severity, and laying such taxes as may give them liberty for no thought but how to discharge them." Such was the remedy proposed in the instructions from Lovelace to his southern subordinate, and carried into effect by an arbitrary tariff.

In New York, when the established powers of the towns favoured the demand for freedom, eight villages united (October 9th, 1669) in remonstrating against the arbitrary government; they demanded the promised legislation by annual assemblies. But absolute government was the settled policy of the royal proprietary; and taxation for purposes of defence, by the decree of the governor, was the next experiment. The towns of Southold, Southampton, and Easthampton expressed themselves willing to contribute, if they might enjoy the privileges of the New England colonies. The people of Huntington refused altogether; for, said they, "we are deprived of the liberties of Englishmen." The people of Jamaica declared the decree of the governor a disfranchisement, contrary to the laws of the English nation. Flushing and Hempstead were equally resolute. The votes of the several towns were presented to the governor and council; they were censured as "scandalous, illegal, and seditious, alienating the peaceable from their duty and obedience," and, according to the established precedents of tyranny, were ordered to be publicly burned before the town-house of New York.

It was easy to burn the votes which the yeomanry of Long Island had passed in their town meetings. But, meantime, the forts were not put in order; the government of the duke of York was hated as despotic; and when, in the next war between England and the Netherlands, a small Dutch squadron, commanded by the gallant Evertsen of Zealand, approached Manhattan (July 30th, 1673) the city was surrendered without a blow; the people of New

[1673-1674 A.D.]

Jersey made no resistance, and the counties on the Delaware, recovering greater privileges than they had enjoyed, cheerfully followed the example. The quiet of the neighbouring colonies was secured by a compromise for Long Island and a timely message from Massachusetts. The year in which Champlain and the French entered New York on the north as enemies to the Five Nations, Hudson and the Dutch appeared at the south as their friends. The Mohawk chiefs now came down to congratulate their brethren on the recovery of their colony. "We have always," said they, "been as one flesh. If the French come down from Canada, we will join with the Dutch nation, and live and die with them"; and the words of love were confirmed by a belt of wampum. New York was once more a province of the Netherlands.

The moment at which Holland and Zealand retired for a season from American history, like the moment of their entrance, was a season of glory. The little nation of merchants and manufacturers had just achieved its independence of Spain, and given to the Protestant world a brilliant example of a federal republic, when its mariners took possession of the Hudson. The country was now reconquered, at a time when the provinces, single-handed, were again struggling for existence against yet more powerful antagonists. France, supported by the bishops of Münster and Cologne, had succeeded in involving England in a conspiracy for the political destruction of England's commercial rival. Charles II had begun hostilities as a pirate; and Louis XIV did not disguise the purpose of conquest. The annals of the human race record but few instances where moral power has so successfully defied every disparity of force. At sea, where greatly superior numbers were on the side of the allied fleets of France and England, the untiring courage of the Dutch would not consent to be defeated. On land, the dikes were broken up; the country drowned. The landing of British troops in Holland could be prevented only by three naval engagements. About three weeks after the conquest of New Netherlands the last and most terrible conflict took place near the Helder (August 21st, 1673). Victory was with De Ruyter and the younger Tromp, the guardians of their country. The British fleet retreated, and was pursued; the coasts of Holland were protected.

For more than a century no other naval combat was fought between Netherlands and England. The English parliament, condemning the war, refused supplies; Prussia and Austria were alarmed; Spain openly threatened, and Charles II consented to treaties. All conquests were to be restored, and Holland, which had been the first to claim the enfranchisement of the oceans, against its present interests, established by compact the rights of neutral flags. In a work dedicated to all the princes and nations of Christendom, and addressed to the common intelligence of the civilised world, the admirable Grotius, contending that right and wrong are not the evanescent expressions of fluctuating opinions, but are endowed with an immortality of their own, had established the freedom of the seas on an imperishable foundation. Ideas once generated live forever. With the recognition of maritime liberty, Holland disappears from American history; when, after the lapse of more than a century, this principle comes in jeopardy, Holland, the mother of four American states, will rise up as an ally, bequeathing to the new federal republic the defence of commercial freedom which she had vindicated against Spain, and for which we shall see her prosperity fall a victim to England.

On the final transfer of New Netherlands to England (October 31st, 1674), after a military occupation of fifteen months by the Dutch, the brother of Charles II resumed the possession of New York, and Carteret appears once

more as proprietary of the eastern moiety of New Jersey; but the banks of the Delaware were reserved for men who had been taught by [George Fox] the uneducated son of a poor Leicestershire weaver to seek the principle of God in their own hearts, and to build the city of humanity by obeying the nobler instincts of human nature.

### THE QUAKERS; THEIR SETTLEMENT IN WEST NEW JERSEY (1675 A.D.)

Everywhere in Europe the Quakers were exposed to persecution. In England, the general laws against dissenters, the statute against papists, and special statutes against themselves put them at the mercy of every malignant informer. They were hated by the church and the Presbyterians, by the peers and the king. The codes of that day describe them as "an abominable sect"; "their principles as inconsistent with any kind of government." During the Long Parliament, in the time of the protectorate, at the restoration, in England, in New England, in the Dutch colony of New Netherlands, everywhere, and for long, wearisome years, they were exposed to perpetual dangers and griefs. They were whipped, crowded into jail among felons, kept in dungeons foul and gloomy beyond imagination; fined, exiled, sold into colonial bondage. They bore the brunt of the persecution of the dissenters. Imprisoned in winter without fire, they perished from frost. Some were victims to the barbarous cruelty of the jailer; twice George Fox narrowly escaped death. The despised people braved every danger to continue their assemblies. Haled out by violence, they returned. When their meeting-houses were torn down, they gathered openly on the ruins. They could not be dissolved by armed men; and when their opposers took shovels to throw rubbish on them, they stood close together, "willing to have been buried alive, witnessing for the Lord." They were exceeding great sufferers for their profession, and in some cases treated worse than the worst of the race. They were as poor sheep appointed to the slaughter, and as a people killed all day long.

Is it strange that they looked beyond the Atlantic for a refuge? When New Netherlands was recovered from the United Provinces in 1674, Berkeley and Carteret, as we have seen, entered again into possession of their province. For Berkeley, already a very old man, the visions of colonial fortune had not been realised; there was nothing before him but contests for quitrents with settlers resolved on governing themselves; and March 18th, 1674, a few months after the return of George Fox from his pilgrimage to all the colonies from Carolina to Rhode Island, the haughty peer, for £1,000, sold the moiety of New Jersey to Quakers, to John Fenwick in trust for Edward Byllinge and his assigns. A dispute between Byllinge and Fenwick was allayed by the benevolent decision of William Penn; and in 1675, Fenwick, with a large company and several families, set sail in the *Griffith* for the asylum of Friends. Ascending the Delaware, he landed on a pleasant, fertile spot, and as the outward world easily takes the hues of men's minds, he called the place Salem, for it seemed the dwelling-place of peace.

Byllinge was embarrassed in his fortunes; Gawen Laurie, William Penn, and Nicholas Lucas became his assigns as trustees for his creditors, and shares in the undivided moiety of New Jersey were offered for sale. As an affair of property, it was like the land companies of to-day; except that in those days speculators bought acres by the hundred thousand. But the Quakers wished more; they desired to possess a territory where they could institute a government; and Carteret readily agreed to a division (August 26th, 1676), for his partners left him the best of the bargain.

[1676-1681 A.D.]

And now that the men who had gone about to turn the world upside down were possessed of a province, what system of politics would they adopt? The Quakers, following the same exalted instincts, could but renew the fundamental legislation of the men of the *Mayflower*, of Hartford, and of the Old Dominion. "The concessions are such as Friends approve of"; this is the message of the Quaker proprietaries in England to the few who had emigrated: "We lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as Christians and as men, that they may not be brought into bondage, but by their own consent; for we put the power in the people." And on the third day of March, 1677, the charter (or fundamental laws) of West New Jersey was perfected and published. They are written with almost as much method as present day constitutions, and recognise the principle of democratic equality as unconditionally and universally as the Quaker society itself.

Immediately the English Quakers, with the good wishes of Charles II, flocked to West New Jersey, and commissioners, possessing a temporary authority, were sent to administer affairs, till a popular government could be instituted. When the vessel, freighted with the men of peace, arrived in America, Andros, then the governor of New York, claimed jurisdiction over their territory. The claim, which, on the feudal system, was perhaps a just one, was compromised as a present question, and referred for decision to England. Meantime lands were purchased of the Indians; the planters numbered nearly four hundred souls; and already at Burlington, under a tent covered with sailcloth, the Quakers began to hold religious meetings. The Indian kings also gathered in council under the shades of the Burlington forests in 1678, and declared their joy at the prospect of permanent peace.

Everything augured success to the colony, but that, at New Castle, the agent of the duke of York, who still possessed Delaware, exacted customs of the ships ascending to New Jersey. It may have been honestly believed that his jurisdiction included the whole river; when urgent remonstrances were made, the duke freely referred the question to a disinterested commission.

The argument of the Quakers breathes the spirit of Anglo-Saxons:

"An express grant of the powers of government induced us to buy the moiety of New Jersey. If we could not assure people of an easy, free, and safe government, liberty of conscience, and an inviolable possession of their civil rights and freedoms, a mere wilderness would be no encouragement. It were madness to leave a free country to plant a wilderness, and give another person an absolute title to tax us at will."

Sir William Jones decided that, as the grant from the duke of York had reserved no profit or jurisdiction, the tax was illegal. The duke of York promptly acquiesced in the decision, and in a new indenture (August 6th, 1680) relinquished every claim to the territory and the government.

After such trials, vicissitudes, and success, the light of peace dawned upon West New Jersey; and in November, 1681, Jennings, acting as governor for the proprietaries, convened the first legislative assembly of the representatives of men who said "thee" and "thou" to all the world, and wore their hats in presence of beggar or king. Their first measures established their rights by an act of fundamental legislation, and in the spirit of "the Concessions," they framed their government on the basis of humanity. Neither faith, nor wealth, nor race was respected. They met in the wilderness as men, and founded society on equal rights. What shall we relate of a community thus organised? That they multiplied, and were happy; that they levied for the expenses of their commonwealth two hundred pounds, to be

paid in corn, or skins, or money; that they voted the governor a salary of twenty pounds; that they prohibited the sale of ardent spirits to the Indians; that they forbade imprisonment for debt. The formation of this little government of a few hundred souls, that soon increased to thousands, is one of the most beautiful incidents in the history of the age. West New Jersey had been a fit home for Fénélon. A loving correspondence began with Friends in England; and from the fathers of the sect frequent messages were received.

In the midst of this innocent tranquillity, Byllinge, the original grantee of Berkeley, claimed as proprietary the right of nominating the deputy-governor. The usurpation was resisted. Byllinge grew importunate; and the Quakers, setting a new precedent, amended their constitutions, according to the prescribed method, and then elected a governor. Everything went well in West New Jersey; this method of reform was the advice of William Penn.

For in the mean time William Penn had become deeply interested in the progress of civilisation on the Delaware. In company with eleven others, he had purchased East New Jersey of the heirs of Carteret. But of the eastern moiety of New Jersey, peopled chiefly by Puritans, the history is intimately connected with that of New York. The line that divides East and West New Jersey is the line where the influence of the humane society of Friends is merged in that of Puritanism.

### BANCROFT'S ACCOUNT OF THE CAREER OF WILLIAM PENN

It was for the grant of a territory on the opposite bank of the Delaware that William Penn, in June, 1680, became a suitor. His father, distinguished in English history by the conquest of Jamaica, and by his conduct, discretion, and courage in the signal battle against the Dutch in 1665, had bequeathed to his son a claim on the government for sixteen thousand pounds. Massachusetts had bought Maine for a little more than one thousand pounds; then, and long afterwards, colonial property was lightly esteemed; and to the prodigal Charles II, always embarrassed for money, the grant of a province seemed the easiest mode of cancelling the debt. William Penn had powerful friends in North, Halifax, and Sunderland; and a pledge given to his father on his death-bed obtained for him the assured friendship of the duke of York.

Sustained by such friends, and pursuing his object with enthusiasm, William Penn triumphed over "the great opposition" which he encountered, and obtained a charter for the territory, which received from Charles II the name of Pennsylvania, and which was to include three degrees of latitude by five degrees of longitude west from the Delaware. The duke of York desired to retain the three lower counties, that is, the state of Delaware, as an appendage to New York; Pennsylvania was, therefore, in that direction, limited by a circle drawn at twelve miles' distance from New Castle, northward and westward, unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of latitude. This impossible boundary received the assent of the agents of the duke of York and Lord Baltimore.

The charter, as originally drawn up by William Penn himself, conceded powers of government analogous to those of the charter for Maryland. The acts of the future colonial legislature were to be submitted to the king and council, who had power to annul them if contrary to English law. The bishop of London, quite unnecessarily, claimed security for the English church. The people of the country were to be safe against taxation, except by the

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provincial assembly or the English parliament. In other respects the usual franchises of a feudal proprietary were conceded.

Pennsylvania included the principal settlements of the Swedes; and patents for land had been made to Dutch and English by the Dutch West India Company, and afterwards by the duke of York. The royal proclamation of April 2nd, 1681, soon announced to all the inhabitants of the province that William Penn, their absolute proprietary, was invested with all powers and pre-eminences necessary for the government. The proprietary also issued his proclamation to his vassals and subjects. It was in the following words:

MY FRIENDS: I wish you all happiness here and hereafter. These are to lett you know, that it hath pleased God in his Providence to cast you within my Lott and Care. It is a business, that though I never undertook before, yet God has given me an understanding of my duty and an honest minde to doe it uprightly. I hope you will not be troubled at your chainge and the king's choice; for you are now fixt, at the mercy of no Governour that comes to make his fortune great. You shall be governed by laws of your own makeing, and live a free, and if you will, a sober and industreous People. I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person. God has furnisht me with a better resolution, and has given me his grace to keep it. In short, whatever sober and free men can reasonably desire for the security and improvement of their own happiness, I shall heartily comply with—I beseech God to direct you in the way of righteousness, and therein prosper you and your children after you. I am your true Friend,

*London, 8th of the Month called April, 1681.* WM. PENN.

Such were the pledges of the Quaker sovereign on assuming the government; it is the duty of history to state that during his long reign these pledges were redeemed. He never refused the freemen of Pennsylvania a reasonable desire. With his letter to the inhabitants, young Markham immediately sailed as agent of the proprietary. During the summer the conditions for the sale of lands were reciprocally ratified by Penn and a company of adventurers. The enterprise of planting a province had been vast for a man of large fortunes; Penn's whole estate had yielded, when unencumbered, a revenue of £1,500; but in his zeal to rescue his suffering brethren from persecution, he had, by heavy expenses in courts of law and at court, impaired his resources, which he might hope to retrieve from the sale of domains. Would he sacrifice his duty as a man to his emoluments as a sovereign? In August, a company of traders offered six thousand pounds and an annual revenue for a monopoly of the Indian traffic between the Delaware and the Susquehanna. To a father of a family, in straitened circumstances, the temptation was great; but Penn was bound, by his religion, to equal laws, and he rebuked the cupidity of monopoly. "I will not abuse the love of God"—such was his decision—"nor act unworthy of his Providence, by defiling what came to me clean. No; let the Lord guide me by his wisdom, to honour his name and serve his truth and people, that an example and a standard may be set up to the nations"; and he adds to a Friend, "There may be room there, though not here, for the Holy Experiment."

With a company of emigrants, full instructions were forwarded (September 30th) respecting lands and planting a city. Meantime, the mind of Penn was deeply agitated by thoughts on the government which he should establish. To him government was a part of religion itself. He believed "any government to be free to the people, where the laws rule, and the people are a party to the laws." That Penn was superior to avarice, was clear from his lavish expenditures to relieve the imprisoned; that he had risen above ambition, appeared from his preference of the despised Quakers to the career of high advancement in the court of Charles II. But he loved to do good;

and could passionate philanthropy resign absolute power, apparently so favourable to the exercise of vast benevolence? Here, and here only, Penn's spirit was severely tried; but he resisted the temptation. "I purpose"—such was his prompt decision (May 5th, 1682)—"for the matters of liberty I purpose, that which is extraordinary—to leave myself and successors no power of doeing mischief; that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country." "It is the great end of government to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery." Taking counsel, therefore, from all sides, listening to the theories of Algernon Sidney, whose Roman pride was ever faithful to the republican cause, and deriving still better guidance from the suavity and humanity of his Quaker brethren, Penn published a frame of government, not as an established constitution, but as a system to be referred to the freemen in Pennsylvania. About the same time a free society of traders was organised. "It is a very unusual society"—such was their advertisement—"for it is an absolute free one, and in a free country; everyone may be concerned that will, and yet have the same liberty of private traffique, as though there were no society at all."

Thus the government and commercial prosperity of the colony were founded in freedom; to perfect his territory, Penn desired to possess the bay, the river, and the shore of the Delaware to the ocean. It was not difficult to obtain from the duke of York a release of his claim on Pennsylvania; and, after much negotiation, the lower province was granted (August 24th) by two deeds of feoffment. From the forty-third degree of latitude to the Atlantic, the western and southern banks of Delaware river and bay were under the dominion of William Penn.

Every arrangement for a voyage to his province being finished, Penn, in a beautiful letter, took leave of his family. His wife, who was the love of his youth, he reminded of his impoverishment in consequence of his public spirit, and recommended economy: "Live low and sparingly till my debts be paid." Yet for his children he adds, "Let their learning be liberal; spare no cost, for by such parsimony all is lost that is saved." Agriculture he proposed as their employment. "Let my children be husbandmen and housewives." After a long passage, on the 27th day of October, 1682, William Penn[1] landed at Newcastle.

The son and grandson of naval officers, his thoughts had from boyhood been directed to the ocean; the conquest of Jamaica by his father early familiarised his imagination with the New World, and in Oxford,[2] at the age of seventeen, he indulged in visions of happiness, of which America was the scene. Bred in the school of independency, he had, while hardly twelve years old, learned to listen to the voice of God in his soul; and at Oxford, where his excellent genius received the benefits of learning, the words of a Quaker [perhaps] preacher so touched his heart that he was fined and afterwards expelled for nonconformity. His father, bent on subduing his enthusiasm, beat him and turned him into the streets, to choose between poverty with a pure conscience or fortune with obedience. But how could the hot anger of a petulant sailor continue against an only son? It was in the days

[1 Penn was born in London in 1644. His mother was Margaret Jasper, daughter of a rich merchant of Amsterdam. On his father's side, it is said, he was Welsh, and his great-grandfather was a John Tudor, called Penmunnith, *i. e.*, "Hill-top," later abbreviated to John Penn.]

[2 He was noted at Oxford both as a scholar and as an athlete.]

of the glory of Descartes that, to complete his education, William Penn received a father's permission to visit the Continent.

In 1664 the appointment of his father to the command of a British squadron, in the naval war with Holland, compelled his return to the care of the estates of the family. In London the travelled student of Lincoln's Inn, if diligent in gaining a knowledge of English law, was yet esteemed, says Pepys,[m] "a most modish fine gentleman."

Having thus perfected his understanding by the learning of Oxford, the religion and philosophy of the French Huguenots and France, and the study of the laws of England, in the bloom of youth, being of engaging manners, and so skilled in the use of the sword that he easily disarmed an antagonist, of great natural vivacity and gay good humour, the career of wealth and preferment opened before him through the influence of his father and the ready favour of his sovereign. But his mind was already imbued with "a deep sense of the vanity of the world, and the irreligiousness of its religions."

At length, in 1666, on a journey in Ireland, William Penn heard his old friend Thomas Loe speak of the faith that overcomes the world; the undying fires of enthusiasm at once blazed up within him, and he renounced every hope for the path of integrity. It is a path into which, says Penn, "God, in his everlasting kindness, guided my feet in the flower of my youth, when about two-and-twenty years of age." And in the autumn of that year he was in jail for the crime of listening to the voice of conscience. "Religion" —such was his remonstrance to the viceroy of Ireland—"is my crime and my innocence; it makes me a prisoner to malice, but my own freeman." After his release, returning to England, he encountered bitter mockings and scornings, the invectives of the priests, the strangeness of all his old companions; it was noised about, in the fashionable world, as an excellent jest, says Pepys,[m] that "William Penn was a Quaker again, or some very melancholy thing"; and in 1667 his father, in anger, turned him penniless out of doors.

The outcast, saved from extreme indigence by a mother's fondness, became an author, and announced to princes, priests, and people that he was one of the despised, afflicted, and forsaken Quakers; and repairing to court with his hat on,[1] he sought to engage the duke of Buckingham in favour of liberty of conscience, claimed from those in authority better quarters for dissenters than stocks, and whips, and dungeons, and banishments, and was urging the cause of freedom with importunity, when he himself, in the heydey of youth, was consigned to a long and close imprisonment in the Tower in 1668. His offence was heresy; the bishop of London menaced him with imprisonment for life unless he would recant. "My prison shall be my grave," answered Penn. Charles II sent the humane and candid Stillingfleet to calm the young enthusiast. "The Tower"—such was Penn's message to the king—"is to me the worst argument in the world." In vain did Stillingfleet urge the

[1 Charles II was only amused at Penn's refusal to doff his hat in the royal presence. Indeed, on one occasion the king himself stood bareheaded. "Why dost thou remove thy hat, friend Charles?" asked Penn. And Charles answered, "Because where I am it is customary for only one to remain covered." The use of "thee" and "thou" in those days meant much. The singular "thou" was reserved, as are the French *tu*, the German *du*, and various equivalents in other languages to this day, for intimate friends, or, strangely enough, for those whom one scorns; the plural "you" being reserved for all formal usages. To the Quakers the use of a plural form for one person, even the sovereign, was bad as grammar and worse as snobbery. To royalty and formal acquaintances, however, the familiar "thou" came always as a belittling insult, or at least a familiarity, like the unwarranted use of the first name to-day. It had, therefore, a personal and a political meaning to all Europe, difficult to understand now that "thou" has passed out of colloquial use in the English language.]

motive of royal favour and preferment; the inflexible young man demanded freedom of Arlington, "as the natural privilege of an Englishman." After losing his freedom for about nine months, his prison door was opened by the intercession of his father's friend, the duke of York; for his constancy had commanded the respect and recovered the favour of his father.

Scarcely had Penn been at liberty a year when, after the intense intolerance of "the conventicle act," he was arraigned for having spoken at a Quaker meeting. "Not all the powers on earth shall divert us from meeting to adore our God who made us." Thus did the young man of five-and-twenty defy the English legislature. Amidst angry exclamations and menaces, he proceeded to plead earnestly for the fundamental laws of England, and, as he was hurried out of court, still reminded the jury that "they were his judges." Dissatisfied with the first verdict returned, the recorder heaped upon the jury every opprobrious epithet. "We will have a verdict, by the help of God, or you shall starve for it." "You are Englishmen," said Penn, who had been again brought to the bar; "mind your privilege, give not away your right." "It never will be well with us," said the recorder, "till something like the Spanish Inquisition be in England." At last the jury, who had received no refreshments for two days and two nights, on the third day (September 5th, 1670) gave their verdict, "not guilty." The recorder fined them forty marks apiece for their independence, and, amercing Penn for contempt of court, sent him back to prison. The trial was an era in judicial history. The fines were soon afterwards discharged by his father, who was now approaching his end. "Son William," said the dying admiral, "if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching and living, you will make an end of the priests."

Inheriting a large fortune, he continued to defend publicly, from the press, the principles of intellectual liberty and moral equality; he remonstrated in unmeasured terms against the bigotry and intolerance, "the hellish darkness and debauchery," of the university of Oxford; he exposed the errors of the Roman Catholic church, and in the same breath pleaded for a toleration of their worship; and never fearing publicly to address a Quaker meeting, he was soon on the road to Newgate, to suffer for his honesty by a six months' imprisonment (1670–1671). "You are an ingenious gentleman," said the magistrate at the trial; "you have a plentiful estate; why should you render yourself unhappy by associating with such a simple people?" "I prefer," said Penn, "the honestly simple to the ingeniously wicked." The magistrate rejoined by charging Penn with previous immoralities. The young man, with passionate vehemence, vindicated the spotlessness of his life. "I speak this," he adds, "to God's glory, who has ever preserved me from the power of these pollutions, and who, from a child, begot a hatred in me towards them. Thy words shall be thy burden; I trample thy slander as dirt under my feet."

From Newgate Penn addressed parliament and the nation in the noblest plea for liberty of conscience—a liberty which he defended by arguments drawn from experience, from religion, and from reason. If the efforts of the Quakers cannot obtain "the olive branch of toleration, we bless the providence of God, resolving by patience to outweary persecution, and by our constant sufferings to obtain a victory more glorious than our adversaries can achieve by their cruelties." On his release from imprisonment, a calmer season followed. Penn travelled in Holland and Germany; then returning to England, he married a woman[1] of extraordinary beauty and sweetness of temper,

[1 Gulielma Maria Springett, daughter of Sir Wm. Springett, a parliamentary officer killed in the civil war.]

whose noble spirit "chose him before many suitors," and honoured him with "a deep and upright love." As persecution in England was suspended, he enjoyed for two years the delights of rural life and the animating pursuit of letters; till the storm was renewed, and the imprisonment of George Fox, on his return from America, demanded intercession. What need of narrating the severities which, like a slow poison, brought the prisoner to the borders of the grave? Why enumerate the atrocities of petty tyrants, invested with village magistracies, the ferocious passions of irresponsible jailers?

It was his love of freedom of conscience which gave interest to Penn's exertions for New Jersey. The summer and autumn after the first considerable Quaker emigration to the eastern bank of the Delaware (1677), George Fox and William Penn and Robert Barclay, with others, embarked for Holland, to evangelise the Continent; and Barclay and Penn went to and fro in Germany, from the Weser to the Main, the Rhine, and the Neckar, distributing tracts, discoursing with men of every sect and every rank, preaching in palaces and among the peasants, rebuking every attempt to inthrall the mind, and sending reproofs to kings and magistrates, to the princes and lawyers of all Christendom.

The opportunity of observing the aristocratic institutions of Holland and the free commercial cities of Germany was valuable to a statesman. On his return to England, the new sufferings of the Quakers excited a direct appeal to the English parliament. The special law against papists was turned against the Quakers.

Defeated in his hopes by the prorogation and dissolution of the parliament in 1679, Penn appealed to the people, and took an active part in the ensuing elections. But every hope of reform from parliament vanished. Bigotry and tyranny prevailed more than ever, and Penn, despairing of relief in Europe, bent the whole energy of his mind to accomplish the establishment of a free government in the New World. Humane by nature and by suffering; familiar with the royal family; intimate with Sunderland and Algernon Sidney; acquainted with Russell, Halifax, Shaftesbury, and Buckingham; as a member of the Royal Society, the peer of Newton and the great scholars of his age—he valued the promptings of a free mind more than the awards of the learned, and reverenced the single-minded sincerity of the Nottingham shepherd more than the authority of colleges and the wisdom of philosophers. And now, being in the meridian of life, but a year older than was Locke, when, twelve years before, he had framed a constitution for Carolina, the Quaker legislator was come to the New World to lay the foundations of states. Would he imitate the vaunted system of the great philosopher?

Locke, like William Penn, was tolerant; both loved freedom; both cherished truth in sincerity. Locke compared the soul to a sheet of white paper, just as Hobbes had compared it to a slate, on which time and chance might scrawl their experience; to Penn, the soul was an organ which of itself instinctively breathes divine harmonies, like those musical instruments which are so curiously and perfectly framed that, when once set in motion, they of themselves give forth all the melodies designed by the artist that made them. To Locke,[n] "conscience is nothing else than our own opinion of our own actions"; to Penn, it is the image of God, and his oracle in the soul. Locke deduces government from Noah and Adam, rests it upon contract, and announces its end to be the security of property; Penn, far from going back to Adam, or even to Noah, declares that "there must be a people before a government," and, deducing the right to institute government from man's moral nature, seeks its fundamental rules in the immutable dictates "of

universal reason," its end in freedom and happiness. Locke, as an American lawgiver, dreaded "a too numerous democracy," and reserved all power to wealth and the feudal proprietaries; Penn believed that God is in every conscience, his light in every soul; and therefore, stretching out his arms, he built—such are his own words—"a free colony for all mankind." This is the praise of William Penn, that, in an age which had seen a popular revolution shipwreck popular liberty among selfish factions, which had seen Hugh Peters and Henry Vane perish by the hangman's cord and the axe; in an age when Sidney nourished the pride of patriotism rather than the sentiment of philanthropy, when Russell stood for the liberties of his order, and not for new enfranchisements, when Harrington and Shaftesbury and Locke thought government should rest on property—Penn did not despair of humanity, and, though all history and experience denied the sovereignty of the people, dared to cherish the noble idea of man's capacity for self-government. Conscious that there was no room for its exercise in England, the pure enthusiast, like Calvin and Descartes, a voluntary exile, was come to the banks of the Delaware to institute "the Holy Experiment."

The news spread rapidly that the Quaker king was at New Castle; and, on the day after his landing (October 28th, 1682), in presence of a crowd of Swedes and Dutch and English, who had gathered round the court-house, his deeds of feoffment were produced; the duke of York's agent surrendered the territory by the solemn delivery of earth and water, and Penn, invested with supreme and undefined power in Delaware, addressed the assembled multitude on government, recommended sobriety and peace, and pledged himself to grant liberty of conscience and civil freedoms.

From New Castle Penn ascended the Delaware to Chester. From Chester, tradition describes the journey of Penn to have been continued with a few friends in an open boat, in the earliest days of November, to the beautiful bank, fringed with pine trees, on which the city of Philadelphia was soon to rise. In the following weeks Penn visited west and east New Jersey, New York, the metropolis of his neighbour proprietary, the duke of York, and, after meeting Friends on Long Island, he returned to the banks of the Delaware.

### THE GREAT TREATY WITH THE LENNI-LENAPE (1682-1683 A.D.)

To this period belongs his first grand treaty with the Indians. Beneath a large elm tree at Shackamaxon, on the northern edge of Philadelphia,[1] William Penn, surrounded by a few friends, in the habiliments of peace, met the numerous delegation of the Lenni-Lenape tribes. The great treaty was not for the purchase of lands, but, confirming what Penn had written and Markham covenanted, its sublime purpose was the recognition of the equal rights of humanity. Under the shelter of the forest, now leafless by the frosts of autumn, Penn proclaimed to the men of the Algonquin race, from both banks of the Delaware, from the borders of the Schuylkill, and, it may have been, even from the Susquehanna, the same simple mes-

[1 Bancroft,[a] Fiske,[b] and others place this meeting about November, 1682. Stone[c] dates it on June 23rd, 1683, basing the date on Penn's *Letters to the Free Society of Traders* of August 16th, 1683; Stone claims that at Penn's first meeting the Indians refused to sell him any land, or at least did not understand his purpose. As we have seen, this was by no means the first instance of purchase from Indians. The Dutch under Minuit bought lands, as did the Puritans and Roger Williams, not to mention West's purchase of the site of Richmond in 1610, Calvinist's in 1634, and the Swedish in 1638.]

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sage of peace and love which George Fox had professed before Cromwell, and Mary Fisher had borne to the Grand Turk. The English and the Indian should respect the same moral law, should be alike secure in their pursuits and their possessions, and adjust every difference by a peaceful tribunal, composed of an equal number of men from each race. "We meet"—such were the words of William Penn—"on the broad pathway of good faith and good will; no advantage shall be taken on either side, but all shall be openness and love. I will not call you children, for parents sometimes chide their children too severely; nor brothers only, for brothers differ. The friendship between me and you I will not compare to a chain; for that the rains might rust, or the falling tree might break. We are the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts; we are all one flesh and blood."

The children of the forest were touched by the sacred doctrine, and renounced their guile and their revenge. They received the presents of Penn in sincerity; and with hearty friendship they gave the belt of wampum. "We will live," said they, "in love with William Penn and his children, as long as the moon and the sun shall endure."

This treaty of peace and friendship was made under the open sky, by the side of the Delaware, with the sun and the river and the forest for witnesses. It was not confirmed by an oath; it was not ratified by signatures and seals; no written record of the conference can be found; and its terms and conditions had no abiding monument but on the heart. The simple sons of the wilderness, returning to their wigwams, kept the history of the covenant by strings of wampum, and, long afterwards, in their cabins, would count over the shells on a clean piece of bark, and recall to their own memory, and repeat to their children or to the stranger, the words of William Penn. New England had just terminated a disastrous war of extermination; the Dutch were scarcely ever at peace with the Algonquins; the laws of Maryland refer to Indian hostilities and massacres which extended as far as Richmond. Penn came without arms; he declared his purpose to abstain from violence; he had no message but peace; and not a drop of Quaker blood was ever shed by an Indian.

Was there not progress from Menendez to Roger Williams—from Cortes and Pizarro to William Penn? The Quakers, ignorant of the homage which their virtues would receive from Voltaire and Raynal, men so unlike themselves, exulted in the consciousness of their humanity. We have done better, said they truly, "than if, with the proud Spaniards, we had gained the mines of Potosi. We may make the ambitious heroes, whom the world admires, blush for their shameful victories. To the poor, dark souls round about us we teach their rights as men." The scene at Shackamaxon forms the subject of one of the pictures of West; but the artist, faithful neither to the Indians nor to Penn, should have no influence on history.[g]

Of this Shackamaxon Treaty, Voltaire[q] says: "It was the sole treaty between these peoples and the Christians that was neither sworn to nor broken." He comments also on "the very novel spectacle of a sovereign whom everybody could 'thee-and-thou' (*tutoyer*) and address with hat on head. William Pen (*sic*) could boast of having brought back the Age of Gold, which is spoken of so often, but has never really existed except in Pennsylvania."

Francis Parkman somewhat qualifies his praise of Penn's success with the Indians. He says: "With regard to the alleged results of the pacific conduct of the Quakers, our admiration will diminish on closely viewing the circumstances of the case. The position of the colony was a most for-

tunate one. Had the Quakers planted their colony on the banks of the St. Lawrence, or among the warlike tribes of New England, their shaking of hands and assurances of tender regard would not long have availed to save them from the visitations of the scalping-knife. But the Delawares, the people on whose territory they had settled, were like themselves debarred the use of arms. The Iroquois had conquered them, disarmed them, and forced them to adopt the opprobrious name of "women." The humble Delawares were but too happy to receive the hand extended to them, and dwell in friendship with their pacific neighbours; since to have lifted the hatchet would have brought upon their heads the vengeance of their conquerors, whose good will Penn had taken pains to secure.[1]

The sons of Penn, his successors in the proprietorship of the province, did not evince the same kindly feeling towards the Indians which had distinguished their father. Earnest to acquire new lands, they commenced through their agents a series of unjust measures, which gradually alienated the Indians, and, after a peace of seventy years, produced a disastrous rupture. The Quaker population of the colony sympathised in the kindness which its founder had cherished towards the benighted race. This feeling was strengthened by years of friendly intercourse; and, except where private interest was concerned, the Quakers made good their reiterated professions of attachment. Kindness to the Indian was the glory of their sect.[2]

In the year 1683 Penn often met the Indians in council, and at their festivals. He visited them in their cabins, shared the hospitable banquet of hominy and roasted acorns, and laughed and frolicked, and practised athletic games with the light-hearted, mirthful, confiding red men.[2] He touched the secret springs of sympathy, and succeeding generations on the Susquehanna acknowledged his loveliness.

Peace existed with the natives; the contentment of the emigrants was made perfect by the happy inauguration of the government. A general convention had been permitted by Penn (December 4th to 7th, 1682). The people preferred to appear by their representatives; and in three days the work of preparatory legislation at Chester was finished. The charter from the king did not include the territories; these were now enfranchised by the joint act of the inhabitants and the proprietary, and united with Pennsylvania on the basis of equal rights. The freedom of all the inhabitants being thus confirmed, the Inward Voice, which was the celestial visitant to the Quakers, dictated a code. God was declared the only Lord of conscience; the first day of the week was reserved, as a day of leisure, for the ease of the creation. The rule of equality was introduced into families by abrogating the privileges of primogeniture. The word of an honest man was evidence without an oath. The mad spirit of speculation was checked by a system of strict accountability, applied to factors and agents. Every man liable to civil burdens possessed the right of suffrage; and, without regard to sect, every Christian was eligible to office. No tax or custom could be levied but by law. The Quaker is a spiritualist; the pleasures of the senses, masks, revels, and stage-plays, not less than bull-baits and cock-fights, were prohibited. Murder was the only crime punishable by death. Marriage was esteemed a civil contract; adultery a felony. The Quakers had suffered from wrong imprisonment; the false accuser was liable to double damages. Every prison for convicts was made a workhouse. There were neither poor rates nor

[1] He paid twice for his lands; once to the Iroquois, who claimed them by right of conquest, and once to their occupants, the Delawares.

[2] Watson quotes an eye-witness who said she saw Penn outdance all the Indians.]

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tithes. The Swedes and Finns and Dutch were invested with the liberties of Englishmen.

The government having been organised, William Penn, accompanied by members of his council, hastened to West River, to interchange courtesies with Lord Baltimore, and fix the limits of their respective provinces (December 11th). A discussion of three days led to no result; tired of useless debates, Penn crossed the Chesapeake to visit Friends at Choptank, and returned to his own province, prepared to renew negotiation, or to submit to arbitration in England.

### PENN FOUNDS PHILADELPHIA

He now selected a site for a city, purchased the ground of the Swedes, and in a situation "not surpassed"—such are his words—"by one among all the many places he had seen in the world," on a neck of land between the Schuylkill and Delaware, appointed for a town by the convenience of the rivers, the firmness of the land, the pure springs and salubrious air, William Penn laid out Philadelphia, the city of refuge, the mansion of freedom, the home of humanity. But vast as were the hopes of the humble Friends, who now marked the boundaries of streets on the chestnut or ash and walnut trees of the original forest, they were surpassed by the reality. Pennsylvania bound the northern and the southern colonies in bonds stronger than paper chains; Philadelphia was the birthplace of American independence and the pledge of union.

March 12th, 1683, the infant city, in which there could have been few mansions but hollow trees, was already the scene of legislation. From each of the six counties into which Penn's dominions were divided, nine representatives, Swedes, Dutch, and Quaker preachers, of Wales and Ireland and England, were elected for the purpose of establishing a charter of liberties. They desired it might be the acknowledged growth of the New World, and bear date in Philadelphia. When the general assembly came together, Penn referred to the frame of government proposed in England, saying, "You may amend, alter, or add; I am ready to settle such foundations as may be for your happiness."

### THE FRAME OF GOVERNMENT (1687 A.D.)

The constitution which was established created a legislative council and a more numerous assembly; the former to be elected for three years, one-third being renewed annually; the assembly to be annually chosen. Rotation in office was enjoined. The theory of the constitution gave to the governor and council the initiation of all laws; these were to be promulgated to the people; and the office of the assembly was designed to be no more than to report the decision of the people in their primary meetings. Thus no law could be enacted but with the direct assent of the whole community. Such was the system of the charter of liberties. But it received modifications from the legislature by which it was established. The assembly set the precedent of engaging in debate, and of proposing subjects for bills by way of conference with the governor and council. In return, by unanimous vote a negative voice was allowed the governor on all the doings of the council, and such a power was virtually a right to negative any law. It had been more simple to have left the assembly full power to originate bills, and to the governor an unconditional negative. This was virtually the method estab-

lished in 1683; it was distinctly recognised in the fundamental law in 1696. Besides, the charter from Charles II held the proprietary responsible for colonial legislation; and no act of provincial legislation could be perfected till it had passed the great seal of the province. That a negative voice was thus reserved to William Penn, was, we believe, the opinion of the colonists of that day; such was certainly the intention of the royal charter, and was necessary, unless the proprietary relation was to cease. In other respects, the frame of government gave all power to the people; the judges were to be nominated by the provincial council, and, in case of good behaviour, could not be removed by the proprietary during the term for which they were commissioned.

But for the hereditary office of proprietary, Pennsylvania had been a representative democracy. In Maryland, the council was named by Lord Baltimore; in Pennsylvania, by the people. In Maryland, the power of appointing magistrates, and all, even the subordinate executive officers, rested solely with the proprietary; in Pennsylvania, William Penn could not appoint a justice or a constable; every executive officer, except the highest, was elected by the people or their representatives; and the governor could perform no public act, but with the consent of the council. Lord Baltimore had a revenue derived from the export of tobacco, the staple of Maryland; and his colony was burdened with taxes; a similar revenue was offered to William Penn, and declined; and tax-gatherers were unknown in his province.

In the name of all the freemen of the province, the charter was received by the assembly with gratitude, as one "of more than expected liberty." "I desired," says Penn, "to show men as free and as happy as they can be." In the decline of life, the language of his heart was still the same. "If, in the relation between us," he writes in his old age, "the people want of me anything that would make them happier, I should readily grant it."

To the charter which Locke invented for Carolina, the palatines voted an immutable immortality; and it never gained more than a short, partial existence. To the people of his province Penn left it free to subvert or alter the frame of government; and its essential principles remain to this day without change. Such was the birth of popular power in Pennsylvania and Delaware. It remained to dislodge superstition from its hiding-places in the mind. The Scandinavian emigrants came from their native forests with imaginations clouded by the gloomy terrors of an invisible world of fiends; and a turbulent woman was brought to trial as a witch. Penn presided, and the Quakers on the jury outnumbered the Swedes. The jury, having listened to the charge from the governor, returned this verdict: "The prisoner is guilty of the common fame of being a witch, but not guilty as she stands indicted." The friends of the liberated prisoner were required to give bonds that she should keep the peace; and in Penn's domain, from that day to this, neither demon nor hag ever rode through the air on goat or broomstick; and the worst arts of conjuration went no farther than to foretell fortunes, mutter powerful spells over quack medicines, or discover by the divining rod the hidden treasures of the buccaneers.

### RAPID GROWTH OF PENNSYLVANIA

Meantime the news spread abroad, that William Penn, the Quaker, had opened "an asylum to the good and the oppressed of every nation"; and humanity went through Europe, gathering the children of misfortune. From

[1687-1761 A.D.]

England and Wales, from Scotland and Ireland, and the Low Countries, emigrants crowded to the land of promise. On the banks of the Rhine it was whispered that the plans of Gustavus Adolphus and Oxenstierna were consummated; new companies were formed under better auspices than those of the Swedes; and from the highlands above Worms, the humble people who had melted at the eloquence of Penn, the Quaker emissary, renounced their German homes for the protection of the Quaker king. There is nothing in the history of the human race like the confidence which the simple virtues and institutions of William Penn inspired. The progress of his province was more rapid than the progress of New England. In three years from its foundation, Philadelphia gained more than New York had done in half a century. This was the happiest season in the public life of William Penn. "I must, without vanity, say"—such was his honest exultation—"I have led the greatest colony into America that ever any man did upon a private credit, and the most prosperous beginnings that ever were in it are to be found amongst us."

The mission of William Penn was accomplished; and now, like Solon, the most humane of ancient legislators, he prepared to leave the commonwealth of which he had founded the happiness. Intrusting the great seal to his friend Lloyd, and the executive power to a committee of the council, Penn sailed for England (August 12th, 1684), leaving freedom to its own development. His departure was happy for the colony and for his own tranquillity. He had established a democracy, and was himself a feudal sovereign. The two elements in the government were incompatible; and for ninety years the civil history of Pennsylvania is but the account of the jarring of these opposing interests, to which there could be no happy issue but in popular independence. But rude collisions were not yet begun; and the benevolence of William Penn breathed to his people a farewell, unclouded by apprehension. "My love and my life are to you and with you, and no water can quench it, nor disturbance bring it to an end. I have been with you, cared over you, and served you with unfeigned love; and you are beloved of me and dear to me beyond utterance. And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, my soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayest stand in the day of trial, and that thy children may be blessed. Dear friends, my love salutes you all."

The question respecting the boundaries between the domains of Lord Baltimore and of William Penn was promptly resumed before the committee of trade and plantations; and, after many hearings, it was decided that the tract of Delaware did not constitute a part of Maryland. The proper boundaries of the territory remained to be settled; and the present limits of Delaware were established by a compromise.

This decision formed the basis of an agreement between the respective heirs of the two proprietaries in 1732. Three years afterwards the subject became a question in chancery; in 1750 the present boundaries were decreed by Lord Hardwicke; ten years afterwards they were, by agreement, more accurately defined; and in 1761 the line between Maryland and Pennsylvania towards the west was run by Mason and Dixon. Delaware lies between the same parallels with Maryland; and Quakerism did not exempt it from negro slavery.

But the care of colonial property did not absorb the enthusiasm of Penn; and, now that his father's friend had succeeded to the throne, he employed his fortune, his influence, and his fame to secure that "impartial" liberty of conscience which, for nearly twenty years, he had advocated, with Buck-

ingham and Arlington, before the magistrates of Ireland, and English juries, in the Tower, in Newgate, before the commons of England, in public discussions with Baxter and the Presbyterians, before Quaker meetings, at Chester and Philadelphia, and through the press to the world. It was his old post —the office to which he was faithful from youth to age. Fifteen thousand families had been ruined for dissent since the restoration; five thousand persons had died victims to imprisonment. The monarch was persuaded to exercise his prerogative of mercy; and at Penn's intercession, in 1686, not less than twelve hundred Friends were liberated from the horrible dungeons and prisons where many of them had languished hopelessly for years. Penn delighted in doing good. His house was thronged by swarms of clients, envoys from Massachusetts among the number; and sometimes there were two hundred at once claiming his disinterested good offices with the king. For Locke, then a voluntary exile, and the firm friend of intellectual freedom, he obtained a promise of immunity, which the blameless philosopher, in the just pride of innocence, refused. And at the very time when the Roman Catholic Fénélon, in France, was pleading for Protestants against the intolerance of Louis XIV, the Protestant Penn, in England, was labouring to rescue the Roman Catholics from the jealousy of the English aristocracy. The political tracts of "the arch Quaker" have the calm wisdom and the universality of Lord Bacon; in behalf of liberty of conscience, they beautifully connect the immutable principles of human nature and human rights with the character and origin of English freedom, and exhaust the question as a subject for English legislation. Penn never gave counsel at variance with popular rights. He resisted the commitment of the bishops to the Tower, and, on the day of the birth of the prince of Wales, pressed the king exceedingly to set them at liberty. His private correspondence proves that he esteemed parliament the only power through which his end could be gained. England to-day confesses his sagacity, and is doing honour to his genius. He came too soon for success, and he was aware of it. After more than a century, the laws which he reproved began gradually to be repealed; and the principle which he developed, sure of immortality, began slowly but firmly asserting its power over the legislation of Great Britain.

The political connections of William Penn have involved him in the obloquy which followed the overthrow of the Stuarts; and the friends to the tests, comprising nearly all the members of both the political parties, into which England was soon divided, have generally been unfriendly to his good name. But their malice has been without permanent effect. Their final award is given freely, and cannot be shaken. Every charge of hypocrisy, of selfishness, of vanity, of dissimulation, of credulous confidence; every form of reproach, from virulent abuse to cold apology; every ill name, from tory and Jesuit to blasphemer and infidel—has been used against Penn; but the candour of his character always triumphed over calumny. His name was safely cherished as a household word in the cottages of Wales and Ireland, and among the peasantry of Germany; and not a tenant of a wigwam from the sea to the Susquehanna doubted his integrity. His fame is now wide as the world; he is one of the few who have gained abiding glory.

Was he prospered? Before engaging in his American enterprise, he had impaired his patrimony to relieve the suffering Quakers; his zeal for his provinces hurried him into colonial expenses beyond the returns;[1] his

[1 While the Pennsylvanians were jealously reaching out for enlarged liberties, Penn wrote to them: "I am sorry at heart for your animosities. For the love of God, me, and the poor country, be not so governmentish, so noisy and open in your dissatisfactions." He

philanthropy, establishing popular power, left him without a revenue; and he who had so often been imprisoned for religion, in his old age went to jail for debt. But what is so terrible as remorse—what so soothing as an approving conscience? William Penn was happy. "He could say it before the Lord, he had the comfort of having approved himself a faithful steward to his understanding and ability."[g]

### LATER YEARS OF PENN

Penn was four times imprisoned by King William [on his accession after the revolution of 1689]: the king took from him the government of the province, and in 1693 appointed Colonel Benjamin Fletcher governor of Pennsylvania and New York. King William at length became convinced, from the strictest scrutiny, that Penn's attachment to the Stuart family was merely personal, and that his gratitude was not likely to occasion any detriment to him, and the proprietor was soon reinstated in the royal favour (August 20th, 1694). Being permitted to resume and exercise his rights, he appointed William Markham to be his deputy governor. In 1696 the assembly passed a third frame of government, which was signed by the governor, the object of which was to correct certain breaches of the charter government, against which the second frame had not sufficiently guarded.

In 1699, Penn, accompanied by his family, again visited his colony, with the intention of ending his days in the society of his people. Negro slavery and Indian intercourse had crept into the colony, and their effects were abundantly visible in the altercations which ensued between the proprietor and the assembly. Penn prepared three bills, and presented them to the assembly; but the two most important were negatived, and the third, relative to the trial and punishment of slaves, was the only one sanctioned by the legislature. With his own sect, he was more successful; and the final abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania was ultimately owing to Quaker influence.

Penn was disheartened, and determined to return to England; but it would have been impolitic to leave the province whilst affairs were in such a state of confusion. He therefore prepared a new constitution in 1701, which was readily accepted by the assembly. This fourth frame of government introduced many important changes. It gave to the assembly the power of originating bills, which had previously been possessed by the governors only, and that of amending or rejecting those which might be laid before them. To the governor it reserved a negative on the acts of the assembly, the right of appointing his own council, and the executive power. Although this charter gave general satisfaction in the province of Pennsylvania, yet the "Three Lower Counties" refused to accept it; and, in the following year, they established a separate assembly at New Castle, acknowledging, however, the same governor.

After this fourth charter was accepted, Penn returned to England, assigning as a reason his having learned that the ministry intended to abolish the proprietary governments in North America, which made it absolutely necessary for him to appear there in order to oppose a measure so derogatory to his interests. While in England, he was pursued by complaints from America against Governor Evans. This governor exerted himself to establish a militia system, which, though popular in Delaware, was odious in Pennsylvania;

complained that their quarrels were preventing immigration, and had cost him personally £10,000. When his quitrents were complained of as taxes which he did not need, he wrote, "God is my witness, I am above £6,000 out of pocket more than I ever saw by the province."]

and he also announced the approach of a hostile invasion, which caused many individuals, and amongst these four Quakers, to take up arms. This report proving false, the assembly impeached Evans and his secretary Logan.

Penn therefore removed Evans, and appointed in his stead Charles Gookin, whose age, experience, and mild character seemed well suited to satisfy the people over whom he was to preside. But having complained once, they seemed to have acquired a love of complaint, and not only were more hostile to Gookin than they had been to Evans, but began to scan very narrowly the conduct of Penn himself. Finding that the provincial affairs still went wrong, Penn, now in his sixty-sixth year, addressed the assembly in a letter replete with calm solemnity and dignified concern. Had all other knowledge of Penn and his deeds been lost, this letter alone would have enabled us to write the character of its author. Its effect was apparent at the next election, when the enemies of Penn were rejected by the voters. But before this change could have been known to him, he was attacked by a succession of apoplectic fits which ultimately terminated his life, July 30th, 1718.[s]

The heirs of Penn instituted a suit for the succession to the governorship, which was finally awarded to his three sons by his second wife. In 1779 the Pennsylvania legislature adopted a new constitution abolishing the proprietary government and the quitrents of the Penn heirs, and voted £130,000 remuneration, to be paid three years after peace with England. It was eventually paid in the sum of $570,000. In 1790 the British government voted the eldest male descendant of Penn's second wife a pension of £4,000 to quiet his claims for the surrender of his territories. As late as 1884 this pension was commuted for the sum of £67,000.[a]

By pursuing the course commenced by Penn, the colony gradually increased in wealth and population, without any of those fearful Indian invasions which so much retarded the increase of the other colonies. The only subject of disquiet in the colony, for many years, was a dispute between the governors and the assembly, on the subject of exempting the lands of the proprietary from general taxation—a claim which the inhabitants resisted as unjust. After much altercation on this subject, the assembly deputed the celebrated Benjamin Franklin to London, as their agent to petition the king for redress. In the discussion before the privy council, Franklin acceded to an arrangement making the assessments fair and equitable; and a bill, signed by the governor, for levying these taxes received the royal approbation.

Pennsylvania was the last colony settled, excepting Georgia, and her increase in wealth and population was more rapid than that of any of the others. In 1775 she possessed a population of 372,208 inhabitants, collected and raised in less than a century.[s]

## SOUTHERN COLONIES; THE CAROLINAS

The early history of the American colonies is of necessity a disjointed chronicle, in which each must be carried forward to a certain point and left there, while others are brought to convenient resting-places. Eventually, all these streams flow into one broad river, whose course has continuity of progress. We have almost reached that point, but must delay yet awhile to recount the foundation of the southern colonies of the Carolinas and Georgia, and the northern French Colonies, which have since become Canada.[a]

[1630 A.D.]

We must now leave for the present the states of New England, austere alike in character and clime, and turn to those summer realms of the south which excited the cupidity of the early French and Spanish adventurers. We must become more intimately acquainted with the region where De Soto wandered in search of the land of gold; where the good Coligny planted his settlements of persecuted Huguenots; where Catholic bigotry dyed the soil with their blood; and where, also, the brave Raleigh planned magnificent schemes of colonisation, and reaped only the fruits of disappointment and sorrow.

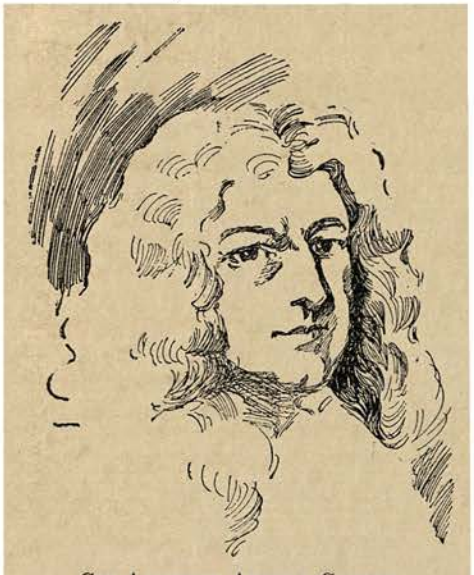
The vast territory of North America was, as we have seen, for half a century after the English began to colonise it, divided into two districts, called North and South Virginia; "all lands lying towards the river St. Lawrence, from the northern boundaries of the province now called Virginia, belonged to the northern, and all those to the southward, as far as the gulf of Florida, to the southern district."

The French colonists first gave the name of Carolina to the country which is still so designated, in honour of their worthless monarch, Charles IX. In 1630, Charles I of England granted a tract of land south of Chesapeake bay to Sir Robert Heath, his attorney-general, under the name of Carolana; but owing to the political agitations in England, the projected colonisation of this country was never carried out. With the restoration, the English reasserted their claim to that portion of America which had been known under the designation of South Virginia, and the fertility and desirableness of which was now an established fact. Somewhat before the time, therefore, when the restored monarch made a grant to his brother, the duke of York, of the Dutch possessions of New Netherlands, he conferred the vast territory comprised between Albemarle sound, southward to the river St. John, under the name of Carolina, upon eight proprietors, among whom were some of his principal courtiers; that is to say, Clarendon, the prime minister; General Monk, now duke of Albemarle; Lord Craven; Lord Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury; Sir John Colleton, Lord John Berkeley, his brother, Sir William, governor of Virginia, and Sir George Carteret. The grant made to these proprietaries constituted them absolute sovereigns of the country. Their right, however, was immediately disputed both by the Spaniards—whose fort of St. Augustine was considered to establish actual possession—and by the assigns of Sir Robert Heath; but neither claimants could stand before the new and more powerful patentees. Besides these, other parties of a much more sturdy and unmanageable character had already established themselves on its coasts. New England, which possessed within itself not only an expansive principle, but one which took deep root on any soil which it touched, had planted not only a little settlement on Cape Fear, which had been fostered in its distresses by the mother colony, but had sown the seeds of democratic liberty, from which, in part, must be traced the resolute spirit which distinguished the colony of North Carolina in the long struggle through which it had to pass.

Virginia, too, was "the mother of colonies"; and in 1622 the adventurous Porey, then secretary of Virginia, travelled overland to the banks of the Chowan, or South river, reporting on his return most favourably of the kindness of the natives, the fertility of the country, and the happy climate, which yielded two harvests in the year. During the succeeding forty years his explorations were followed up, and when religious persecution took place in Virginia dissenters emigrated largely. The country around Albemarle sound was established by Nonconformists, who had purchased a right to their

lands from the aborigines. These settlements were claimed by the new proprietaries of Carolina, and Sir William Berkeley, governor of Virginia and one of the joint proprietors, was ordered by his colleagues to assume jurisdiction over them in their name.

Berkeley, however, who knew too well the character of these pioneer-settlers, did not venture to enforce his orders too strictly. Instead of this, he appointed William Drummond, one of the settlers, to be the governor; and instituting a simple form of government, a council of six members, and an easy tenure of land, left the colony to take care of itself, to enjoy liberty of conscience and the management of its own affairs. "Such," says Bancroft, "was the origin of fixed settlements in North Carolina. The child of ecclesiastical oppression was swathed in independence."



SIR ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER
(1621-1683)

Besides these settlements of New England and Virginia, several planters of Barbadoes had purchased from the Indians a tract of land thirty-two miles square on Cape Fear river, where the New Englanders had first settled themselves, and now applied to the new proprietaries for a confirmation of their purchase and a charter of government. All their wishes were not granted, but Sir John Yeamans, a cavalier, and the head of these Barbadoes planters, was appointed governor, with a jurisdiction extending from Cape Fear to the St. Matheo, the country being called Clarendon. This settlement absorbed that of the New Englanders, who, however, were so far respected that Yeamans was instructed to be "very tender" towards them, to "make things easy to the people of New England, that others might be attracted there." The colony immediately applied itself to the preparation of boards, shingles, and staves to be shipped to the West Indies, and the same continues to this day to be the staple of that region of pine forests and sterile plains.

The proprietaries in the mean time having ascertained the character of their territory, and become better acquainted with its geography, obtained, in 1665, a second charter.

This second charter was in total disregard of all other claims; and this time their grant was extended half a degree farther north, so as to include the settlements on the Chowan, and a degree and a half farther south, including the Spanish colony of St. Augustine and part of Florida, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. This vast grant, in fact, comprised all the present territory of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, a considerable portion of Florida and Missouri, nearly all Texas, and a large part of Mexico. Nor was this all; an additional grant shortly afterwards added the group of the Bahama Isles, then famous as the resort of buccaneers, to the vast realms which their charter already included.

[1665-1669 A.D.]

The infant settlement of Albemarle continued to receive accessions from Virginia and New England; and from Bermuda, already famous for the building of fast-sailing ships, came a colony of shipbuilders. In 1669 the first laws were enacted by an assembly composed of the governor, Stevens, who had succeeded Drummond, a council of six, and twelve delegates chosen by the people. According to the laws of Virginia, land was offered to all newcomers, and immigrant debtors were protected for five years against any suit for debt contracted beyond the colony. The governor and court constituted a court of justice, and were entitled to a fee of thirty pounds of tobacco on every suit; and the colony being without any minister of religion, marriage became a civil rite. Three years afterwards the proprietaries solemnly confirmed the settlers in possession of their lands, and granted to them the right of nominating six councillors in addition to the six nominated by the patentees. The right of self government was thus established on the soil of North Carolina.

## LOCKE'S GRAND MODEL CONSTITUTION

In the mean time, the ambition of the proprietaries extending with the extent of their charter, a magnificent scheme of sovereignty was conceived, which was intended not only to give them the wealth of empires but the fame of legislators. All that philosophic intellect and worldly sagacity could do to frame a model government was now done. The earl of Shaftesbury was deputed by his fellow-proprietaries to frame for this infant empire a constitution commensurate with its intended greatness; and he employed his friend and *protégé* John Locke, afterwards so well known for his philosophical writings, as his agent for this purpose.

Locke commenced his labours on the principle that "compact is the true basis of government, and the protection of property its great end." Cold and calculating, with no generous enthusiasm of soul, no sympathetic and aspiring impulses, guided alone by intellect and conventionality, it is no wonder that the "Grand Model," as the constitution of Carolina was called, failed of practical application, and was finally, after the vain attempt of many years to enforce it, abandoned as totally inapplicable to its purpose.

It has been well remarked by Bancroft that "the formation of political institutions in the United States was not effected by giant minds or 'nobles after the flesh.' The truly great lawgivers in the colonies first became as little children."[1] But futile as was this Grand Model constitution, we must give some idea of it to our readers, to show how little intellect merely and political wisdom can comprehend the principles of successful government or the basis of a prosperous and happy social state:

"The interests of the proprietaries, a government most agreeable to monarchy, and a careful avoidance of a numerous democracy," are the avowed threefold objects of the Carolina constitution. The proprietaries, eight in number, were never to be increased or diminished; their dignity was hereditary. The vast extent of territory was to be divided into counties, each containing about seven hundred and fifty square miles; to each county appertained two orders of nobility, a landgrave or earl, and two caciques or barons; the land was to be divided into five equal parts, one of which became the inalienable right of the proprietaries, another equally inalienably the property of the nobility, and the remaining three-fifths were reserved for the people, and might be held by lords of manors who were not hereditary legislators, but, like the nobility, exercised judicial powers in their baronial courts. The

[1 We have previously quoted Bancroft's comparison of the theories of Locke and William Penn.]

number of three nobles for each county was to remain unalterable; after the current century no transfer of lands could take place. Each county, being divided into twenty-four parts, called colonies, was to be cultivated by a race of hereditary leetmen, or tenants, attached to the soil, each holding ten acres of land at a fixed rent; these tenants not being possessed of any political franchise, but being "adscripts of the soil under the jurisdiction of their lord without any appeal"; and it was added that "all the children of leetmen shall be leetmen, and so to all generations."

The political rights of the great body of the people being thus disposed of, and a legislative barrier placed, as it were, against progressive popular improvement and enlightenment, a very complicated system of government was framed for the benefit of the privileged classes. "Besides the court of proprietors, invested with supreme executive authority, the president of which was the oldest proprietor, with the title of palatine, there were seven other courts, presided over by the remaining seven proprietors, with the titles respectively of admiral, chamberlain, chancellor, chief justice, high steward, and treasurer; besides the president, each of these courts had six councillors appointed for life, two-thirds, at least, of whom must be nobles." There is something almost childish and ludicrous in the business of some of these supreme and pompous dignitaries of an infant settlement, the inhabitants of which lived in log cabins scattered through the wilderness. The court of the admiral had cognisance of shipping and trade; the chamberlain's, of pedigrees, festivals, sports, and ceremonies; the chancellor's, of state affairs and license of printing; the constable's, of war; the chief justice's, of ordinary judicial questions; the high steward's, of public works; the treasurer's, of finance.

"All these courts united," says Hildreth,[h] "were to compose a grand council of fifty members, in whom was vested exclusively the right of proposing laws, which required, however, the approval of a parliament of four estates, proprietors, landgraves, caciques, and commoners, to render them valid. The four estates composing the parliament were to sit in one chamber, each landgrave and cacique being entitled to a seat, but the proprietors, if they chose, to sit by deputy. Four commoners for each county were the representatives of the commons; the possession of five hundred acres being, however, requisite to qualify for a seat, and fifty acres of land to give an elective vote. The proprietaries in their separate courts had a veto on all acts."

The people had thus no share whatever in the executive, judicial, or legislative authority. "The four-and-twenty colonies of each county were divided into four precincts, each precinct having a local court, whence appeals were to lie to the court of chief justice. Juries were to decide by majority." To plead for money or reward in any court was denounced as "base and vile," an enactment little in accordance with the interests of the lawyer. "None could be freemen who did not acknowledge God and the obligation of public worship. The Church of England—against the wishes of Locke, who wished to put all sects on the same footing—was to be supported by the state. Any seven freemen might, however, form a church or religious society, provided its members admitted the rightfulness of oaths—which clause at once excluded the Quakers. By another provision, every freeman of Carolina, of whatsoever opinion or religion, possessed absolute power and authority over his negro slaves."

This "Grand Model constitution," which was extravagantly praised in England, was signed in March, 1670, and Monk, duke of Albemarle, as the oldest of the proprietaries, was appointed palatine. Whilst this pompous scheme of legislature was occupying the wisest heads in England, three vessels conveyed out emigrants, at the expense of £12,000 to the proprietaries,

under the command of William Sayle, who established themselves on the old site of Port Royal. The grand aristocratical constitution was sent over in due form to Carolina, but neither was it found more suitable at Albemarle, in the north, than by Sayle's colony in the south. The character of the people of Albemarle rendered its introduction impossible; "those sturdy dwellers in scattered log cabins of the wilderness could not be noblemen, and would not be serfs." This unfortunate constitution, which made John Locke a landgrave, and the noble proprietaries in succession palatines, led to a long and fruitless struggle of its founders to force upon the settlers a form of government incompatible with their circumstances, and from which they had nothing to gain, but everything to lose. The contest continued for three-and-twenty years, when the Grand Model, baseless as a fabric of mist, was formally abrogated.

About the time when the new constitution was first exciting the derision and abhorrence of the sturdy Nonconformists of Albemarle, distinguished ministers among the Quakers travelled from Virginia into North Carolina, and were received "tenderly" by a people naturally religious, but amongst whom, at that time, was no minister of Christ. The "Society of Friends" were the first to organise a religious government in this portion of America. In the autumn of 1672 George Fox himself visited Carolina. Carolina, like Rhode Island, was a place of refuge for schismatics of all kinds, who now "lived lonely in the woods, with great dogs to guard their houses"; men and women of thoughtful minds "open to the conviction of truth," and who received the preachings and teachings of George Fox and his brethren with great joy.

### CULPEPER'S REBELLION (1677 A.D.)

Willing disciples of George Fox, as the people of North Carolina proved themselves to be, were sure to protest against and oppose a constitution like that of Shaftesbury and Locke. The introduction of it was not only difficult, but was soon rendered impossible, by the accession of dissenters from England, and so-called "runaways, rogues, and rebels" from Virginia, who, on the suppression of an insurrection there, fled daily to Carolina as their common place of refuge. Another cause of dissatisfaction with the English government, and of constant irritation, was the enforcement of the Navigation Laws. The population of the whole state as yet, in 1677, amounted to little more than four thousand; "a few fat cattle, a little maize, and eight hundred hogsheads of tobacco formed all their exports," and the few foreign articles which they required were brought to them by the traders of Boston. Yet, small as this traffic was, it was envied by the English merchants; the Navigation Law was ordered to be strictly enforced, the New England trader was driven from their harbour by unreasonable duties, and the Carolinians themselves had no other free market for their few exports than England.

The attempts at enforcing the Navigation Laws hastened an insurrection, which was fostered by the refugees from Virginia and the men of New England, and which justified itself by the publication of the first American manifesto. The threefold grievances of the colony were stated herein to be: excessive taxation; the abridgment of political liberty by the altered form of government, with the denial of a free election of an assembly; and the unwise interruption of the natural channels of commerce. The head of this insurrection was John Culpeper, a man stigmatised by the English party as one "who deserved hanging, for endeavouring to set the poor to plunder the

rich." The whole body of the settlers was insurgent; Miller, the chief object of their hatred, and seven proprietary deputies were arrested and imprisoned, courts of justice established, and a parliament called. With a popular government, anarchy was at an end; though when the new governor, Eastchurch, arrived, none would acknowledge his authority. The following year, Culpeper and Holden were sent to England to negotiate a compromise with the proprietaries and to obtain the recall of Miller.

Miller, however, and his companions, having escaped from prison, met the deputies in England, and as the supporters of the Navigation Laws were sustained by a powerful interest there, Culpeper when about to embark for America was arrested in his turn on the charge of interrupting the collection of duties and their embezzlement. He demanded his trial in Carolina, where the act was committed. "Let no favour be shown," cried the adverse party; and he was brought to trial. Shaftesbury, however, then in the zenith of his popularity, appeared on his behalf, declaring "that there never had been a regular government in Albemarle; that its disorders were only feuds among the planters, which could not amount to treason"—and he was acquitted. On the acquittal of Culpeper, the proprietaries found themselves in a difficult position. After looking at the question in every point of view, excepting that which was simple and straightforward, "they resolved," says Chalmers,[o] "to govern in future according to that portion of obedience which the insurgents should be disposed to yield." The wise exclaimed, in the language of prediction, that a government actuated by such principles cannot possibly be of long continuance.

Mild as had appeared the temper of the proprietaries, it seemed, however, as if they had determined severely to punish the offending colony, when, in 1683, they sent over Seth Sothel as governor. He appears, by the report of all parties, to have been of that scoundrel class by which human nature is degraded. He was himself one of the eight proprietaries, and he accepted office merely for sordid purposes. "The annals of delegated authority," says Chalmers,[o] "have not recorded a name so deserving of infamy as that of Sothel. Bribery, extortion, injustice, rapacity, with breach of trust and disobedience of orders, are the crimes of which he was accused during the five years that he misruled this unhappy colony. Driven almost to despair, the inhabitants at length seized his person, in 1688. The assembly compelled him to abjure the country for twelve months and the government forever. The proprietaries, though they heard with indignation of the sufferings which Sothel had inflicted on the colony, were yet displeased that the colony through its assembly had assumed supreme power, which act was regarded as "prejudicial to the prerogative of the crown and to the honour of the proprietaries."

Well, however, was it for North Carolina that she thus took the law into her own hands; tranquillity was restored. Mighty changes were in the mean time taking place in England; the revolution of 1688 was overturning not only political parties, but the very constitution itself. But neither the strife of parties nor the removal of the crown from one royal head to another, mattered in North Carolina, where, at length, peace and prosperity were established. "The settlers of North Carolina," we are told by Bancroft,[g] "began now to enjoy to their heart's content liberty of conscience and personal independence, the freedom of the forest and the river. Unnumbered swine fattened on the fruits of the forest or the heaps of peaches; spite of imperfect husbandry, cattle multiplied on the pleasant savannahs. There was neither city nor township; there was hardly even a hamlet, or one house within

sight of another; nor were there roads, except as the paths from house to house were distinguished by notches on the trees. The settlers were gentle in their tempers, of serene minds, enemies to violence and bloodshed; and the spirit of humanity maintained its influence in the Arcadia, as royalist writers will have it, of rogues and rebels in the paradise of Quakers."

### THE GROWTH OF SOUTH CAROLINA

We have already related how, in 1670, the year in which the Grand Model constitution was signed, a company of emigrants were sent out, at the expense of £12,000 to the proprietaries, under the command of William Sayle, a military officer and Presbyterian, who twenty years before had attempted to plant a colony in the Bahama Isles, under the title of an Eleutheria, and who more latterly had been employed by the proprietaries in exploring the coasts of their province. These emigrants were accompanied by Joseph West, as commercial agent of the proprietaries, authorised to supply the settlers with provisions, cattle, implements, and all other necessaries; a trade being commenced for this purpose with Virginia, Bermuda, and Barbadoes.

The vessels containing the infant colony, which was intended to be constituted according to the Grand Model, entered the harbour of Port Royal, on the shores of which, a century before, the Huguenots had erected their fort—the early Carolina—and of which even yet some traces remained. Each settler was to receive a hundred and fifty acres of land, and the district thus taken possession of was called Carteret county. It was soon discovered, as was to be expected, that the Grand Model was far too complex a system of government even for this settlement sent out by the proprietaries themselves; "yet, desiring to come as nigh to it as possible," says Chalmers, "five persons were immediately elected by the freeholders, and five others chosen by the proprietaries, who were to form a grand council, and these, with the governor and twenty delegates elected by the people, composed a parliament which was invested with legislative power."

Scarcely had Sayle thus far fulfilled his office, when he fell a victim to the effects of the climate, and died. Sir John Yeamans succeeded him, and Clarendon county, in consequence, was annexed to Carteret. The same year, 1671, the settlement removed from Port Royal to the banks of the Ashley river, "for the convenience of pasturage and tillage," and upon the neck of the peninsula then called Oyster Point, between that river and the Cooper —both thus called in honour of Shaftesbury—the foundation of Charleston was laid by the settlement there of a few graziers' cabins. The situation thus chosen, though full of natural beauty—the primeval forest, as we are told, sweeping down to the river's edge, laden with yellow jessamine, the perfume of which filled the air—was not salubrious. The place for many years indeed was considered so unhealthy during the hot months of the year that people fled from it at that time as from the pestilence. But the clearing away of the woods, probably, and the draining of the soil, so far altered its character in this respect, that it is now rather singularly healthy than otherwise.

Spite of the shortcomings of the settlement as regarded the Grand Model, Governor Yeamans was created landgrave, and, Albemarle being dead, Lord Berkeley had become palatine. Yeamans introduced negro slavery in 1671, bringing with him a cargo of slaves from Barbadoes. The heat of the climate rendered labour difficult to the whites, and from its first settlement South

Carolina was a slave state; besides which, these settlers seem to have been a somewhat improvident and shiftless set of people, deriving their supplies for several years from the proprietaries, for which, though obtained as purchases, they appear never to have paid; complaining bitterly when the proprietaries, objecting naturally enough to supply them on these terms, declared that "they would no longer continue to feed and to clothe them." To such men it would soon become an object to possess negro slaves, without which, it was early said, "a planter can never do any great matter." The climate of South Carolina was not only congenial to the negro, but, as we have seen, the temper of the people made them willingly avail themselves of slave labour, and very soon the slave population far outnumbered the whites.

The management of Sir John, or Landgrave Yeamans not being by any means satisfactory to the proprietaries, nor yet to the colony, he was recalled in 1674, and Joseph West was appointed governor and created landgrave, and to him the proprietaries made over as salary their outstanding claims against the colony—the surest means of trying his popularity. Nevertheless, we find, at the end of ten years, that "he received the whole product of his traffic, as the reward of his services, without any impeachment of his morals." The proprietaries, seeing the character of the emigrants they had sent over, encouraged settlers from the New England and the northern colonies; and with a desire to promote the advantage of the industrious, sent over further supplies, informing the colony, however, that they must be paid, being determined "to make no more desperate debts."

### INFLUX OF HUGUENOTS AND OTHERS

The fame of the beautiful land of South Carolina, "the region where every month had its succession of flowers," soon led to the attempt to introduce and cultivate the olive, the orange, the mulberry for the production of the silk-worm, and vines for the production of wine. Charles II himself sent over to the colony two small vessels with these plants, and Protestants from the south of France for their cultivation; he also exempted the province from the payment of duties on these commodities for a limited time, which caused dissatisfaction at home, and the remonstrance against "encouraging people to remove to the plantations, as too many go thither already to the unpeopling and ruin of the kingdom." Emigrants continued to come over from England, and these of various classes, not only impoverished cavaliers and discontented churchmen, but the soundest element for colonisation, sturdy dissenters, to whom their native land no longer afforded a secure abode. Among other companies of emigrants were a considerable number from Somersetshire, who accompanied Joseph Blake, the brother of the celebrated admiral, now dead. Blake was himself no longer young, but unable to endure the present oppressions of England, and dreading still worse from a popish successor to the crown, devoted the whole of the vast fortune he had inherited from his brother to the purposes of emigration. A colony of Irish went over, under Ferguson, and soon amalgamated with the population. Lord Cardross also took over a company of brave Scotch exiles, who had suffered grievously at home for their religion—men who had been thumb-screwed and tortured for conscience' sake; but they, having established themselves at Port Royal, fell victims to the animosity of the Spaniards, who claimed that portion of the district as appertaining to St. Augustine, and consequently destroyed their settlement. Many returned to Scotland; the rest, like the Irish, became blended with the original colonists.

[1674 A.D.]

From France also came great numbers of the best and noblest of her people, men and women of whom she was not worthy, forced from their country by the severity of laws which placed truth, sincerity, and uprightness before God and man on a par with treason and murder. Louis XIV, an old debauchee, sought to atone for a life of profligacy by converting the Huguenots to the Catholic faith, even at the point of the sword; their native land was made intolerable to them, and they sought for peace by flight and voluntary exile. But flight and exile were no longer permitted to them; to leave their native land was made felony. Tyranny, however, is powerless against the human will based on the rights of conscience; and spite of the prohibitions of law, the persecuted Calvinists fled in thousands to that happy land beyond the Atlantic, the noblest privilege of which has ever been that it furnished a safe asylum to the true-hearted and the conscientious of every European land, and where men might worship according to the dictates of their own souls. These refugees were warmly welcomed to New England and New York, but the mild, congenial climate of South Carolina was more attractive to the exiles of France.

Hither came these fugitives from the most beautiful and fertile regions of France—"men," says Bancroft *g* eloquently, "who had all the virtues of the English Puritans without their bigotry, to the land to which the tolerant benevolence of Shaftesbury had invited the believers of every creed. From a land which had suffered its king to drive half a million of its best citizens into exile, they came to the land which was the hospitable refuge of the oppressed; where superstition and fanaticism, infidelity and faith, cold speculation and animated zeal were alike admitted without question." In this chosen home of their exile, lands were assigned to them, on the banks of the Cooper river, and there they soon established their homes. Their church was in Charleston, and "thither," says the same historian, who so keenly feels every beautiful trait of humanity, "on the Lord's Day, gathered from their plantations on the banks of the river, and taking advantage of the ebb and flow of tide, they might regularly be seen, parents with their children, whom no bigot could wrest from them, making their way along the river, through scenes so tranquil that the silence was broken only by the rippling of the oars, and the hum of the flourishing villages that gemmed the confluence of the rivers. Other Huguenot emigrants established themselves on the south bank of the Santee."

Thus was the original scheme of the Huguenot colonisation on this very soil, as entertained by Coligny, at length accomplished, although a century later. Liberal as was the Grand Model constitution as regarded religious toleration, the spirit of the settlers was not equal to it in this respect. The Huguenot colonists were not cordially received by them; persecution was impossible, but hospitality was withheld; and though they formed the most industrious, useful, and sterling portion of the population, it was many years before they were allowed the rights of fellow-citizenship. As striking instances, showing the noble character of these emigrants, Bancroft *g* says: "The United States are full of monuments of the emigrations from France. When the struggle for independence arrived, the son of Judith Manigault intrusted the vast fortune he had acquired to the service of the country that had adopted his mother; the hall in Boston where the eloquence of New England rocked the infant spirit of independence was the gift of the son of a Huguenot; when the Treaty of Paris for the independence of the country was framing, the grandson of a Huguenot, acquainted from childhood with the wrongs of his ancestors, would not allow his jealousies of France to be

lulled, and exerted a powerful influence in stretching the boundary of the states to the Mississippi. On the northeastern frontier state, the name of the oldest college bears witness to the liberality of a descendant of the Huguenots."

The province of South Carolina was divided, in 1683, into three counties: Colleton, including the district around Port Royal; Berkeley, embracing Charleston and its vicinity; and Craven, the district formerly Clarendon, towards Cape Fear, the earliest settlement of the whole. But Berkeley only as yet was sufficiently populous to afford a county court. West, who governed to the contentment of the settlers, failed to give satisfaction to the proprietaries, and was superseded, in 1683, by Moreton, a relative of Blake, who was also created landgrave; the next year however, West was re-elected; a new governor was then sent from England, but he died, and West remained in office; a second governor came over, but he was soon deposed by the proprietaries, in consequence of favouring the buccaneers, and Moreton again resumed office. In six years the head of the government was changed five times.

The relationship between the colonists and the proprietaries increased in difficulty every succeeding year. There was little that was straightforward on either side, and where either apparently wished to do right, they were counteracted by the other. For instance, the proprietaries opposed and remonstrated against the practice of the settlers to carry on partisan war with the neighbouring Indians for the purpose of kidnapping and selling them as slaves in the West Indies; but the settlers persisted in it; nay, even Governor West himself was accused of connivance at this barbarous practice. The payment of debts which had been contracted out of the province could not be enforced; nor would the more populous districts of Charleston, where the members of assembly were elected, allow to the other provinces the same privilege, when population extended, which they themselves enjoyed.

### THE BUCCANEERS

Another serious charge against them is the favour which they showed to the buccaneers. "These remarkable freebooters," says Hildreth,[h] "a mixture of French, English, and Dutch, consisted originally of adventurers in the West India seas, whose establishments the Spaniards had broken up. Some fifty or sixty years before, contemporaneously with the English and French settlements on the Caribbee Islands, they had commenced as occasional cruisers on a small scale against the Spaniards, in the intervals of the planting season. During the long war between France and Spain, from 1635 to 1660, they had obtained commissions to cruise against Spanish commerce, principally from the governors of the French West India Islands. Almost anything, indeed, in the shape of a commission was enough to serve their purpose. As an offset to that Spanish arrogance which had claimed to exclude all other nations from these West Indian seas, the Spanish commerce in those seas was regarded by all other nations as fair plunder. The means and number of the buccaneers gradually increased. The unquiet spirits of all countries resorted to them. Issuing from their strongholds, the island of Tortugo, on the west coast of St. Domingo, and Port Royal in Jamaica, they committed such audacious and successful robberies on the Spanish American cities as to win almost the honours of legitimate heroes. They were countenanced for a time by France and England; one of their leaders was appointed governor of Jamaica, and another was knighted by Charles II."

[1683-1685 A.D.]

Charles, spite of the favour he had shown to the buccaneer chief, was compelled, however, by treaties with his allies and by the complaints of his own subjects, whose commerce was injured by these illegal traders, to use his most strenuous endeavours to put an end to them; and his successor was even still more in earnest. In 1684 a law was passed against pirates, which was confirmed by the proprietaries of South Carolina, and their commands issued, that it should be rigorously enforced within their jurisdiction. But this was not an easy matter. The colonists not only favoured the buccaneer, who brought abundance of Spanish gold and silver into their country, but they were irritated against the Spaniards, who, justly perhaps, incensed by the English encroachments on their borders, had destroyed the Scotch settlement at Port Royal, and were glad of any means to make reprisals. Little attention, therefore, was paid by the English to the suppression of piracy. "The pirates," says Hewatt,[t] in his history of South Carolina, "had already, by their money, their gallant manners, and their freedom of intercourse with the people, so ingratiated themselves into the public favour that it would have been no easy matter to bring them to trial, and dangerous even to have punished them as they deserved. When brought to trial, the courts of law became scenes of altercation, discord, and confusion. Bold and seditious speeches were made from the bar in contempt of the proprietaries and their government. Since no pardons could be obtained but such as they authorised the governor to grant, the assembly violently proposed a bill of indemnity, and when the governor refused his assent to this measure, they made a law empowering magistrates and judges to put in force the *habeas corpus* act of England. Hence it happened that several of those pirates escaped, purchased lands from the colonists, and took up their residence in the country. While money flowed into the colony by this channel, the authority of government was too feeble a barrier to stem the tide and prevent such illegal practices."

The very proprietaries themselves at length, to gratify the people, granted an indemnity to all the pirates, excepting in one case, where the plunder had been from the dominions of the Great Mogul. Very justly does this historian remark, that "the gentleness of government towards these public robbers, and the civility and friendship with which they were treated by the people, were evidences of the licentious spirit which prevailed in the colony." And not only an evidence of this, but of the enmity which existed towards the Spaniards; so great indeed was this enmity that but for the earnest remonstrances of the proprietaries, which in this case were regarded, they would have invaded Florida to drive the Spaniards thence, and that even while the two nations were at peace.

### POLITICAL UNREST; ABROGATION OF THE GRAND MODEL

Affairs became still more and more difficult, and in 1685 James II meditated a revocation of the charter itself. The palatine court, wishful not to offend the king at this critical moment, and to satisfy the English merchants who were jealous of the trade of South Carolina, ordered the governor and council to use their diligence in collecting the duty on tobacco transported to other colonies, and to seize all ships that presumed to trade contrary to the acts of navigation. But vain were these orders, which they had no power to enforce. The colonists resisted every attempt of this kind, disregarding the dictates of the proprietaries, and holding themselves independent almost of the English monarch.

At a loss how to manage in these perplexed circumstances, and imagining that the fault existed in the governor as well as in the people, the proprietaries resolved to remedy one error at least by sending out James Colleton, brother of the proprietary, who, to sustain his dignity of governor-landgrave, should be endowed with forty-eight thousand acres of land. This was like the reasoning of the founders of the Grand Model, with whom "the aristocracy was the rock of English principles," and "the object of law the preservation of property." Colleton arrived, armed with all the dignity that could be conferred upon his office, intending to awe the people into submission; and his first act was to come into direct collision with the colonial parliament. A majority of the members refused to obey the Grand Model constitution, and these men were excluded by him from the house, as "sapping the very foundations of government." All returned to their several homes, spreading discontent and disaffection wherever they came. A new parliament was called, and only such members were elected to it as "would oppose every measure of the governor." He next attempted to collect the quit-rents due to the proprietaries; but here again direct opposition met him: the people, in a state of insurrection, seized upon the public records and imprisoned the secretary of the province. Colleton, not knowing how to deal with such refractory elements, pretended danger from the Indians or Spaniards, and, calling out the militia, declared the province under martial law. A more unwise step could not have been taken; for men of their temper were just as likely to use their arms against a ruler whom they at once despised and disliked, as against the general enemy. Any further step in folly was saved him. The English revolution of 1688 took place; William and Mary were proclaimed, and, as if in imitation of the mother-country, Colleton was impeached by the assembly and banished the province.

Political convulsions, however, were not wholly at an end; for in the midst of the ferment, the infamous Seth Sothel, whom we have seen banished from North Carolina, suddenly made his appearance in Charleston, and thinking, probably, that this was a people kindred to himself, seized the reins of government, and for some little time found actually a faction to support him. But after two years' rule, he was not only deposed by the people, but censured severely and recalled by the proprietaries, who, though he was still a member of their own body, treated him as "a usurper of office."

A new governor, Philip Ludwell, was appointed, with orders to "inquire into the grievances complained of and to inform them what was best to be done"; and in this respect they had at last discovered the true dignity of the governor. A general pardon was granted, and in April, 1693, "the Grand Model constitution" was abrogated, the proprietaries wisely conceding "that as the people have declared they would rather be governed by the powers granted by the charter, without regard to the fundamental constitutions, it will be for their quiet, and the protection of the well-disposed, to grant their request."[u]

### THE CAROLINAS BOUGHT BY THE CROWN; RICE INTRODUCED

Nothing of importance happened in the northern settlements until 1710, when they received an accession to their numbers by the arrival of some German settlers at Roanoke. In the southern colony, Governor Ludwell, in obedience to the commands of the proprietors, was desirous of allowing the French settlers the same privileges which the English enjoyed; but he was resisted by the assembly and people, and applied to the proprietaries for

further instructions. The answer he received was an order to vacate his office in favour of Thomas Smith. During his administration, the captain of a Madagascar vessel, which touched at Charleston on her voyage to Britain, presented Smith with a bag of seed-rice, which he prudently distributed among his friends for cultivation; who, planting their parcels in different soils, found the result to exceed their most sanguine expectations. From this circumstance Carolina dates the introduction of one of her chief staples.

Archdale, one of the proprietaries, and a Quaker, arrived in Charleston in August, 1695, and, by a wise administration, he quieted the public discontents, and gave such general satisfaction as to receive a vote of thanks from the assembly of the province. He then went to North Carolina, tranquillised that colony, secured the good will and esteem of the Indians and Spaniards, and returned to England at the close of the year 1696. Archdale nominated Joseph Blake as his successor, who governed the colony wisely for four years.

Blake died in 1700, and with his death terminated the short interval of tranquillity which had commenced under Archdale. Under Blake's successors, James Moore and Sir Nathaniel Johnson, the colony was harassed with Indian wars, and involved in debt by an unsuccessful expedition against the Spaniards at St. Augustine. Henceforward, every kind of misrule distracted the colony, until 1729, when the proprietary interests were sold to the crown. [The king paid £2,500 for each of the seven shares. The population was then about ten thousand.]

The first Indian war which signalised this period broke out in 1703, the Spaniards having instigated the Indians to commence hostilities. Governor Moore soon finished the affair, by killing and taking prisoners about eight hundred of the Indians. In 1706 the Spaniards attacked Charleston, but were repulsed by Governor Johnson, leaving one ship and ninety men in the hands of the English. In 1712 the outer settlements of the northern province were attacked by about twelve hundred of the Coree and Tuscarora tribes of Indians. A sudden attack, in which one hundred and thirty-seven of the colonists were massacred in a single night, gave the first notice of the intentions of the Indians. A powerful force was despatched to the field of action by the southern colony, under Colonel Barnwell, who, after overcoming the most incredible obstacles in his march through a wilderness of two hundred miles, suddenly attacked and defeated the Indians in their encampment, killing three hundred of their number, and taking one hundred prisoners. The Tuscaroras then retreated to their town, fortified by a wooden breastwork. Barnwell surrounded them, and after killing, wounding, or capturing a thousand Indians, he made peace. The inhabitants of the forest, burning for revenge, soon broke the treaty, and the southern colony was again applied to for aid. Colonel James Moore, with forty white men and eight hundred friendly Indians, was sent to their aid, and finding the enemy in a fort near Cotechny river, he surrounded them, and after a week's siege took the fort and eight hundred prisoners. After suffering these defeats, the Tuscaroras removed north and joined the Five Nations, making the sixth of that confederacy.

The Tuscarora war ended, the Yemassees commenced hostilities against the southern colony. On the 15th of April, 1715, they began their operations by murdering ninety persons at Pocotaligo and the neighbouring plantations. The inhabitants of Port Royal escaped to Charleston. The colonists soon found that all the southern tribes were leagued against them, but they relied upon the assistance of those tribes who inhabited the country west of them. In this they were mistaken, for these Indians were either enemies or remained

neutral. Thus with about twelve hundred men, all that were fit for bearing arms in the colony, Governor Craven had to contend against seven thousand armed Indians. With this force Craven cautiously advanced into the Indian country and drove them into Florida. The colony offered the lands vacated by the Indians to purchasers. Five hundred Irishmen soon settled on them, but, by the injustice of the proprietaries, they were compelled to remove, and the frontier was again exposed. After the settlement of South Carolina, that colony had a separate assembly and governor, but remained under the jurisdiction of the same proprietaries; but when, in 1729, these persons sold their shares to the king, they were entirely separated.

For nearly a century after their first settlement both colonies had their population confined to the sea-coast; but in the middle of the eighteenth century it was discovered that the lands of the interior were by far the more fertile, and from that time the tide of emigration set westward. Numbers of emigrants from the more northern colonies, Pennsylvania particularly, attracted by the fertility of the soil, removed into the Carolinas, and the lands were soon in a high state of cultivation.

"Carolina," says Grahame,[v] "by its amazing fertility in animal and vegetable produce, was enabled from an early period to carry on a considerable trade with Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the Leeward Islands, which, at the close of the seventeenth century, are said to have depended in a great measure on that colony for the means of subsistence. Its staple commodities were rice, tar, and afterwards indigo." Oldmixon,[w] whose history was published in the year 1708, observes that the trade of the colony with England had recently gained a considerable increase; "for notwithstanding all the discouragements the people lie under," he adds, "seventeen ships came last year loaded from Carolina with rice, skins, pitch, and tar, in the Virginia fleet, besides straggling ships." At the commencement of the Revolution the population of North Carolina amounted to a quarter of a million, whilst South Carolina possessed nearly two hundred and forty-eight thousand inhabitants.

### GEORGIA; OGLETHORPE, WESLEY

The youngest of all the states which engaged in the war of independence was Georgia. The tract of land now forming the state of Georgia had been originally included in Heath's patent of 1630; but no settlements were made under that instrument, and it was declared void. The final settlement of the colony was owing principally to national rivalship and ambition. Another cause for its colonisation was the desire of the settlers at Charleston to interpose a barrier between them and the Spaniards at St. Augustine, who, they were fearful, would attempt to substantiate their boundless claims by force of arms. Individual patriotism, also, had a share in promoting the settlement of Georgia. It was requisite for the interest of Great Britain and the security of Carolina that a plantation should be established somewhere between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers—the territory included between those rivers being entirely destitute of white inhabitants. The Spaniards would probably ere long have attempted to annex it to Florida by a settlement, and the French would include it in the advances with which they were peopling the valley of the Mississippi. A settlement in this territory would have been particularly valuable to the French, as they could easily communicate, from it, with their sugar islands, and these latter need not then depend on the British colonies for food.

[1729-1735 A.D.]

In the year 1732 a charter was granted to Sir James Oglethorpe and several other noblemen and gentlemen of England, who proposed to remove to the colony the insolvent and imprisoned debtors, who were pining in poverty and want. The charter granted the territory between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers, and which, in honour of the king, was called Georgia. The trustees were vested with legislative power in the colony for twenty-one years, when the government was to pass into the hands of the king. This example of public spirit and philanthropy was warmly applauded throughout the kingdom, and elicited numerous donations from all classes of people; and in the space of two years the house of commons had voted, at different times, the sum of £36,000 towards the support of the colony. On the 6th of November, 1732, Oglethorpe sailed from Gravesend with a hundred and sixteen persons. They landed at Charleston first, where they were presented with a large supply of cattle and other provisions by the government of the province. Hence they set out for their new place of abode, which they reached on the 1st of February, 1733.

JAMES EDWARD OGLETHORPE
(1696-1785)

Oglethorpe fixed on a high bluff on the Savannah river, to which he gave the name of that stream, for a settlement. Here a fort was erected, and a few guns mounted on it for the defence of the infant colony. He immediately formed the settlers into a militia company, and appointed certain days for training the company. The Carolinians continued to send supplies of provisions, and skilful workmen to direct and assist in their labours. Oglethorpe's next measure was the establishment of some definite treaty with the Indians. He gave them presents, and they gave him as much land as he wanted. The Indians promised, with "straight hearts and love to their English brethren," to permit no other race of white men to settle in that country. Oglethorpe then committed the government to two individuals named Scott and St. Julian, and ordered Scott to make a treaty with the Choctaw Indians. This was done, and the interest of these powerful Indians secured to the English.

Oglethorpe returned to England, taking with him Tomochichi, the king of the Creeks, with his queen and several other chiefs. They were entertained in London with magnificent hospitality, loaded with presents and attentions from all classes of people, and introduced to the king and the nobility. After remaining in London four months, they returned with Oglethorpe and a shipload of emigrants. At the expiration of a year from this time between five and six hundred emigrants had arrived and taken up their abode in this colony. But it was soon found by experience, what might have been expected from a knowledge of the kind of colonists sent over, that the settlement did not fulfil the expectations of the projectors.

The trustees offered land to other emigrants, and more than four hundred persons arrived in the colony from Germany, Scotland, and Switzerland, in 1735. Among these were some of the associates of Count Zinzendorf, the

Moravian missionary. These were not the only persons of a religious character who arrived in the colony during this year.

John Wesley had formed, when at college, a pious association of young men, who visited the prisons and made many efforts to reform the vices of their race. Charles Wesley, the brother of the former, and George Whitefield, whose labours are well known to the student of American history, were among the principal members of this society, which was styled in derision, by the college wits, "the Godly Club." Oglethorpe was introduced to the two Wesleys, and, being made acquainted with their character, he prevailed upon them to come to America. With them came to the colony three or four of their associates, and three hundred others, among whom were one hundred and seventy more Moravian Germans. Wesley laboured in this field for some time without much success, when he returned to England. Soon after, Whitefield came out to the colony, and laboured much to establish an orphan asylum, in which design he partially succeeded, the asylum being still in existence, though not in a flourishing state.

### WAR WITH THE SPANIARDS; OGLETHORPE'S STRATEGY

Naturally fearful of the close proximity of the Spaniards, Oglethorpe applied himself to the fortification of the colony. In pursuance of this design, he built a fort on the banks of the Savannah, at a place he called Augusta. At Frederica, another fort with four regular bastions was erected; and a third was placed on Cumberland Island, which commanded the entrance to Jekyl Sound, through which alone ships of force could reach Frederica. Ten thousand pounds were granted by parliament for the construction of these forts and the maintenance of the garrisons. While the forts were building, the Spanish garrison was reinforced, and the governor of Georgia was informed by the commander of that garrison of the arrival of a commissioner from Havana, who wished a speedy conference with the British governor. This personage required of Oglethorpe the immediate evacuation by the English of all the territories south of St. Helena sound, as they were the property of the king of Spain, who would shortly vindicate his claim.

It was in vain for Oglethorpe to attempt to use arguments with a person who relied upon his supposed superiority of force; and he therefore sailed immediately to England, in order to state the condition of affairs to the ministry. In London, the founder of Georgia was promoted to the rank of major-general of all the forces in South Carolina and his own colony, with a regiment of six hundred new soldier emigrants for the defence of the colony.

During his absence in England the Spaniards made many attempts to detach the Creek and other friendly tribes from their alliance, and at the time of his arrival in Georgia some of the Creek chiefs were in St. Augustine. When they returned, they found at their town an invitation from Oglethorpe to visit him at Frederica, where he renewed the treaty, and foiled the intrigues of the Spaniards. These now employed an unwarrantable stratagem against the English.

Some of Oglethorpe's soldiers had been in the fortress at Gibraltar, where they had learned to speak the Spanish language. One of these soldiers they found means to corrupt, and employed him to excite a mutiny in the English camp. He formed a conspiracy, and a daring attempt was made to assassinate the general, whose courage and self-command happily rescued him from danger, and the conspirators were put to death.

[1740-1750 A.D.]

In 1740 the trustees rendered an account of their administration, in which it was stated that twenty-five hundred emigrants had been sent to the colony, and $500,000 had been expended on it; but such was the character of the emigrants, and so grievous were the restrictions laid upon the colony, that it yet depended upon charitable contributions for support.

War being declared between England and Spain, Oglethorpe led an army of four hundred chosen men, and a body of Indians, into Florida. He took two of the Spanish forts, and laid siege to St. Augustine. The garrison found means, however, to admit a reinforcement of seven hundred men into the town, with provisions. The Indians soon left the English camp, and many of the soldiers were sick. There was no prospect of starving the garrison out, and Oglethorpe, with great chagrin, raised the siege and returned to Frederica.

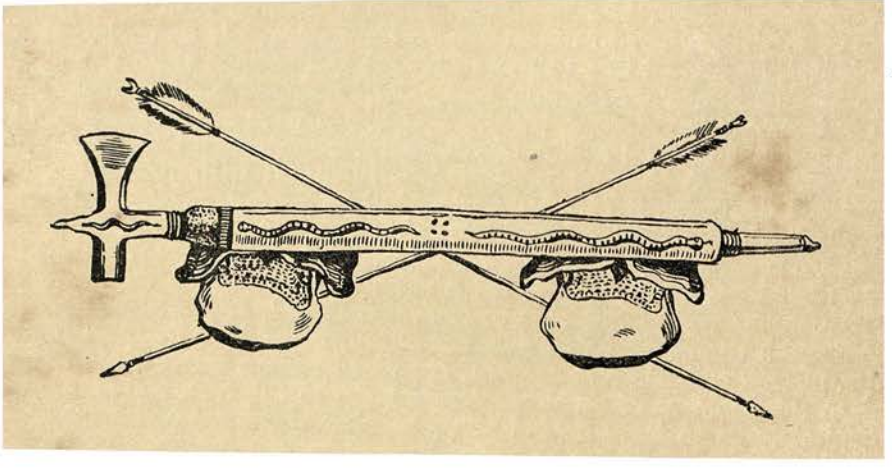
In 1742 an expedition from Havana, consisting of a formidable land and naval force [of fifty-one sail], sailed up the Altamaha, for the purpose of retaliating these aggressions. The army of the invaders consisted of five thousand men. The object of the expedition was not merely the destruction of Georgia, but the entire extermination of all the British settlements in the southern part of North America. Oglethorpe applied to the South Carolinians, who thought it more prudent to keep their men at home and fortify themselves, leaving Georgia to repulse the invaders herself, if possible. Oglethorpe, thus thrown on his own resources, proceeded in the following manner, as related by David Ramsay:[x] When the Spanish force proceeded up the Altamaha, Oglethorpe was obliged to retreat to Frederica. He had but about seven hundred men besides Indians; yet, with a part of these, he approached within two miles of the enemy's camp, with the design of attacking them by surprise, when a French soldier of his party fired a musket and ran into the Spanish lines. His situation was now very critical, for he knew that the deserter would make known his weakness. Returning, however, to Frederica, he had recourse to the following expedient. He wrote a letter to the deserter, desiring him to acquaint the Spaniards with the defenceless state of Frederica, and to urge them to the attack. If he could not effect this object, he desired him to use all his art to persuade them to stay three days at Fort Simon's, as within that time he should have a reinforcement of two thousand land troops, besides six ships of war; cautioning him, at the same time, not to drop a hint of Admiral Vernon's meditated attack upon St. Augustine. A Spanish prisoner was intrusted with this letter, under promise of delivering it to the deserter; but he gave it, as was expected and intended, to the commander-in-chief, who immediately put the deserter in irons.

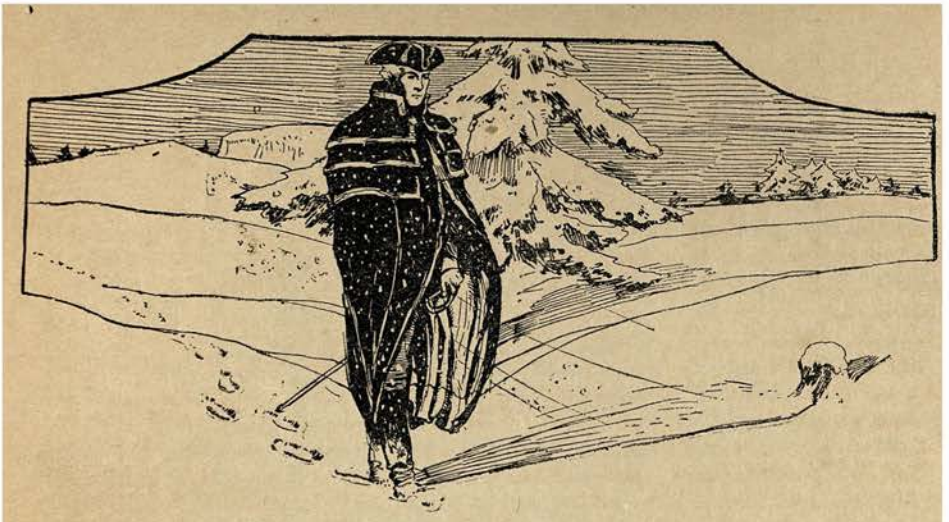
In the perplexity occasioned by this letter, while the enemy was deliberating what measures to adopt, three ships of force, which the governor of South Carolina had at last sent to Oglethorpe's aid, appeared on the coast. The Spanish commander was now convinced, beyond all question, that the letter, instead of being a stratagem, contained serious instructions to a spy; and, in this moment of consternation, set fire to the fort, and embarked so precipitately as to leave behind him a number of cannon and a quantity of military stores. Thus, by an event beyond human foresight or control—by a correspondence between the suggestions of a military genius and the blowing of the winds—was the infant colony providentially saved from destruction, and Oglethorpe gained the character of an able general.[1] He

[1 So remarkable was this defeat of 5,000 men by 650, that George Whitefield *y* was led to exclaim, "The deliverance of Georgia is such as cannot be paralleled but by some instances out of the Old Testament."]

now returned to England, and never again revisited Georgia. In 1775 he was offered the command of the British army in America. He professed his readiness to accept the appointment, if the ministers would authorise him to assure the colonies that justice would be done them; but the command was given to Sir William Howe. He died in August, 1785, at the age of ninety-seven, being the oldest general in the service. Nine years before his death, the province of Georgia, of which he was the father, had been raised to the rank of a sovereign, independent state, and was now acknowledged as such by the mother country, under whose auspices it had been planted.

The importation of West India rum into the colony being prohibited by the original charter, all the commerce of the colony with those islands was suspended; and it was asserted by the settlers that the prohibition, by the same instrument, of negro slavery in the colony prevented the successful cultivation of their lands. This latter assertion was, however, disproved by the Moravian settlers, whose lands were always well cultivated, without the least assistance of negroes or other servants. Many complaints were also made by the settlers against the tenure by which they held their lands. But, whether owing to these causes or to the indolence and ignorance of the settlers, it is certain that, at the end of ten years, the people obtained with difficulty a scanty subsistence. These apparent disadvantages deterred many emigrants from settling in the colony. It was useless to complain to the trustees, who disregarded all their petitions for a redress of grievances; and the colony languished until 1752, when the charter passed into the hands of the king, and the colony enjoyed the same privileges, and advanced in population and wealth as rapidly, as the neighbouring provinces.[s]





# CHAPTER II

## THE FRENCH COLONIES

LIBERTY and Absolutism, New England and New France! The one was the offspring of a triumphant government; the other, of an oppressed and fugitive people. The story of New France is from the first a story of war: war with savage tribes and potent forest commonwealths; war with the encroaching powers of Heresy and of England. Her brave, unthinking people were stamped with the soldier's virtues and the soldier's faults. The expansion of New France was the achievement of a gigantic ambition striving to grasp a continent. It was a vain attempt. Long and valiantly her chiefs upheld their cause, leading to battle a vassal population warlike as themselves. Borne down by numbers from without, wasted by corruption from within, New France fell at last; and out of her fall grew revolutions whose influence to this hour is felt through every nation of the civilised world.—FRANCIS PARKMAN.[b]

### THWAITES[1] ON EARLY FRENCH COLONIES

THE story of early French efforts at colonisation in North America, from Cartier's visit (1534) to Champlain's foundation of Quebec (1608), the first permanent French colony in Canada, has already been told.

It was unfortunate for New France that Champlain incurred at the outset the hostility of the Iroquois; the French and the Algonquin tribes, with whom they maintained friendly relations, were long after sorely afflicted by them. Had it not been for the Iroquois wall interposed between Champlain and the south, the French would doubtless have preceded the English upon the Atlantic plain. The presence of this opposition led the founder of New France, in his attempts to extend the sphere of French influence, to explore along the line of least resistance, to the north and west.

In 1611 Montreal was planted at the first rapids in the St. Lawrence, and near the mouths of the Ottawa and Richelieu. Four years later (1615)

[1 Copyright, 1897, by Longmans, Green, & Co.]

Champlain reached Lake Huron by the way of the Ottawa. There were easier highways to the Northwest, but the French were compelled for many years thereafter to take this path, because of its greater security from the all-devouring Iroquois.

To extend the sphere of French influence and the Catholic religion, as well as to induce the savages to patronise French commerce, were objects which inspired both lay and clerical followers of Champlain. Their wonderful zeal illumined the history of New France with a poetic glamour such as is cast over no other part of America north of Mexico. Under Champlain's guidance and inspired by his example, traders and priests soon penetrated to the far West—the former bent on trafficking for peltries and the latter on saving souls. Another large class of rovers, styled *coureurs de bois*, or wood-rangers, wandered far and wide, visiting and fraternising with remote tribes of Indians; they were attracted by the love of lawless adventure, and conducted an extensive but illicit fur-trade. Many of these explorers left no record of their journeys, hence it is now impossible to say who first made some of the most important geographical discoveries.

We know that by 1629, the year before the planting of the Massachusetts Bay colony, Champlain saw an ingot of copper obtained by barter with Indians from the shores of Lake Superior. In 1634 Jean Nicolet, another emissary from Champlain, penetrated to central Wisconsin, by way of the Fox river, and thence went overland to the Illinois country, making trading agreements with the savage tribes along his path. Seven years afterwards (1641) Jesuit priests said mass before two thousand naked savages at Sault Sainte Marie. In the winter of 1658–1659, two French fur-traders, Radisson and Groseilliers, imbued with a desire "to travell and see countreys" and "to be knowne with the remotest people," visited Wisconsin, probably saw the Mississippi, and built a log fort on Chequamegon Bay of Lake Superior. During 1662 they discovered James' Bay to the far northeast, and became impressed with the fur-trading capabilities of the Hudson Bay region. Not receiving French support in their enterprise, they sold their services to England. On the strength of their discoveries, the Hudson Bay Company was organised (1670). Saint-Lusson took formal possession of the Northwest for the French king at Sault Sainte Marie in 1671. Two years later (1673) Joliet and Marquette made their now famous trip over the Fox-Wisconsin waterway and rediscovered the Mississippi.[c]

### PARKMAN ON THE CONTRAST BETWEEN FRENCH AND ENGLISH COLONISTS[1]

The American colonies of France and England grew up to maturity under widely different auspices. Canada, the offspring of church and state, nursed from infancy in the lap of power, its puny strength fed with artificial stimulants, its movements guided by rule and discipline, its limbs trained to martial exercise, languished, in spite of all, from the lack of vital sap and energy. The colonies of England, outcast and neglected, but strong in native vigour and self-confiding courage, grew yet more strong with conflict and with striv-

[1 We have elsewhere described the first explorations of the French and their commissioners, such as Verrazano. We have described the Huguenot colony planted in Florida, at the instance of Admiral Coligny, by Ribaut, and its annihilation by the Spanish under Menendez. We have also recounted the voyages of Cartier, Roberval, de la Roche and Champlain, resulting in the settlements at Quebec, Montreal, and in Acadia, or Acadie. We have also seen the great influx of Huguenots into the English colonies of South Carolina.]

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ing, and developed the rugged proportions and unwieldy strength of a youthful giant.

In the valley of the St. Lawrence, and along the coasts of the Atlantic, adverse principles contended for the mastery. Feudalism stood arrayed against democracy; popery against protestantism; the sword against the ploughshare. The priest, the soldier, and the noble ruled in Canada. The ignorant, light-hearted Canadian peasant knew nothing and cared nothing about popular rights and civil liberties. Born to obey, he lived in contented submission, without the wish or the capacity for self rule. Power, centred in the heart of the system, left the masses inert. The settlements along the margin of the St. Lawrence were like a far-extended camp, where an army lay at rest, ready for the march or the battle, and where war and adventure, not trade and tillage, seemed the chief aims of life. The lords of the soil were noblemen, for the most part soldiers, or the sons of soldiers, proud and ostentatious, thriftless and poor; and the people were their vassals. Over every cluster of small white houses glittered the sacred emblem of the cross. The church, the convent, and the roadside shrine were seen at every turn; and in the towns and villages one met each moment the black robe of the Jesuit, the gray garb of the Recollet, and the formal habit of the Ursuline nun. The names of saints, St. Joseph, St. Ignatius, St. Francis, were perpetuated in the capes, rivers, and islands, the forts and villages of the land; and with every day, crowds of simple worshippers knelt in adoration before the countless altars of the Roman faith.

If we search the world for the sharpest contrast to the spiritual and temporal vassalage of Canada, we shall find it among her immediate neighbours, the stern Puritans of New England, where the spirit of nonconformity was sublimed to a fiery essence, and where the love of liberty and the hatred of power burned with sevenfold heat. The English colonist, with thoughtful brow and limbs hardened with toil; calling no man master, yet bowing reverently to the law which he himself had made; patient and laborious, and seeking for the solid comforts rather than the ornaments of life; no lover of war, yet, if need were, fighting with a stubborn, indomitable courage, and then bending once more with steadfast energy to his farm or his merchandise —such a man might well be deemed the very pith and marrow of a commonwealth.

In every quality of efficiency and strength, the Canadian fell miserably below his rival; but in all that pleases the eye and interests the imagination, he far surpassed him. Buoyant and gay, like his ancestry of France, he made the frozen wilderness ring with merriment, answered the surly howling of the pine forest with peals of laughter, and warmed with revelry the groaning ice of the St. Lawrence. Careless and thoughtless, he lived happy in the midst of poverty, content if he could but gain the means to fill his tobacco-pouch, and decorate the cap of his mistress with a painted ribbon. The example of a beggared nobility, who, proud and penniless, could only assert their rank by idleness and ostentation, was not lost upon him. A rightful heir to French bravery and French restlessness, he had an eager love of wandering and adventure; and this propensity found ample scope in the service of the fur-trade, the engrossing occupation and chief source of income to the colony. When the priest of St. Ann's had shrived him of his sins; when, after the parting carousal, he embarked with his comrades in the deep-laden canoe; when their oars kept time to the measured cadence of their song, and the blue, sunny bosom of the Ottawa opened before them; when their frail bark quivered among the milky foam and black rocks of the rapid;

and when, around their camp-fire, they wasted half the night with jests and laughter—then the Canadian was in his element. His footsteps explored the farthest hiding-places of the wilderness. In the evening dance his red cap mingled with the scalp-locks and feathers of the Indian braves; or, stretched on a bear-skin by the side of his dusky mistress, he watched the gambols of his hybrid offspring, in happy oblivion of the partner whom he left unnumbered leagues behind.

The fur trade engendered a peculiar class of restless bushrangers, more akin to Indians than to white men. Those who had once felt the fascinations of the forest were unfitted ever after for a life of quiet labour; and with this spirit the whole colony was infected. From this cause, no less than from occasional wars with the English and repeated attacks of the Iroquois, the agriculture of the country was sunk to a low ebb; while feudal exactions, a ruinous system of monopoly, and the intermeddlings of arbitrary power cramped every branch of industry. Yet by the zeal of priests and the daring enterprise of soldiers and explorers, Canada, though sapless and infirm, spread forts and missions through all the western wilderness. Feebly rooted in the soil, she thrust out branches which overshadowed half America; a magnificent object to the eye, but one which the first whirlwind would prostrate in the dust.

Such excursive enterprise was alien to the genius of the British colonies. Daring activity was rife among them, but it did not aim at the founding of military outposts and forest missions. By the force of energetic industry, their population swelled with an unheard-of rapidity, their wealth increased in a yet greater ratio, and their promise of future greatness opened with every advancing year. But it was a greatness rather of peace than of war. The free institutions, the independence of authority, which were the source of their increase, were adverse to that unity of counsel and promptitude of action which are the soul of war. It was far otherwise with their military rival. France had her Canadian forces well in hand. They had but one will, and that was the will of a mistress. Now here, now there, in sharp and rapid onset, they could assail the cumbrous masses and unwieldy strength of their antagonists, as the king-bird attacks the eagle or the swordfish the whale. Between two such combatants the strife must needs be a long one.

### *The Jesuit Missionaries*

Canada was a true child of the church, baptised in infancy and faithful to the last. Champlain, the founder of Quebec, a man of noble spirit, a statesman and a soldier, was deeply imbued with fervid piety. "The saving of a soul," he would often say, "is worth more than the conquest of an empire"; and to forward the work of conversion, he brought with him four Franciscan monks from France. At a later period the task of colonisation would have been abandoned, says Charlevoix,[d] but for the hope of casting the pure light of the faith over the gloomy wastes of heathendom. All France was filled with the zeal of proselytism. Men and women of exalted rank lent their countenance to the holy work. From many an altar daily petitions were offered for the well-being of the mission; and in the Holy House of Montmartre a nun lay prostrate day and night before the shrine, praying for the conversion of Canada. In one convent, thirty nuns offered themselves for the labours of the wilderness; and priests flocked in crowds to the colony.[1] The powers of darkness took alarm; and when a ship, freighted

[1] "*Vivre en la Nouvelle France c'est à vray dire vivre dans le sein de Dieu.*" Such are the extravagant words of Le Jeune[e] in his report of the year 1635.

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with the apostles of the faith, was tempest-tossed upon her voyage, the storm was ascribed to the malice of demons trembling for the safety of their ancient empire.

The general enthusiasm was not without its fruits. The church could pay back with usury all that she received of aid and encouragement from the temporal power; and the ambition of Louis XIII could not have devised a more efficient enginery for the accomplishment of its schemes than that supplied by the zeal of the devoted propagandists. The priest and the soldier went hand in hand, and the cross and the *fleur-de-lis* were planted side by side.

Foremost among the envoys of the faith were the members of that singular order who, in another hemisphere, had already done so much to turn back the advancing tide of religious freedom and strengthen the arm of Rome. To the Jesuits was assigned, for many years, the entire charge of the Canadian missions, to the exclusion of the Franciscans, early labourers in the same barren field. Inspired with a self-devoting zeal to snatch souls from perdition, and win new empires to the cross; casting from them every hope of earthly pleasure or earthly aggrandisement, the Jesuit fathers buried themselves in deserts, facing death with the courage of heroes, and enduring torments with the constancy of martyrs. Their story is replete with marvels—miracles of patient suffering and daring enterprise. They were the pioneers of Northern America.[1] We see them among the frozen forests of Acadia, struggling on snow-shoes with some wandering Algonquin horde, or crouching in the crowded hunting-lodge, half stifled in the smoky den, and battling with troops of famished dogs for the last morsel of sustenance. Again we see the black-robed priest wading among the white rapids of the Ottawa, toiling with his savage comrades to drag the canoe against the headlong water. Again, radiant in the vestments of his priestly office, he administers the sacramental bread to kneeling crowds of plumed and painted proselytes in the forests of the Hurons; or, bearing his life in his hand, carries his sacred mission into the strongholds of the Iroquois, like one who invades unarmed a den of angry tigers. Jesuit explorers traced the St. Lawrence to its source, and said masses among the solitudes of Lake Superior, where the boldest fur-trader scarcely dared to follow. They planted missions at St. Mary's and at Michilimackinac (1668–1671); and one of their fraternity, the illustrious Marquette, discovered the Mississippi, and opened a new theatre to the boundless ambition of France (1673).

The path of the missionary was a thorny and a bloody one, and a life of weary apostleship was often crowned with a frightful martyrdom. Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lallemant preached the faith amongst the villages of the Hurons, when their terror-stricken flock were overwhelmed by an irruption of the Iroquois (1649). The missionaries might have fled, but, true to their sacred function, they remained behind to aid the wounded and baptise the dying. Both were made captive, and both were doomed to the fiery torture. Brébeuf, a veteran soldier of the cross, met his fate with an undaunted composure, which amazed his murderers. With unflinching constancy he endured

[1 Thwaites observes that "the story of New France is also, in part, the story of much of New England, and of the States whose shores are washed by the Great Lakes and the Mississippi river. It may truly be said that the history of every one of our northern tier of commonwealths, from Maine to Minnesota, has its roots in the French *régime*. It is not true, as Bancroft avers, that the Jesuit was ever the pioneer of New France; we now know that in this land, as elsewhere in all ages, the trader nearly always preceded the priest. But the trader was not a letter-writer or a diarist; hence we owe our intimate knowledge of New France, particularly in the seventeenth century, chiefly to the wandering missionaries of the Society of Jesus."]

torments too horrible to be recorded, and died calmly as a martyr of the early church, or a war-chief of the Mohawks.

The slender frame of Lallemant, a man younger in years and gentle in spirit, was enveloped in blazing savin-bark. Again and again the fire was extinguished; again and again it was kindled afresh; and with such fiendish ingenuity were his torments protracted that he lingered for seventeen hours before death came to his relief.

Isaac Jogues, taken captive by the Iroquois, was led from canton to canton, and village to village, enduring fresh torments and indignities at every stage of his progress. Men, women, and children vied with each other in ingenious malignity. Redeemed, at length, by the humane exertions of a Dutch officer, he repaired to France, where his disfigured person and mutilated hands told the story of his sufferings. But the promptings of a sleepless conscience urged him to return and complete the work he had begun, to illumine the moral darkness upon which, during the months of his disastrous captivity, he fondly hoped that he had thrown some rays of light. Once more he bent his footsteps towards the scene of his living martyrdom, saddened with a deep presentiment that he was advancing to his death. Nor were his forebodings untrue. In a village of the Mohawks the blow of a tomahawk closed his mission and his life.

Such intrepid self-devotion may well call forth our highest admiration; but when we seek for the results of these toils and sacrifices we shall seek in vain. Patience and zeal were thrown away upon lethargic minds and stubborn hearts. The reports of the Jesuits, it is true, display a copious list of conversions; but the zealous fathers reckoned the number of conversions by the number of baptisms; and, as Le Clercq [9] observes, with no less truth than candour, an Indian would be baptised ten times a day for a pint of brandy or a pound of tobacco. Neither can more flattering conclusions be drawn from the alacrity which they showed to adorn their persons with crucifixes and medals. The glitter of the trinkets pleased the fancy of the warrior; and, with the emblem of man's salvation pendent from his neck, he was often at heart as thorough a heathen as when he wore in its place a necklace made of the dried forefingers of his enemies. At the present day, with the exception of a few insignificant bands of converted Indians in Lower Canada, not a vestige of early Jesuit influence can be found among the tribes. The seed was sown upon a rock.

While the church was reaping but a scanty harvest, the labours of the missionaries were fruitful of profit to the monarch of France. The Jesuit led the van of French colonisation; and at Detroit, Michilimackinac, St. Mary's, Green Bay, and other outposts of the West, the establishment of a mission was the precursor of military occupancy. In other respects no less, the labours of the wandering missionaries advanced the welfare of the colony. Sagacious and keen of sight, with faculties stimulated by zeal and sharpened by peril, they made faithful report of the temper and movements of the distant tribes among whom they were distributed. The influence which they often gained was exerted in behalf of the government under whose auspices their missions were carried on; and they strenuously laboured to win over the tribes to the French alliance, and alienate them from the heretic English. In all things they approved themselves the staunch and steadfast auxiliaries of the imperial power; and the marquis du Quesne observed of the missionary Picquet that in his single person he was worth ten regiments.

Among the English colonies, the pioneers of civilisation were for the most part rude yet vigorous men, impelled to enterprise by native restlessness,

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or lured by the hope of gain. Their range was limited, and seldom extended far beyond the outskirts of the settlements. With Canada it was far otherwise. There was no energy in the bulk of her people. The court and the army supplied the mainsprings of her vital action, and the hands which planted the lilies of France in the heart of the wilderness had never guided the ploughshare or wielded the spade. The love of adventure, the ambition of new discovery, the hope of military advancement, urged men of place and culture to embark on bold and comprehensive enterprise. Many a gallant gentleman, many a nobleman of France, trod the black mould and oozy mosses of the forest with feet that had pressed the carpets of Versailles. They whose youth had passed in camps and courts grew gray among the wigwams of savages, and the lives of Castine, Joncaire, and Priber are invested with all the interest of romance.[h]

*

BANCROFT'S ACCOUNT OF MARQUETTE, JOLIET, AND LA SALLE

In 1660 the colony of New France was too feeble to defend itself against the dangerous fickleness and increasing confidence of the Iroquois; the very harvest could not be gathered in safety; it seemed as if all must be abandoned. Montreal was not safe—one ecclesiastic was killed near its gates; a new organisation of the colony was needed, or it would come to an end. The company of the Hundred Associates resolved, therefore, to resign the colony to the king (February 14th, 1663); and immediately, under the auspices of Colbert, it was conceded to the new company of the West Indies.

A powerful appeal was made, in favour of Canada, to the king; the company of Jesuits publicly invited him to assume its defence, and become their champion against the Iroquois. After various efforts at fit appointments, the year 1665 saw the colony of New France protected by a royal regiment, with the aged but indefatigable Tracy as viceroy; with Courcelles, a veteran soldier, as governor; and with Talon, a man of business and of integrity, as intendant and representative of the king in civil affairs. Every omen was favourable, save the conquest of New Netherlands by the English. That conquest eventually made the Five Nations a dependence on the English world. The Bourbons found in them implacable opponents. Undismayed by the sad fate of Gareau and Mesnard, indifferent to hunger, nakedness, and cold, to the wreck of the ships of bark, and to fatigues and weariness, by night and by day, August 8th, 1665, Father Claude Allouez embarked on a mission, by way of the Ottawa, to the far West. On the first day of October he arrived at the great village of the Chippewas, in the bay of Chequamegon. It was at a moment when the young warriors were bent on a strife with the warlike Sioux. Allouez was admitted to an audience before the vast assembly. In the name of Louis XIV and his viceroy, he commanded peace, and offered commerce and an alliance against the Iroquois. On the shore of the bay, to which the abundant fisheries attracted crowds, a chapel soon rose, and the mission of the Holy Spirit was founded. There admiring throngs, who had never seen a European, came to gaze on the white man, and on the pictures which he displayed of the realms of hell and of the last judgment; there a choir of Chippewas were taught to chant the *pater* and the *ave*. During his long sojourn, he lighted the torch of faith for more than twenty different nations. The scattered Hurons and Ottawas, that roamed the deserts north of Lake Superior, appealed to his compassion, and, before his return, obtained his presence in their morasses.

The Sacs and Foxes travelled on foot from their country, which abounded in deer and beaver and buffalo. The Illinois, also—a hospitable race, unaccustomed to canoes, having no weapon but the bow and arrow—came to rehearse their sorrows. Their ancient glory and their numbers had been diminished by the Sioux on the one side, and the Iroquois, armed with muskets, on the other. Curiosity was roused by their tale of the noble river on which they dwelt, and which flowed towards the south.

Then, too, at the very extremity of the lake, the missionary met the wild, impassive warriors of the Sioux, who dwelt to the west of Lake Superior, in a land of prairies, with wild rice for food, and skins of beasts, instead of bark, for roofs to their cabins, on the banks of the great river, of which Allouez *i* reported the name to be "Messipi." [1]

After residing for nearly two years chiefly on the southern margin of Lake Superior, and connecting his name imperishably with the progress of discovery in the West, Allouez returned to Quebec (August, 1667), to urge the establishment of permanent missions, to be accompanied by little colonies of French emigrants; and such was his own fervour, such the earnestness with which he was seconded, that in two days, with another priest, Louis Nicolas, for his companion, he was on his way returning to the mission at Chequamegon.

The prevalence of peace favoured the progress of French dominion; the company of the West Indies, resigning its monopoly of the fur-trade, gave an impulse to Canadian enterprise; a recruit of missionaries had arrived from France; and Claude Dablon and James Marquette repaired to the Chippewas at the Sault, to establish the mission of St. Mary. It is the oldest settlement begun by Europeans within the present limits of the commonwealth of Michigan.

For the succeeding years, the illustrious triumvirate, Allouez, Dablon, and Marquette, were employed in confirming the influence of France in the vast regions that extend from Green Bay to the head of Lake Superior. The purpose of discovering the Mississippi, of which the tales of the natives had published the magnificence, sprung from Marquette himself. He had resolved on attempting it in the autumn of 1669.

It became the fixed purpose of Talon, the intendant of the colony, to spread the power of France to the utmost borders of Canada. To this end, Nicolas Perrot appeared as his agent in the West, to propose a congress of the nations at St. Mary's. The invitation reached the tribes of Lake Superior, and was carried even to the wandering hordes of the remotest north. Nor did the messenger neglect the south: obtaining, at Green Bay, an escort of Pottawottomies, he, the first of Europeans, repaired on the same mission of friendship to the Miamis at Chicago.

The day appointed for the unwonted spectacle of the congress of nations arrived in May, 1671; and with Allouez as his interpreter, St. Lusson, fresh from an excursion to southern Canada—that is, the borders of the Kennebec, where English habitations were already sown broadcast along the coast—appeared at the falls of St. Mary as the delegate of Talon. There are assem-

[1 The indefatigable archivist of the Marine and Colonies at Paris, Pierre Margry, *i* claimed that La Salle was the actual discoverer or rather (rediscoverer) of the Mississippi in 1670. This is disputed by Parkman, *k* Shea, *l* and others, who give the credit to Joliet, and the date as June 17th, 1673. There are still earlier claimants, as we have seen, Radisson and Groseilliers, who are by many believed to have found the Great River in 1658 or 1659. Then, too, we must not forget that the Spaniards had long before found the lower river, Pineda, probably as early as 1519, and Soto twenty years later. The explorations by Marquette and La Salle were, however, the first to bring the river into full comprehension.]

[1673 A.D.]

bled the envoys of the wild republicans of the wilderness, and brilliantly clad officers from the veteran armies of France. It was formally announced to the natives, gathered, as they were, from the head-springs of the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, and the Red river, that they were placed under the protection of the French king.

In the same year Marquette gathered the wandering remains of one branch of the Huron nation round a chapel at Point St. Ignace, on the continent north of the peninsula of Michigan, and the establishment was long maintained as the key to the West and the convenient rendezvous of the remote Algonquins. Here, also, Marquette once more gained a place among the founders of Michigan. The countries south of the village founded by Marquette were explored by Allouez and Dablon, who bore the cross through eastern Wisconsin and the north of Illinois, visiting the Mascoutins and the Kickapoos on the Milwaukee, and the Miamis at the head of Lake Michigan. The young men of the latter tribe were intent on an excursion against the Sioux, and they prayed to the missionaries to give them the victory. After finishing the circuit, Allouez, fearless of danger, extended his rambles to the cabins of the Foxes on the river which bears their name.

The long-expected discovery of the Mississippi was at hand, to be accomplished by Joliet, of Quebec, of whom there is no record, but of this one excursion, that gives him immortality, and by Marquette, who, after years of pious assiduity to the poor wrecks of Hurons, whom he planted, near abundant fisheries, on the cold extremity of Michigan, entered, with equal humility, upon a career which exposed his life to perpetual danger, and, by its results, affected the destiny of nations.

In 1673, on the 10th day of June, the meek, single-hearted, unpretending, illustrious Marquette, with Joliet for his associate, five Frenchmen as his companions, and two Algonquins as guides, lifted their two canoes on their backs and walked across the narrow portage that divides the Fox river from the Wisconsin. They reach the watershed; already they stand by the Wisconsin. "The guides returned," says the gentle Marquette,[m] "leaving us alone, in this unknown land, in the hands of Providence." France and Christianity stood in the valley of the Mississippi. Embarking on the broad Wisconsin, the discoverers, as they sailed west, went solitarily down the stream, between alternate prairies and hillsides, beholding neither man nor the wonted beasts of the forest; no sound broke the appalling silence but the ripple of their canoes and the lowing of the buffalo. In seven days "they entered happily the Great River, with a joy that could not be expressed"; and the two birch-bark canoes floated down the calm magnificence of the ocean stream, over the broad, clear sand-bars, the resort of innumerable water-fowl, between the wide plains of Illinois and Iowa.

About sixty leagues below the mouth of the Wisconsin, the western bank of the Mississippi bore on its sands the trail of men; a little footpath was discerned leading into a beautiful prairie; and, leaving the canoes, Joliet and Marquette resolved alone to brave a meeting with the savages. After walking six miles they beheld a village on the banks of a river, and two others on a slope, at a distance of a mile and a half from the first. The river was the Mou-in-gou-e-na, or Moingona, of which we have corrupted the name into Des Moines. Marquette and Joliet were the first white men who trod the soil of Iowa. Commending themselves to God, they uttered a loud cry. The Indians hear; four old men advance slowly to meet them, bearing the peace-pipe brilliant with many-coloured plumes. "We are Illinois," said they—that is, when translated, "We are men"—and they offered the calumet.

At the great council Marquette published to them the one true God, their Creator. He spoke also of the great captains of the French, the governor of Canada, who had chastised the Five Nations and commanded peace; and he questioned them respecting the Mississippi and the tribes that possessed its banks. For the messengers, who announced the subjection of the Iroquois, a magnificent festival was prepared of hominy and fish and the choicest viands from the prairies. After six days' delay, and invitations to new visits, the chieftain of the tribe, with hundreds of warriors, attended the strangers to their canoes; and, selecting a peace-pipe embellished with the head and neck of brilliant birds, and all feathered over with plumage of various hues, they hung round Marquette the mysterious arbiter of peace and war, the sacred calumet, a safeguard among the nations.

The little group proceeded onwards. "I did not fear death," says Marquette;[m] "I should have esteemed it the greatest happiness to have died for the glory of God." They passed the perpendicular rocks, which wore the appearance of monsters; they heard at a distance the noise of the waters of the Missouri, known to them by its Algonquin name of Pekitanoni; and when they came to the most beautiful confluence of rivers in the world—where the swifter Missouri rushes like a conqueror into the calmer Mississippi, dragging it, as it were, hastily to the sea—the good Marquette resolved in his heart, anticipating Lewis and Clarke, one day to ascend the mighty river to its source; to cross the ridge that divides the oceans, and, descending a westerly flowing stream, to publish the gospel to all the people of this New World.

In a little less than forty leagues the canoes floated past the Ohio, which was then, and long afterwards, called the Wabash. Its banks were tenanted by numerous villages of the peaceful Shawnees, who quailed under the incursions of the Iroquois. The thick canes begin to appear so close and strong that the buffalo could not break through them; the insects become intolerable; as a shelter against the suns of July, the sails are folded into an awning. The prairies vanish; and forests of whitewood, admirable for their vastness and height, crowd even to the skirts of the pebbly shore. It is also observed that, in the land of the Chickasaws, the Indians have guns.

Near the latitude of thirty-three degrees, on the western bank of the Mississippi, stood the village of Mitchigamea, in a region that had not been visited by Europeans since the days of De Soto. "Now," thought Marquette, "we must indeed ask the aid of the Virgin." Armed with bows and arrows, with clubs, axes, and bucklers, amidst continual whoops, the natives, bent on war, embark in vast canoes made out of the trunks of hollow trees; but at the sight of the mysterious peace-pipe held aloft, throwing their bows and quivers into the canoes as a token of peace, they prepared a hospitable welcome.

The next day, a long wooden canoe, containing ten men, escorted the discoverers, for eight or ten leagues, to the village of Akansea, the limit of their voyage. They had left the region of the Algonquins, and, in the midst of the Sioux and Chickasaws, could speak only by an interpreter. The wealth of his tribe consisted in buffalo skins; their weapons were axes of steel—a proof of commerce with Europeans. Thus had our travellers descended below the entrance of the Arkansas, to the genial climes that have almost no winter but rains, beyond the bound of the Huron and Algonquin languages, to the vicinity of the gulf of Mexico, and to tribes of Indians that had obtained European arms by traffic with Spaniards or with Virginia.

So, having spoken of God, and the mysteries of the Catholic faith; having become certain that the Father of rivers went not to the ocean east of Florida,

[1673-1678 A.D.]

nor yet to the gulf of California, Marquette and Joliet left Akansea (July 17th, 1673), and ascended the Mississippi.

At the thirty-eighth degree of latitude they entered the river Illinois, and discovered a country without its paragon for the fertility of its beautiful prairies covered with buffaloes and stags, for the loveliness of its rivulets and the prodigal abundance of wild duck and swans, and of a species of parrots and wild turkeys. The tribe of Illinois, that tenanted its banks, entreated Marquette to come and reside among them. One of their chiefs, with their young men, conducted the party, by way of Chicago, to Lake Michigan, and before the end of September all were safe in Green Bay.

Joliet returned to Quebec to announce the discovery, of which the fame, through Talon, quickened the ambition of Colbert; the unaspiring Marquette remained to preach the gospel to the Miamis, who dwelt in the north of Illinois, round Chicago. Two years afterwards, sailing from Chicago to Mackinac, he entered a little river in Michigan. Erecting an altar, he said mass after the rites of the Catholic church, then begged the men who conducted his canoe to leave him alone for a half hour. At the end of the half hour they went to seek him, and he was no more. The good missionary, discoverer of a world, had fallen asleep (May 18th, 1675) on the margin of the stream that bears his name. Near its mouth the canoemen dug his grave in the sand. Ever after, the forest rangers, if in danger on Lake Michigan, would invoke his name.

At the death of Marquette, there dwelt at the outlet of Lake Ontario Robert Cavalier de la Salle. Of a good family, he had renounced his inheritance by entering the seminary of the Jesuits. After profiting by the discipline of their schools, and obtaining their praise for purity and diligence, he had taken his discharge from the fraternity, and about the year 1667 embarked for fame and fortune in New France. Established at first as a fur-trader, at La Chine, and encouraged by Talon and Courcelles, he explored Lake Ontario, and ascended to Lake Erie; and when the French governor, some years after occupying the banks of the Sorel, began to fortify the outlet of Lake Ontario, La Salle, repairing to France in 1675, and aided by Frontenac, obtained the rank of nobility, and the grant of Fort Frontenac, now the village of Kingston, on condition of maintaining the fortress. The grant was, in fact, a concession of a large domain and the exclusive traffic with the Five Nations.

Joliet, as he descended from the upper lakes, had passed by the bastions of Fort Frontenac—had spread the news of the brilliant career of discoveries opened in the West. In the solitudes of Upper Canada the secluded adventurer had inflamed his imagination by reading the voyages of Columbus, and the history of the rambles of De Soto; and the Iroquois had, moreover, described the course of the Ohio. Thus the young enthusiast framed plans of colonisation in the southwest, and of commerce between Europe and the Mississippi. Once more he repaired to France, and from the policy of Colbert and the special favour of Seignelay, Colbert's son, he obtained, with the monopoly of the traffic in buffalo skins, a commission for perfecting the discovery of the Great River. With Tonti, an Italian veteran, as his lieutenant, and a recruit of mechanics and mariners, La Salle, in the autumn of 1678, returned to Fort Frontenac. Before winter, "a wooden canoe" of ten tons, the first that ever sailed into Niagara River, bore a part of his company to the vicinity of the falls; at Niagara, a trading-house was established; in the mouth of Tonawanta creek, the work of shipbuilding began; Tonti and the Franciscan Hennepin, venturing among the Senecas, established relations

of amity—while La Salle himself, skilled in the Indian dialects, was now urging forward the shipbuilders, now gathering furs at his magazine, now gazing at the mighty cataract, now sending forward a detachment into the country of the Illinois to prepare the way for his reception.

Under the auspices of La Salle, Europeans first pitched a tent at Niagara; it was he who, in 1679, amidst the salvo from his little artillery, and the chanting of the Te Deum, and the astonished gaze of the Senecas, first launched a wooden vessel, a bark of sixty tons, on the upper Niagara river, and, in the *Griffin*, freighted with the colony of fur-traders for the valley of the Mississippi, on the 7th day of August, unfurled a sail to the breezes of Lake Erie. La Salle, first of mariners, sailed over Lake Erie and between the verdant isles of the majestic Detroit; debated planting a colony on its banks; gave a name to Lake St. Clair (August 17th) from the day on which he traversed its shallow waters; and, after planting a trading-house at Mackinaw (August 27th), cast anchor in Green Bay. Here, having despatched his brig to Niagara river with the richest cargo of furs, he himself, with his company in scattered groups, repaired in bark canoes to the head of Lake Michigan; and at the mouth of the St. Joseph's, in that peninsula where Allouez had already gathered a village of Miamis, awaiting the return of the *Griffin*, he constructed the trading-house, with palisades, known as the Fort of the Miamis. But of his vessel, on which his fortunes so much depended, no tidings came. Weary of delay, he resolved to penetrate Illinois; and (December 3rd), leaving ten men to guard the Fort of the Miamis, La Salle himself, with Hennepin and two other Franciscans, with Tonti and about thirty followers, ascended the St. Joseph's and entered the Kankakee. Before the end of December the little company had reached the site of an Indian village on the Illinois, probably not far from Ottawa, in La Salle county.

The spirit and prudence of La Salle, who was the life of the enterprise, won the friendship of the natives. But clouds lowered over his path; the *Griffin*, it seemed certain, was wrecked, thus delaying his discoveries as well as impairing his fortunes. Fear and discontent pervaded the company; and when La Salle planned and began to build a fort on the banks of the Illinois, four days' journey, it is said, below Lake Peoria, thwarted by destiny and almost despairing, he named the fort Crèvecœur [*i.e.*, "Heartbreak," though by some said to be a remembrance of his share in the siege of Fort Crèvecœur in the Netherlands].

Yet here the immense power of his will appeared. Dependent on himself, fifteen hundred miles from the nearest French settlement, impoverished, pursued by enemies at Quebec, and in the wilderness surrounded by uncertain nations, he inspired his men with resolution to saw trees into plank and prepare a bark; he despatched Louis Hennepin to explore the upper Mississippi; he questioned the Illinois and their southern captives on the course of the Mississippi; he formed conjectures respecting the Tennessee river; and then, as new recruits were needed, and sails and cordage for the bark, in the month of March, with a musket and a pouch of powder and shot, with a blanket for his protection, and skins of which to make moccasins, he, with three companions, set off on foot for Fort Frontenac, to trudge through thickets and forests, to wade through marshes and melting snows, having for his pathway the ridge of highlands which divide the basin of the Ohio from that of the lakes—without drink, except water from the brooks—without food, except supplies from the gun. Of his thoughts on that long journey no record exists.

[1680-1684 A.D.]

During the absence of La Salle, Louis Hennepin, bearing the calumet, and accompanied by Du Gay and Michael d'Accault [also called Akko] as oarsmen, followed the Illinois to its junction with the Mississippi; and, invoking the guidance of St. Anthony of Padua, ascended the mighty stream far beyond the mouth of the Wisconsin—as he falsely held forth, far enough to discover its source.[1] The great falls in the river, which he describes with reasonable accuracy, were named (February, 1680) from the chosen patron of the expedition. After a summer's rambles, diversified by a short captivity among the Sioux, he and his companions returned, by way of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, to the French mission at Green Bay.

In Illinois Tonti was less fortunate. The quick perception of La Salle had selected, as the fit centre of his colony, Rock Fort, near a village of the Illinois. This rock Tonti was to fortify, and during the attempt men at Crèvecœur deserted. Besides, the enemies of La Salle had instigated the Iroquois to hostility, and in September a large party of them, descending the river, threatened ruin to his enterprise. After a parley, Tonti and the few men that remained with him, excepting the aged Franciscan Gabriel de la Ribourde, fled to Lake Michigan, where they found shelter with the Pottawottomies.

When, therefore, La Salle returned to Illinois, with large supplies of men and stores for rigging a brigantine, he found the post in Illinois deserted. Hence came the delay of another year, which was occupied in finding Tonti and his men and perfecting a capacious barge. At last (February 6th, 1682) La Salle and his company descended the Mississippi to the sea. His sagacious eye discerned the magnificent resources of the country. As he floated down its flood; as he framed a cabin on the first Chickasaw bluff; as he raised the cross by the Arkansas; as he planted the arms of France near the gulf of Mexico (April 9th), he anticipated the future affluence of emigrants, and heard in the distance the footsteps of the advancing multitude that were coming to take possession of the valley. Meantime, he claimed the territory for France, and gave it the name of Louisiana. The year of the descent has been unnecessarily made a question; its accomplishment was known in Paris before the end of 1682.

La Salle, remaining in the West till his exclusive privilege had expired, returned to Quebec (May 12th, 1683), to embark for France. In the early months of 1684 the preparations for colonising Louisiana were perfected, and (July 24th) the fleet left Rochelle. Four vessels were destined for the Mississippi, bearing two hundred and eighty persons, to take possession of the valley. Of these, one hundred were soldiers—an ill omen, for successful colonists always defend themselves; about thirty were volunteers, two of whom were nephews to La Salle; of ecclesiastics, there were three Franciscans and three of St. Sulpice, one of them being brother to La Salle; there were, moreover, mechanics of various skill; and the presence of young women proved the design of permanent colonisation. But the mechanics were poor workmen, ill versed in their art; the soldiers, though they had for their commander Joutel,[s] a man of courage and truth, and afterwards the historian of the grand enterprise, were themselves spiritless vagabonds, without discipline and without experience; the volunteers were restless with indefinite expectations; and, worst of all, the naval commander, Beaujeu, was deficient

[1 There has been general agreement among historians since the day of Sparks[n] that Father Hennepin[o] in his claim to have discovered the upper Mississippi stole his data from Le Clercq.[g] He has been branded as a downright liar by Gravier,[p] Bancroft,[q] Parkman,[k] and others, though Shea[r] has indicated some point in his possible exculpation.]

in judgment. The voyage begins amidst variances between La Salle and the naval commander. In every instance on the record the judgment of La Salle was right.[1]

At Santo Domingo, La Salle, delayed and cruelly thwarted by Beaujeu, saw already the shadow of his coming misfortunes. On the 10th day of January, 1685, they must have been near the mouth of the Mississippi; but La Salle thought not, and the fleet sailed by. Presently he perceived his error and desired to return, but Beaujeu refused; and thus they sailed to the west, and still to the west, till they reached the bay of Matagorda. Weary of differences with Beaujeu—believing the streams that had their outlet in the bay might be either branches from the Mississippi, or lead to its vicinity—La Salle resolved to disembark. Whilst he was busy in providing for the safety of his men, his store-ship, on entering the harbour, was wrecked by the careless pilot. Others gazed listlessly; La Salle, calming the terrible energy of his grief at the sudden ruin of his boundless hopes, borrowed boats from the fleet to save at least some present supplies. But with night came a gale of wind, and the vessel was dashed utterly to pieces. The stores, provided with the munificence that marked the plans of Louis XIV, lay scattered on the sea; little could be saved. To aggravate despair, the savages came down to pilfer, and murdered two of the volunteers.

Terror pervaded the group of colonists; the evils of the wreck and the gale were charged to La Salle—as if he ought to have deepened the channel and controlled the winds; men deserted and returned to the fleet. La Salle, who by the powerful activity of his will controlled the feeble and irritable persons that surrounded him, was yet, in his struggle against adversity, magnanimously tranquil. The fleet sets sail, and there remain on the beach of Matagorda a desponding company of about two hundred and thirty, huddled together in a fort constructed of the fragments of their shipwrecked vessel, having no reliance but in the constancy and elastic genius of La Salle. Ascending the small stream at the west of the bay, in the vain hope of finding the Mississippi, La Salle selected a site on the open ground for the establishment of a fortified post. The spot he named St. Louis.

This is the settlement which made Texas a part of Louisiana. In its sad condition, it had yet saved from the wreck a good supply of arms, and bars of iron for the forge. Even now this colony possessed, from the bounty of Louis XIV, more than was contributed by all the English monarchs together for the twelve English colonies on the Atlantic. Its number still exceeded that of the colony of Smith in Virginia, or of those who embarked in the *Mayflower*. France took possession of Texas; her arms were carved on its stately forest trees; and by no treaty or public document, except the general cessions of Louisiana, did she ever after relinquish the right to the province as colonised under her banners, and made still more surely a part of her territory because the colony found there its grave.

La Salle proposed to seek the Mississippi in canoes; and after an absence of about four months, and the loss of twelve or thirteen men, he returned in rags, having failed to find "the fatal river," and yet renewing hope by his presence. In April, 1686, he plunged into the wilderness, with twenty companions, lured towards New Mexico by the brilliant fictions of the rich mines of Sainte Barbe, the El Dorado of northern Mexico. On his return he heard of the wreck of the little bark which had remained with the colony; he heard it unmoved. Heaven and man seemed his enemies; and, with the

[1 This is Bancroft's opinion, though Winsor curiously deduces the theory that La Salle was in "a state of mental unsoundness."]

[1685-1687 A.D.]

giant energy of an indomitable will, having lost his hopes of fortune, his hopes of fame—with his colony diminished to about forty, among whom discontent had given birth to plans of crime—with no Europeans nearer than the river Panuco, no French nearer than Illinois—he resolved to travel on foot to his countrymen at the north, and return from Canada to renew his colony in Texas.

Leaving twenty men at Fort St. Louis (January 12th, 1687), La Salle, with sixteen men, departed for Canada. Lading their baggage on the wild horses from the Cenis, which found their pasture everywhere in the prairies; in shoes made of green buffalo hides; for want of other paths, following the track of the buffalo, and using skins as the only shelter against rain; winning favour with the savages by the confiding courage of their leader—they ascended the streams towards the first ridge of highlands, walking through beautiful plains and groves, among deer and buffaloes, till they had passed the basin of the Colorado, and in the upland country had reached a branch of Trinity river. In the little company of wanderers there were two men, Duhaut and L'Archevêque, who had embarked their capital in the enterprise. Of these, Duhaut had long shown a spirit of mutiny: the base malignity of disappointed avarice, maddened by suffering and impatient of control, awakened the fiercest passions of ungovernable hatred. Inviting Moranget to take charge of the fruits of a buffalo hunt, they quarrelled with him, and murdered him. Wondering at the delay of his nephew's return, La Salle, on the 20th of March, went to seek him. At the brink of the river he observed eagles hovering as if over carrion, and he fired an alarm gun. Warned by the sound, Duhaut and L'Archevêque crossed the river; the former skulked in the prairie grass; of the latter La Salle asked, "Where is my nephew?" At the moment of the answer Duhaut fired, and, without uttering a word, La Salle fell dead. "You are down now, grand bashaw! you are down now!" shouted one of the conspirators as they despoiled his remains, which were left on the prairie, naked and without burial, to be devoured by wild beasts.

Such was the end of this daring adventurer. For force of will and vast conceptions; for various knowledge and quick adaptation of his genius to untried circumstances; for a sublime magnanimity that resigned itself to the will of Heaven, and yet triumphed over affliction by energy of purpose and unfaltering hope—he had no superior among his countrymen. He had won the affection of the governor of Canada, the esteem of Colbert, the confidence of Seignelay, the favour of Louis XIV. After beginning the colonisation of Upper Canada, he perfected the discovery of the Mississippi from the falls of St. Anthony to its mouth; and he will be remembered through all time as the father of colonisation in the great central valley of the West.

But avarice and passion were not calmed by the blood of La Salle. Duhaut and another of the conspirators, grasping at an unequal share in the spoils, were themselves murdered, while their reckless associates joined a band of savages. Joutel, with the brother and surviving nephew of La Salle, and others, in all but seven, obtained a guide for the Arkansas; and fording rivulets, crossing ravines, by rafts or boats of buffalo hides making a ferry over rivers, not meeting the cheering custom of the calumet till they reached the country above the Red river, leaving an esteemed companion in a wilderness grave on which the piety of an Indian matron heaped offerings of maize at last, as the survivors came upon a branch of the Mississippi (July 24th, 1687), they beheld on an island a large cross. Never did Christian gaze on that emblem with heartier joy. Near it stood a log hut, tenanted by two

Frenchmen. Tonti had descended the river, and, full of grief at not finding La Salle, had established a post near the Arkansas.[q]

Parkman[h] says of La Salle: "To a sound judgment and a penetrating sagacity, he joined a boundless enterprise and an adamantine constancy of purpose. But his nature was stern and austere; he was prone to rule by fear rather than by love; he took counsel of no man, and chilled all who approached him by his cold reserve." [With Bancroft's and Parkman's admiration for La Salle, Dr. J. G. Shea[u] cannot agree. He says: "La Salle has been exalted into a hero on the very slightest foundation of personal qualities or great deeds unaccomplished." Shea accuses him of utter incapacity.]

### RESETTLEMENT OF LOUISIANA

Very shortly after the Peace of Ryswick the French renewed their attempts, interrupted and postponed by the late war, to plant a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi, to which they were the more invited by the growing prosperity of their settlements on the west end of Santo Domingo. The Canadian D'Iberville, lately distinguished by his exploits on the shores of Hudson Bay and Newfoundland, and by the capture of Pemaquid, was selected as the leader of the new colony. He was born at Quebec. Sauvolle and Bienville, two of his brothers, were joined with him in this enterprise; and with two hundred colonists, mostly disbanded Canadian soldiers, two frigates, and two tenders, he sailed to find and plant the mouth of the Mississippi, which never yet had been entered from the sea.

Having touched and recruited at Santo Domingo, D'Iberville proceeded on his voyage; but on reaching the bay of Pensacola, he found his entrance prohibited by a fort erected there by Spanish soldiers from Vera Cruz, under the guns of which two Spanish ships lay at anchor. The Spaniards, who still claimed the whole circuit of the gulf of Mexico, jealous of the designs of the French, had hastened to occupy this, the best harbour on the gulf; and the barrier thus established ultimately determined the dividing line between Florida and Louisiana.

These explorers presently entered (February 27th, 1699) an obscure outlet of the mighty stream, up which they ascended as high as Red river, encountering several parties of Indians, from one of which they received Tonti's letter to La Salle, written fourteen years before—a circumstance which assured them they had found the Mississippi. As the drowned lands of the lower Mississippi hardly seemed to invite settlement, the flat and sandy shores of the shallow bay of Biloxi were selected as the site for the incipient colony. There, within the limits of the present state of Mississippi, a fort was built and huts erected. The colony thus planted, D'Iberville returned to France for supplies.

It was rather English than Spanish rivalry that the French had to dread. The course and mouth of the Mississippi had become known in Europe through the two narratives of Father Hennepin,[o] in the last of which, just published and dedicated to King William, that Flemish friar set up a claim to have himself anticipated La Salle in descending to the mouth of the river. Coxe, a London physician, already interested in America as a large proprietor of West Jersey, had purchased the old patent of Carolana, granted to Sir Robert Heath in 1630, and under that patent, with the countenance of William, had put forward pretensions to the mouth of the Mississippi, which two armed English vessels had been sent to explore.

[1699–1701 A.D.]

D'Iberville returned towards the end of the year with two vessels and sixty Canadians. Determined to be beforehand with the English in occupying the river, he undertook a new expedition to find a proper place for a settlement. He was joined by the aged Tonti, the old associate of La Salle, who had descended from the Illinois with seven companions. D'Iberville and Tonti ascended together a distance of some three or four hundred miles; and on the bluff where now stands the city of Natchez, among the Indians of that name, with whom St. Come had lately established himself as a missionary, D'Iberville marked out a settlement which he named Rosalie, in honour of the duchess of Pontchartrain. But the feeble and starving state of the colony caused these posts to be soon abandoned.

When D'Iberville came the third time from France, in 1702, with provisions and soldiers, the inconvenience of Biloxi had become manifest. Most of the settlers were removed to Mobile, near the head of the bay of that name; and this first European settlement within the limits of the present state of Alabama now became, and remained for twenty years, the headquarters of the colony.

The soil of all this region was almost as barren as that about Biloxi. The climate was unsuited to European grains. As it seemed almost useless to attempt cultivation, the colonists employed themselves in trade with the Indians, in fishing or hunting, or in a futile search for pearls and mines. Though recruits repeatedly arrived, the whole number of colonists, at any one time during the next ten years, never exceeded two hundred; and it was only by provisions sent from France and Santo Domingo that these few were kept from starving.

While a foothold at the southwest was thus sought and feebly gained by the French, they curtailed nothing of their pretensions at the east and north. Villebon, still stationed at the mouth of the St. John, gave notice in 1698 to the authorities of Massachusetts, immediately after the Peace of Ryswick, that he claimed the whole coast, with an exclusive right of fishing, as far as Pemaquid.

The mission among the Penobscots was still kept up. The Norridgewocks, or Canabas, as the French called them, built a church at their principal village on the upper Kennebec, and received as a resident missionary the Jesuit Sebastian Rasles, an able and accomplished priest, who kept that tribe, for the next quarter of a century, warmly attached to the French. In the Treaty of Ryswick the English had made no provision for their allies, the Five Nations. In making arrangements with the governor of Canada for exchange of prisoners, Bellamont had endeavoured to obtain an acknowledgment of English supremacy over those tribes, and the employment of English agency in negotiating a peace. But Callières, who became governor-general after Frontenac's death, sent messengers of his own to the Iroquois villages, with the alternative of peace or an exterminating war, against which the English could now afford them no assistance. Their jealousy was also excited by a claim of Bellamont to build forts in their territory; and they were presently induced to send commissioners to Montreal, where a grand assembly of all the French allies was collected, and, with many formalities, a lasting treaty was at length concluded in August, 1701. But of the Frenchmen prisoners among the Iroquois, quite a number refused to return to the restraints of civilised life.

Free passage to the West thus secured, a hundred settlers, with a missionary leader, were sent to take possession of the beautiful strait between Lakes Erie and St. Clair. A fort was built; several Indian villages found

protection in its neighbourhood; and Detroit soon became the favourite settlement of western Canada. About the missionary stations at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, on the east bank of the Mississippi, between the mouths of the Ohio and the Illinois, villages presently grew up; and if the zeal of the missionaries cooled by degrees, and the idea of a Jesuit theocracy gradually faded away, that of a great French American empire began gradually to spring up in its place.

These territorial pretensions of the French occasioned no little alarm and anxiety in Massachusetts and New York. Eliot had left no successors in New England, where the missionary spirit was pretty much extinct. An attempt, indeed, had been made in New York to supply the religious wants of the Mohawks, and so to prevent their alliance with the French, by the appointment of Dellius, of the Reformed Dutch church, as a missionary for that tribe. "But his proselytes," says Charlevoix,[d] "were very few, and he did not seem very anxious to augment them." "This, indeed," he adds, "was not the first essay of the sort, which ought to convince Messieurs the Reformed that their sect lacks that fecundity, that constant and laborious zeal for the salvation of unbelievers, the most obvious and distinguishing mark of the true church of Christ. It is in vain they oppose to this so many calumnies, invented by themselves, to obscure the apostleship of our missionaries. Without wishing to apologise for individual failings, of which, doubtless, there have been instances, one must, however, be wilfully blind not to see that the far greater number lead a life truly apostolic, and that they have established churches very numerous and fervent—a thing of which no sect not of the Roman communion can boast." Abhorrence of these Catholic missionaries was sufficiently evinced by acts passed in Massachusetts and New York, which remained in force down to the period of the Revolution, and under which any Jesuit or popish priest coming within their territories was to be "deemed and accounted an incendiary and disturber of the public peace and safety, and an enemy of the true Christian religion," to suffer perpetual imprisonment, or death if an escape were attempted. Any person who should knowingly "receive, harbour, conceal, aid, succour, or relieve" any such popish priest, besides forfeiting £200, was to be three times set in the pillory, and obliged to give securities for good behaviour.

To promote the more rapid settlement of Louisiana, which at the end of twelve years numbered hardly three hundred inhabitants, the whole province, with a monopoly of trade, had been granted, in 1712, pending the late war, to Anthony Crozat, a wealthy French merchant, who flattered himself with profits to be derived from the discovery of mines, and the opening of a trade with Mexico. Crozat contracted, on his part, to send every year two ships from France with goods and immigrants. He was to be entitled, also, to import an annual cargo of slaves from Africa, notwithstanding the monopoly of that trade in the hands of a special company. The French government agreed to pay annually 50,000 livres ($10,000) towards supporting the civil and military establishments.

Under these new auspices, a trading house was established far up the Alabama, near the present site of Montgomery, and another at Natchitoches, on the Red river. Fort Rosalie was built on the site of Natchez, and presently a town began to grow up about it—the oldest on the lower Mississippi.

Crozat made strenuous efforts to open a trade with Mexico. His agents traversed the wilds of Texas, and reached the Spanish settlements on the lower Rio Grande; but they were arrested there, and sent into the interior. The intercourse by sea, allowed during the war, was prohibited after the

[1716-1721 A.D.]

peace; and a vessel which Crozat despatched to Vera Cruz was obliged to return without starting her cargo. As yet, Spain had relaxed little or nothing of her jealous colonial policy.

After five years of large outlay and small returns, Crozat was glad to resign his patent. Other speculators, still more sanguine, were found to fill his place. The exclusive commerce of Louisiana for twenty-five years, with extensive powers of government and a monopoly of the Canadian fur-trade, was bestowed on the Company of the West, otherwise called the Mississippi Company, known presently, also, as the Company of the Indies, and notorious for the stock-jobbing and bubble hopes of profit to which it gave rise. At the date of this transfer the colony contained, soldiers included, about seven hundred people. The Mississippi Company[1] undertook to introduce six thousand whites, and half as many negroes; and their connection with Law's Royal Bank, and the great rise in the price of shares, of which new ones were constantly created, gave them, for a time, unlimited command of funds. Private individuals, to whom grants of land were made, also sent out colonists on their own account. Law received twelve miles square on the Arkansas, which he undertook to settle with fifteen hundred Germans.

Bienville, reappointed governor, intending to found a town on the river in 1718, set a party of convicts to clear up a swamp, the site of the present city of New Orleans. At the end of three years, when Charlevoix[d] saw it, the rising city could boast a large wooden warehouse, a shed for a church, two or three ordinary houses, and a quantity of huts crowded together without much order. The prospect did not seem very encouraging; yet, in "this savage and desert place, as yet almost entirely covered with canes and trees," that hopeful and intelligent Jesuit could see "what was one day to become—perhaps, too, at no distant day—an opulent city, the metropolis of a great and rich colony." Bienville, equally hopeful, presently removed thither the seat of government.

During the rupture between France and Spain, occasioned by the intrigues of Alberoni, Pensacola twice fell into the hands of the French, but after the peace reverted again to its former owners. A new attempt to plant a settlement near Matagorda Bay was defeated by the hostility of the natives. The Spaniards, alarmed at this encroaching spirit, now first established military posts in Texas. The disastrous failure of Law's Royal Bank, and the great depreciation in the company's stock, put a sudden period to immigration. But already there were several thousand inhabitants in Louisiana, and the colony might be considered as firmly established. It still remained, however, dependent for provisions on France and Santo Domingo; and the hopes of profit, so confidently indulged by the projectors, proved a total failure. Agriculture in this new region was an expensive and uncertain adventure. Annual floods inundated the whole neighbourhood of the lower Mississippi, except only a narrow strip on the immediate river bank; and even that was not entirely safe unless protected by a levee or raised dike. The unhealthiness of the climate presented a serious obstacle to the progress of the colony. The unfitness of the colonists was another difficulty. Many of them were transported convicts or vagabonds, collected from the public highways; but these proved so unprofitable that their further importation was forbidden. The chief reliance for agricultural operations was on the labour of slaves imported from Africa. Law's German settlers on the Arkansas, finding themselves abandoned, came down to New Orleans, received allotments on both

[1 For a full account of the "Mississippi Bubble" see our history of France, Vol. XII, Chapter I.]

sides the river, some twenty miles above the city, and settled there in cottage farms, raising vegetables for the supply of the town and the soldiers. Thus began the settlement of that rich tract still known as the "German coast."

Six hundred and fifty French troops and two hundred Swiss were maintained in the province. The administration was intrusted to a commandant-general, two king's lieutenants, a senior counsellor, three other counsellors, an attorney-general, and a clerk. These, with such directors of the company as might be in the province, composed the superior council, of which the senior counsellor acted as president. This council, besides its executive functions, was the supreme tribunal in civil and criminal matters. Local tribunals were composed of a director or agent of the company, to whom were added two of the most notable inhabitants in civil and four in criminal cases. Rice was the principal crop, the main resource for feeding the population.[v]

PARKMAN ON THE SITUATION OF FRANCE IN AMERICA; INDIAN RELATIONS

And now it remained for France to unite the two extremities of her broad American domain, to extend forts and settlements across the fertile solitudes between the valley of the St. Lawrence and the mouth of the Mississippi, and intrench herself among the forests which lie west of the Alleghanies, before the swelling tide of British colonisation could overflow those mountain barriers. At the middle of the eighteenth century her great project was fast advancing towards completion. The great lakes and streams, the thoroughfares of the wilderness, were seized and guarded by a series of posts distributed with admirable skill. A fort on the strait of Niagara commanded the great entrance to the whole interior country. Another at Detroit controlled the passage from Lake Erie to the north. Another at St. Mary's debarred all hostile access to Lake Superior. Another at Michilimackinac secured the mouth of Lake Michigan. A post at Green Bay, and one at St. Joseph, guarded the two routes to the Mississippi, by way of the rivers Wisconsin and Illinois; while two posts on the Wabash, and one on the Maumee, made France the mistress of the great trading highway from Lake Erie to the Ohio. At Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and elsewhere in the Illinois, little French settlements had sprung up; and as the canoe of the voyager descended the Mississippi, he saw, at rare intervals, along its swampy margin, a few small stockade forts, half buried amid the redundancy of forest vegetation, until, as he approached Natchez, the dwellings of the *habitans* of Louisiana began to appear.

The forest posts of France were not exclusively of a military character. Adjacent to most of them, one would have found a little cluster of Canadian dwellings, whose tenants lived under the protection of the garrison, and obeyed the arbitrary will of the commandant; an authority which, however, was seldom exerted in a despotic spirit. In these detached settlements there was no principle of increase. The character of the people and of the government which ruled them were alike unfavourable to it. Agriculture was neglected for the more congenial pursuits of the fur trade, and the restless, roving Canadians, scattered abroad on their wild vocation, allied themselves to Indian women, and filled the woods with a mongrel race of bushrangers.

Thus far secure in the West, France next essayed to gain foothold upon the sources of the Ohio; and about the year 1748 the sagacious Count de la Galissonnière proposed to bring over ten thousand peasants from France, and plant them in the valley of that beautiful river and on the borders of

the lakes. But while at Quebec, in the castle of St. Louis, soldiers and statesmen were revolving schemes like this, the slowly moving power of England bore on with silent progress from the East. Already the British settlements were creeping along the valley of the Mohawk, and ascending the eastern slopes of the Alleghanies. Forests crashing to the axe, dark spires of smoke ascending from autumnal fires, were heralds of the advancing host; and while, on one side of the Alleghanies, Celeron de Bienville was burying plates of lead engraved with the arms of France, the ploughs and axes of Virginian woodsmen were enforcing a surer title on the other. The adverse powers were drawing near. The hour of collision was at hand.

The French colonists of Canada held, from the beginning, a peculiar intimacy of relation with the Indian tribes. With the English colonists it was far otherwise, and the difference sprang from several causes. The fur-trade was the life of Canada, agriculture and commerce were the chief sources of wealth to the British provinces. The Romish zealots of Canada burned for the conversion of the heathen; their heretic rivals were fired with no such ardour. And finally, while the ambition of France grasped at empire over the farthest deserts of the West, the steady industry of the English colonists was contented to cultivate and improve a narrow strip of seaboard. Thus it happened that the farmer of Massachusetts and the Virginian planter were conversant with only a few bordering tribes, while the priests and emissaries of France were roaming the prairies with the buffalo-hunting Pawnees, or lodging in the winter cabins of the Dakota; and swarms of savages, whose uncouth names were strange to English ears, descended yearly from the north, to bring their beaver and otter skins to the market of Montreal.

The position of Canada invited intercourse with the interior, and eminently favoured her schemes of commerce and policy. The river St. Lawrence and the chain of the great lakes opened a vast extent of inland navigation; while their tributary streams, interlocking with the branches of the Mississippi, afforded ready access to that mighty river, and gave the restless voyager free range over half the continent. But these advantages were well-nigh neutralised. Nature opened the way, but a watchful and terrible enemy guarded the portal. The forests south of Lake Ontario gave harbourage to the five tribes of the Iroquois, implacable foes of Canada. They waylaid her trading parties, routed her soldiers, murdered her missionaries, and spread havoc and woe through all her settlements.

It was an evil hour for Canada when, on the 28th of May, 1609,[1] Samuel de Champlain, impelled by his own adventurous spirit, departed from the hamlet of Quebec to follow a war-party of Algonquins against their hated enemy, the Iroquois. Ascending the Sorel, and passing the rapids at Chambly, he embarked on the lake which bears his name, and with two French attendants steered southward, with his savage associates, towards the rocky promontory of Ticonderoga. They moved with all the precaution of Indian warfare, when at length, as night was closing in, they descried a band of the Iroquois in their large canoes of elm bark approaching through the gloom.

[1 Fiske *w* emphasises the world-importance of the year 1609 as the year in which Spain's power fell with the practical confession of Dutch independence and the banishment of a million of the thriftiest inhabitants, the Moors. Fiske notes also that the defeat in July, 1609, of the Mohawks by Champlain at Ticonderoga made the Iroquois enemies of the French, and allies of the Dutch and later of the English; he calls this "one of the greatest central and cardinal facts in the history of the New World. Had the Iroquois been the allies of the French, it would in all probability have been Louis XIV, and not Charles II, who would have taken New Amsterdam from the Dutch. Had the Iroquois not been the deadly enemies of the French, Louis XIV would almost certainly have taken New York from the English."]

Wild yells from either side announced the mutual discovery. Both parties hastened to the shore, and all night long the forest resounded with their discordant war-songs and fierce whoops of defiance. Day dawned, and the fight began. Bounding from tree to tree, the Iroquois pressed forward to the attack; but when Champlain advanced from amongst the Algonquins, and stood full in sight before them, with his strange attire, his shining breast-plate, and features unlike their own, when they saw the flash of his arquebuse and beheld two of their chiefs fall dead, they could not contain their terror, but fled for shelter into the depths of the wood. The Algonquins pursued, slaying many in the flight, and the victory was complete.

Such was the first collision between the white men and the Iroquois, and Champlain flattered himself that the latter had learned for the future to respect the arms of France. He was fatally deceived. The Iroquois recovered from their terrors, but they never forgave the injury; and yet it would be unjust to charge upon Champlain the origin of the desolating wars which were soon to scourge the colony. The Indians of Canada, friends and neighbours of the French, had long been harassed by inroads of the fierce confederates, and under any circumstances the French must soon have become parties to the quarrel.

Whatever may have been its origin, the war was fruitful of misery to the youthful colony. The passes were beset by ambushed war parties. The routes between Quebec and Montreal were watched with tiger-like vigilance. Bloodthirsty warriors prowled about the outskirts of the settlements. Again and again the miserable people, driven within the palisades of their forts, looked forth upon wasted harvests and blazing roofs. The island of Montreal was swept with fire and steel. The fur trade was interrupted, since for months together all communication was cut off with the friendly tribes of the West. Agriculture was checked; the fields lay fallow, and frequent famine was the necessary result. The name of the Iroquois became a by-word of horror through the colony, and to the suffering Canadians they seemed troops of incarnate fiends. Revolting rites and monstrous superstitions were imputed to them; and, amongst the rest, it was currently believed that they cherished the custom of immolating young children, burning them with fire, and drinking the ashes mixed with water to increase their bravery. Yet the wildest imaginations could scarcely exceed the truth. At the attack of Montreal, they placed infants over the embers, and forced the wretched mothers to turn the spit; and those who fell within their clutches endured torments too hideous for description. Their ferocity was equalled only by their courage and address.

### *Expedition of Frontenac* (1696 A.D.)

At intervals the afflicted colony found respite from its sufferings, and through the efforts of the Jesuits fair hopes began to rise of propitiating the terrible foe. At one time the influence of the priests availed so far that under their auspices a French colony was formed in the very heart of the Iroquois country; but the settlers were soon forced to a precipitate flight, and the war broke out afresh (1654–1658). The French, on their part, were not idle; they faced their assailants with characteristic gallantry. Courcelles, Tracy, De la Barre, and De Nonville invaded by turns, with various success, the forest haunts of the confederates; and at length, in the year 1696, the veteran Count Frontenac marched upon their cantons with all the force of Canada. Stemming the surges of La Chine, sweeping through the

romantic channels of the Thousand Islands and over the glimmering surface of Lake Ontario, and trailing in long array up the current of the Oswego, they disembarked on the margin of the lake of Onondaga; and, startling the woodland echoes with the unwonted clangour of their trumpets, urged their perilous march through the mazes of the forest. Never had those solitudes beheld so strange a pageantry. The Indian allies, naked to the waist and horribly painted, adorned with streaming scalp-locks and fluttering plumes, stole crouching amongst the thickets, or peered with lynx-eyed vision through the labyrinths of foliage. Scouts and forest-rangers scoured the woods in front and flank of the marching columns—men trained amongst the hardships of the fur trade, thin, sinewy, and strong, arrayed in wild costume of beaded moccasin, scarlet legging, and frock of buckskin, fantastically garnished with many-coloured embroidery of porcupine. Then came the levies of the colony, in gray capotes and gaudy sashes, and the trained battalions from old France in burnished cuirass and headpiece, veterans of European wars. Plumed cavaliers were there, who had followed the standards of Condé or Turenne, and who, even in the depths of a wilderness, scorned to lay aside the martial foppery which bedecked the camp and court of Louis the Magnificent. The stern commander was borne along upon a litter in the midst, his locks bleached with years, but his eye kindling with the quenchless fire which, like a furnace, burned hottest when its fuel was almost spent. Thus, beneath the sepulchral arches of the forest, through tangled thickets and over prostrate trunks, the aged nobleman advanced to wreak his vengeance upon empty wigwams and deserted maize fields.

Even the fierce courage of the Iroquois began to quail before these repeated attacks, while the gradual growth of the colony, and the arrival of troops from France, at length convinced them that they could not destroy Canada. With the opening of the eighteenth century their rancour showed signs of abating; and in the year 1726, by dint of skilful intrigue, the French succeeded in establishing a permanent military post at the important pass of Niagara, within the limits of the confederacy. Meanwhile, in spite of every obstacle, the power of France had rapidly extended its boundaries in the West. French influence diffused itself through a thousand channels, amongst distant tribes, hostile, for the most part, to the domineering Iroquois. Forts, mission-houses, and armed trading stations secured the principal passes. Traders and *coureurs de bois* pushed their adventurous traffic into the wildest deserts; and French guns and hatchets, French beads and cloth, French tobacco and brandy, were known from where the stunted Esquimaux burrowed in their snow-caves, to where the Comanches scoured the plains of the south with their banditti cavalry. Still this far-extended commerce continued to advance westward. In 1738, La Verendrye essayed to reach those mysterious mountains which, as the Indians alleged, lay beyond the arid deserts of the Missouri and the Saskatchewan. Indian hostility defeated his enterprise, but not before he had struck far out into these unknown wilds, and formed a line of trading posts, one of which, Fort de la Reine, was planted on the Assiniboin, a hundred leagues beyond Lake Winnipeg. At that early period France left her footsteps upon the dreary wastes which even now have no other tenants than the Indian buffalo-hunter or the roving trapper.

The fur trade of the English colonists opposed but feeble rivalry to that of their hereditary foes. At an early period, favoured by the friendship of the Iroquois, they attempted to open a traffic with the Algonquin tribes of the Great Lakes; and in the year 1687 Major McGregory ascended with a boatload of goods to Lake Huron, where his appearance excited great

commotion, and where he was seized and imprisoned by the French. From this time forward the English fur-trade languished, until the year 1725, when Governor Burnet, of New York, established a post on Lake Ontario, at the mouth of the river Oswego; whither, lured by the cheapness and excellence of the English goods, crowds of savages soon congregated from every side, to the unspeakable annoyance of the French. Meanwhile, a considerable commerce was springing up with the Cherokees and other tribes of the south; and during the first half of the century the people of Pennsylvania began to cross the Alleghanies and carry on a lucrative traffic with the tribes of the Ohio.

These early efforts of the English, considerable as they were, can ill bear comparison with the vast extent of the French interior commerce. In respect also to missionary enterprise, and the political influence resulting from it, the French had every advantage over rivals whose zeal for conversion was neither kindled by fanaticism nor fostered by an ambitious government. Eliot laboured within call of Boston, while the heroic Brébeuf faced the ghastly perils of the western wilderness; and the wanderings of Brainerd sink into insignificance compared with those of the devoted Rasles.

In respect also to direct political influence, the advantage was wholly on the side of France. The English colonies, broken into separate governments, were incapable of exercising a vigorous and consistent Indian policy, and the measures of one government often clashed with those of another. Even in the separate provinces, the popular nature of the constitution and the quarrels of governors and assemblies were unfavourable to efficient action; and this was more especially the case in the province of New York, where the vicinity of the Iroquois rendered strenuous yet prudent measures of the utmost importance. The powerful confederates, hating the French with bitter enmity, naturally inclined to the English alliance, and a proper treatment would have secured their firm and lasting friendship. But at the early periods of her history the assembly of New York was made up in great measure of narrow-minded men, more eager to consult their own petty immediate interests than to pursue any far-sighted scheme of public welfare. Other causes conspired to injure the British interest in this quarter. The annual present sent from England to the Iroquois was often embezzled by corrupt governors or their favourites. The proud chiefs were disgusted by the cold and haughty bearing of the English officials, and a pernicious custom prevailed of conducting Indian negotiations through the medium of the fur-traders, a class of men held in contempt by the Iroquois, and known among them, says Colden,[x] by the significant title of "rum carriers." In short, through all the counsels of the province Indian affairs were grossly and madly neglected.[1]

With more or less emphasis, the same remark holds true of all the other English colonies.[2] With those of France it was far otherwise; and this difference between the rival powers was naturally incident to their different

[1] "We find the Indians, as far back as the very confused manuscript records in my possession, repeatedly upbraiding this province for their negligence, their avarice, and their want of assisting them at a time when it was certainly in their power to destroy the infant colony of Canada, although supported by many nations; and this is likewise confessed by the writings of the managers of these times."—*MS. Letter—Johnson y to the Board of Trade, May 24th*, 1765.

[2] "I apprehend it will clearly appear to you, that the colonies had all along neglected to cultivate a proper understanding with the Indians, and from a mistaken notion have greatly despised them, without considering that it is in their power to lay waste and destroy the frontiers. This opinion arose from our confidenee in our scattered numbers, and the parsimony of our people, who, from an error in politics, would not expend five pounds to save twenty."—*MS. Letter—Johnson y to the Board of Trade, November 13th*, 1763.

forms of government and different conditions of development. France laboured with eager diligence to conciliate the Indians and win them to espouse her cause. Her agents were busy in every village, studying the language of the inmates, complying with their usages, flattering their prejudices, caressing them, cajoling them, and whispering friendly warnings in their ears against the wicked designs of the English. When a party of Indian chiefs visited a French fort, they were greeted with the firing of cannon and rolling of drums; they were regaled at the tables of the officers, and bribed with medals and decorations, scarlet uniforms and French flags.

Far wiser than their rivals, the French never ruffled the self-complacent dignity of their guests, never insulted their religious notions, nor ridiculed their ancient customs. They met the savage half-way, and showed an abundant readiness to mould their own features after his likeness. Count Frontenac himself, plumed and painted like an Indian chief, danced the war-dance and yelled the war-song at the camp-fires of his delighted allies. It would have been well had the French been less exact in their imitations, for at times they copied their model with infamous fidelity, and fell into excesses scarcely credible but for the concurrent testimony of their own writers. Frontenac caused an Iroquois prisoner to be burned alive to strike terror into his countrymen; and Louvigny, French commandant at Michilimackinac, in 1695, tortured an Iroquois ambassador to death, that he might break off a negotiation between that people and the Wyandots. Nor are these the only well-attested instances of such execrable inhumanity. But if the French were guilty of these cruelties against their Indian enemies, they were no less guilty of unworthy compliance with the demands of their Indian friends, in cases where Christianity and civilisation would have dictated a prompt refusal. Even the brave Montcalm stained his bright name by abandoning the hapless defenders of Oswego and William Henry to the tender mercies of an Indian mob.

In general, however, the Indian policy of the French cannot be charged with obsequiousness. Complaisance was tempered with dignity. At an early period they discerned the peculiarities of the native character, and clearly saw that, while on the one hand it was necessary to avoid giving offence, it was not less necessary on the other to assume a bold demeanour and a show of power; to caress with one hand, and grasp a drawn sword with the other. Every crime against a Frenchman was promptly chastised by the sharp agency of military law; while among the English the offender could only be reached through the medium of the civil courts, whose delays, uncertainties, and evasions excited the wonder and provoked the contempt of the Indians. It was by observance of the course indicated above that the French were enabled to maintain themselves in small detached posts, far aloof from the parent colony, and environed by barbarous tribes, where an English garrison would have been cut off in a twelvemonth.[h]

# CHAPTER III

## ROGER WILLIAMS; AND NEW ENGLAND UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH

[1630–1660 A.D.]

> At a time when Germany was the battle-field for all Europe in the implacable wars of religion; when even Holland was bleeding with the anger of vengeful factions; when France was still to go through the fearful struggle with bigotry; when England was gasping under the despotism of intolerance; almost half a century before William Penn became an American proprietary; and two years before Descartes founded modern philosophy on the method of free reflection—Roger Williams asserted the great doctrine of intellectual liberty. It became his glory to found a state upon that principle, and to stamp himself upon its rising institutions in characters so deep that the impress has remained to the present day, and can never be erased without the total destruction of the work. He was the first person in modern Christendom to assert in its plenitude the doctrine of the liberty of conscience, the equality of opinions before the law.—George Bancroft.[b]

The founders of Massachusetts having fled from persecution on account of their religious opinions, were chiefly anxious to secure to themselves and their descendants the unmolested enjoyment of these opinions in the country where they had taken refuge. The Puritans had not learned to separate moral and religious from political questions, nor had the governors of any other state or sovereignty in the world, at that period, learned to make this distinction. We must not be surprised, therefore, to find that what was considered heresy by the rulers of Massachusetts should be regarded as subversive of the very foundations of society, and that, in accordance with these views, it should receive from them precisely the same sort of treatment which at the same period dissent from the established religion of the state was receiving from the rulers of the most enlightened nations of Europe. But the impracticability of maintaining a uniformity of religious opinion even

in a small community, most favourably situated for the purpose, soon became apparent. Among, the emigrants of 1630 was Roger Williams, a Puritan minister who officiated for some time as a pastor in New Plymouth; but subsequently obtained leave to resign his functions at that place, and in 1633 was appointed minister of Salem. His unflinching assertion of the rights of conscience, and the new views which he developed of the nature of religious liberty, had early attracted the attention of the leading men of the colony, and excited the hostility of a great portion of the people. Indeed, there was much in his doctrine to awaken the prejudices and excite the alarm of those who had adopted the exclusive theory of Winthrop and his adherents.

"He maintained," says Grahame,[c] "that it was not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor for Christians to join in family prayer with those whom they judged unregenerate; that it was not lawful to take an oath of allegiance, which he had declined himself to take, and advised his congregation equally to reject; that King Charles had unjustly usurped the power of disposing of the territory of the Indians, and hence the colonial patent was utterly invalid; that the civil magistrate had no right to restrain or direct the consciences of men; and that anything short of unlimited toleration for all religious systems was detestable persecution."

These opinions, and others of a kindred nature, enforced with an uncompromising zeal, soon occasioned his separation from his pastoral charge. A few admirers clung to him in his retirement; and when he denounced the use of the cross on the British flag, the fiery and enthusiastic Endicott cut the "popish emblem," as he styled it, from the national standard; nor did the censure of this act by the provincial authorities convince the military trained bands of Williams' error. With them the leaders were obliged to compromise. While measures were in agitation for bringing Williams to a judicial reckoning, Cotton and other ministers proposed a conference with him, of the fruitlessness of which the far-sighted Winthrop warned them: "You are deceived in that man, if you think he will condescend to learn of any of you." Subsequent events showed that these two men, the most distinguished in the colony, regarded each other with mutual respect throughout the whole controversy.[e]

### BANCROFT ON ROGER WILLIAMS AND THE FOUNDING OF RHODE ISLAND

Purity of religion and civil liberty were the objects nearest the wishes of the emigrants. The first court of assistants (August 23rd, 1630) had taken measures for the support of the ministers. As others followed, the form of the administration was considered; that the liberties of the people might be secured against the encroachments of the rulers: "For," say they, "the waves of the sea do not more certainly waste the shore than the minds of ambitious men are led to invade the liberties of their brethren."

The polity was a sort of theocracy; God himself was to govern his people; and the select band of religious votaries—the men whose names an immutable decree had registered from eternity as the objects of divine love, whose election had been manifested to the world by their conscious experience of religion in the heart, whose union was confirmed by the most solemn compact formed with heaven and one another, around the memorials of a crucified Redeemer—were, by the fundamental law of the colony, constituted the oracle of the divine will. An aristocracy was founded, but not of wealth. The servant, the bondman, might be a member of the church, and therefore

a freeman of the company. Other states have limited the possession of political rights to the opulent, to freeholders, to the first-born; the Calvinists of Massachusetts, scrupulously refusing to the clergy the least shadow of political power, established the reign of the visible church—a commonwealth of the chosen people in covenant with God.

The dangers apprehended from England seemed to require a union consecrated by the holiest rites. The public mind of the colony was in other respects ripening for democratic liberty. Roger Williams was in 1631 but a little more than thirty years of age; but his mind had already matured a doctrine which secures him an immortality of fame, as its application has given religious peace to the American world. He was a Puritan, and a fugitive from English persecution, but his wrongs had not clouded his accurate understanding; in the capacious recesses of his mind he had revolved the nature of intolerance, and he, and he alone, had arrived at the great principle which is its sole effectual remedy. He announced his discovery under the simple proposition of the sanctity of conscience. The civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never control opinion; should punish guilt, but never violate the freedom of the soul.

The doctrine contained within itself an entire reformation of theological jurisprudence: it would blot from the statute book the felony of nonconformity; would quench the fires that persecution had so long kept burning; would repeal every law compelling attendance on public worship; would abolish tithes and all forced contributions to the maintenance of religion; would give an equal protection to every form of religious faith; and never suffer the authority of the civil government to be enlisted against the mosque of the Mussulman or the altar of the fire-worshipper, against the Jewish synagogue or the Roman cathedral.

It is wonderful with what distinctness Roger Williams deduced these inferences from his great principle, the consistency with which, like Pascal and Edwards, those bold and profound reasoners on other subjects, he accepted every fair inference from his doctrines, and the circumspection with which he repelled every unjust imputation. In the unwavering assertion of his views he never changed his position; the sanctity of conscience was the great tenet which, with all its consequences, he defended, as he first trod the shores of New England; and in his extreme old age it was the last pulsation of his heart. But it placed the young emigrant in direct opposition to the whole system on which Massachusetts was founded.

So soon, therefore, as Williams arrived in Boston, he found himself among the New England churches, but not of them. They had not yet renounced the use of force in religion, and he could not with his entire mind adhere to churches which retained the offensive features of English legislation. What, then, was the commotion in the colony when it was found that the people of Salem desired to receive him as their teacher! The court of Boston "marvelled" at the precipitate decision, and the people of Salem were required to forbear. Williams withdrew to the settlement of Plymouth, and remained there about two years. But his virtues had won the affections of the church of Salem, and the apostle of intellectual liberty was once more welcomed to their confidence. He remained the object of public jealousy. How mild was his conduct is evident from an example. He had written an essay on the nature of the tenure by which the colonists held their lands in America; and he had argued that an English patent could not invalidate the rights of the native inhabitants. The opinion sounded, at first, like treason against the cherished charter of the colony; Williams desired only that the offensive

[1634 A.D.]

manuscript might be burned; and so effectually explained its purport that the court (January 24th, 1634) applauded his temper, and declared "that the matters were not so evil as at first they seemed."

But the principles of Roger Williams led him into perpetual collision with the clergy and the government of Massachusetts. The magistrates insisted on the presence of every man at public worship; Williams reprobated the law; the worst statute in the English code was that which did but enforce attendance upon the parish church. To compel men to unite with those of a different creed he regarded as an open violation of their natural rights; to drag to public worship the irreligious and the unwilling seemed only like requiring hypocrisy. "An unbelieving soul is dead in sin"—such was his argument; and to force the indifferent from one worship to another "was like shifting a dead man into several changes of apparel." "No one should be bound to worship, or," he added, "to maintain a worship, against his own consent."

The magistrates were selected exclusively from the members of the church; with equal propriety, reasoned Williams, might "a doctor of physick or a pilot" be selected according to his skill in theology and his standing in the church. It was objected to him that his principles subverted all good government. The commander of the vessel of state, replied Williams, may maintain order on board the ship, and see that it pursues its course steadily, even though the dissenters of the crew are not compelled to attend the public prayers of their companions.

But the controversy finally turned on the question of the rights and duty of magistrates to guard the minds of the people against corruption, and to punish what would seem to them error and heresy. Magistrates, Williams asserted, are but the agents of the people, or its trustees, on whom no spiritual power in matters of worship can ever be conferred; since conscience belongs to the individual, and is not the property of the body politic; and with admirable dialectics, clothing the great truth in its boldest and most general forms, he asserted that "the civil magistrate may not intermeddle even to stop a church from apostasy and heresy," "that his power extends only to the bodies and goods and outward estate of men." With corresponding distinctness he foresaw the influence of his principles on society. "The removal of the yoke of soul-oppression"—to use the words in which, at a later day, he confirmed his early view—"as it will prove an act of mercy and righteousness to the enslaved nations, so it is of binding force to engage the whole and every interest and conscience to preserve the common liberty and peace."

The same magistrates who, on November 27th, 1634, punished Eliot, the apostle of the Indian race, for censuring their measures, could not brook the independence of Williams, and the circumstances of the times seemed to them to justify their apprehensions. An intense jealousy was excited in England against Massachusetts; "members of the generall court received intelligence of some episcopal and malignant practises against the country"; and the magistrates on the one hand were scrupulously careful to avoid all unnecessary offence to the English government, on the other were sternly consolidating their own institutions, and even preparing for resistance. It was in this view that the Freeman's Oath was appointed, by which every freeman was obliged to pledge his allegiance, not to King Charles, but to Massachusetts. There was room for scruples on the subject, and an English lawyer would have questioned the legality of the measure. The liberty of conscience for which Williams contended denied the right of a compulsory imposition of an oath. When he was summoned before the court (March

30th, 1635), he could not renounce his belief; and his influence was such "that the government was forced to desist from that proceeding." To the magistrates he seemed the ally of a civil faction; to himself he appeared only to make a frank avowal of the truth. In all his intercourse with the tribunals he spoke with the distinctness of settled convictions. He was fond of discussion, but he was never betrayed into angry remonstrance. If he was charged with pride, it was only for the novelty of his opinions.

Perhaps Williams pursued his sublime principles with too scrupulous minuteness; it was at least natural for Bradford[m] and his contemporaries, while they acknowledged his power as a preacher, to esteem him "unsettled in judgment." The court at Boston remained as yet undecided, when the church of Salem—those who were best acquainted with Williams—taking no notice of the recent investigations, elected him to the office of their teacher. Immediately the evils inseparable on a religious establishment began to be displayed. The ministers got together and declared anyone worthy of banishment who should obstinately assert that "the civil magistrate might not intermeddle even to stop a church from apostasy and heresy"; the magistrates delayed action (July 8th), only that a committee of divines might have time to repair to Salem and deal with him and with the church in a church way. Meantime, the people of Salem were blamed for their choice of a religious guide, and a tract of land, to which they had a claim, was withheld from them as a punishment.

As his townsmen had lost their lands in consequence of their attachment to him, it would have been cowardice on his part to have abandoned them, and the instinct of liberty led him again to the suggestion of a proper remedy. Williams, in modern language, appealed to the people, and invited them to instruct their representatives to do justice to the citizens of Salem. This last act seemed flagrant treason,[1] and at the next general court Salem was disfranchised till an ample apology for the letter should be made. The town acquiesced in its wrongs, and submitted; not an individual remained willing to justify the letter of remonstrance; the church of Williams would not avow his great principle of the sanctity of conscience; even his wife, under a delusive idea of duty, was for a season influenced to disturb the tranquillity of his home by her reproaches. Williams was left alone, absolutely alone. Anticipating the censures of the colonial churches, he declared himself no longer subjected to their spiritual jurisdiction. When summoned to appear before the general court, in October, he avowed his convictions in the presence of the representatives of the state, "maintained the rocky strength of his grounds," and declared himself "ready to be bound and banished and even to die in New England," rather than renounce the opinions which had dawned upon his mind in the clearness of light.

The principles which he first sustained amidst the bickerings of a colonial parish, next asserted in the general court of Massachusetts, and then introduced into the wilds on Narragansett Bay, he soon found occasion to publish to the world, in 1644, and to defend as the basis of the religious freedom of mankind. In its defence he was the harbinger of Milton, the precursor and the superior of Jeremy Taylor. For Taylor limited his toleration to a few Christian sects; the philanthropy of Williams compassed the earth. Taylor favoured partial reform, commended lenity, argued for forbearance, and entered a special plea in behalf of each tolerable sect; Williams would permit persecution of no opinion, of no religion, leaving heresy unharmed by law,

[1] Cotton[f] calls it *crimen majestatis læsæ*, [with which we are more familiar to-day under the name of *lèse majesté*.]

and orthodoxy unprotected by the terrors of penal statutes. Taylor still clung to the necessity of positive regulations enforcing religion and eradicating error; he resembled the poets, who, in their folly, first declare their hero to be invulnerable, and then clothe him in earthly armour. Williams was willing to leave Truth alone, in her own panoply of light, believing that if, in the ancient feud between Truth and Error, the employment of force could be entirely abrogated, Truth would have much the best of the bargain. It is the custom of mankind to award high honours to the successful inquirer into the laws of nature, to those who advance the bounds of human knowledge. We praise the man who first analysed the air, or resolved water into its elements, or drew the lightning from the clouds, even though the discoveries may have been as much the fruits of time as of genius. A moral principle has a much wider and nearer influence on human happiness; nor can any discovery of truth be of more direct benefit to society than that which establishes a perpetual religious peace, and spreads tranquillity through every community and every bosom. If Copernicus is held in perpetual reverence because, on his death-bed, he published to the world that the sun is the centre of our system; if the name of Kepler is preserved in the annals of human excellence for his sagacity in detecting the laws of the planetary motion; if the genius of Newton has been almost adored for dissecting a ray of light, and weighing heavenly bodies as in a balance—let there be for the name of Roger Williams at least some humble place among those who have advanced moral science and made themselves the benefactors of mankind.

But if the opinion of posterity is no longer divided, the members of the general court of that day pronounced against him the sentence of exile, in 1635; yet not by a very numerous majority. Some, who consented to his banishment, would never have yielded but for the persuasions of Cotton; and the judgment was vindicated, not as a punishment for opinion, or as a restraint on freedom of conscience, but because the application of the new doctrine to the construction of the patent, to the discipline of the churches, and to the "oaths for making tryall of the fidelity of the people," seemed about "to subvert the fundamental state and government of the country."

Winter was at hand; Williams succeeded in obtaining permission to remain till spring, intending then to begin a plantation in Narragansett Bay. But the affections of the people of Salem revived, and could not be restrained; they thronged to his house to hear him whom they were so soon to lose forever; it began to be rumoured that he could not safely be allowed to found a new state in the vicinity; as Winthrop [g] says, "many of the people were much taken with the apprehension of his godliness"; his opinions were contagious; the infection spread widely. It was therefore resolved to remove him to England in a ship that was just ready to set sail. A warrant was accordingly sent to him (January, 1636) to come to Boston and embark. For the first time he declined the summons of the court. A pinnace was sent for him; the officers repaired to his house; he was no longer there. Three days before, he had left Salem, in winter snow and inclement weather, of which he remembered the severity even in his late old age. In Williams' [d] words: "For fourteen weeks he was sorely tost in a bitter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean." Often in the stormy night he had neither fire, nor food, nor company; often he wandered without a guide, and had no house but a hollow tree.

But he was not without friends. The same scrupulous respect for the rights of others which had led him to defend the freedom of conscience had

made him also the champion of the Indians. He had already been zealous to acquire their language, and knew it so well that he could debate with them in their own dialect. During his residence at Plymouth he had often been the guest of the neighbouring sachems; and now, when he came in winter to the cabin of the chief of Pokanoket, he was welcomed by Massasoit; and "the barbarous heart of Canonicus, the chief of the Narragansets, loved him as his son to the last gasp." "The ravens," he relates with gratitude, "fed me in the wilderness." And in requital for their hospitality, he was ever through his long life their friend and benefactor; the apostle of Christianity to them without hire, without weariness, and without impatience at their idolatry; the guardian of their rights; the pacificator, when their rude passions were inflamed; and their unflinching advocate and protector, whenever Europeans attempted an invasion of their rights.

He first pitched and began to build and plant at Seekonk. But Seekonk was found to be within the patent of Plymouth; on the other side of the water, the country opened in its unappropriated beauty, and there he might hope to establish a community as free as the other colonies. "That ever-honoured Governor Winthrop," says Williams, "privately wrote to me to steer my course to the Narragansett Bay, encouraging me from the freeness of the place from English claims or patents. I took his prudent motion as a voice from God."

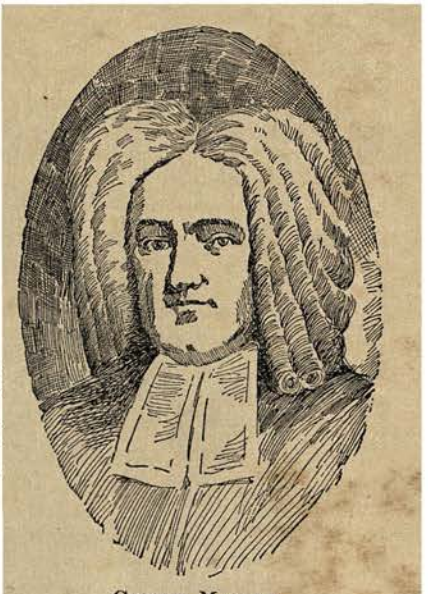
It was in June, 1636, that the lawgiver of Rhode Island, with five companions, embarked on the stream; a frail Indian canoe contained the founder of an independent state and its earliest citizens. Tradition has marked the spring near which they landed; it is the parent spot, the first inhabited nook of Rhode Island. To express his unbroken confidence in the mercies of God, Williams called the place Providence. "I desired," said he, "it might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience."

In his new abode Williams could have less leisure for contemplation and study. "My time," he observes of himself—and it is a sufficient apology for the roughness of his style, as a writer on morals—"was not spent altogether in spiritual labours; but, day and night, at home and abroad, on the land and water, at the hoe, at the oar, for bread." In the course of two years he was joined by others, who fled to his asylum. The land which was now occupied by Williams was within the territory of the Narragansett Indians; it was not long before an Indian deed from Canonicus and Miantonomoh made him the undisputed possessor of an extensive domain.

Nothing displays more clearly the character of Roger Williams than the use which he made of his acquisition of territory. The soil he could claim as his "own, as truly as any man's coat upon his back"; and he "reserved to himself not one foot of land, not one tittle of political power, more than he granted to servants and strangers." "He gave away his lands and other estate to them that he thought were most in want, until he gave away all." He chose to found a commonwealth in the unmixed forms of a pure democracy; where the will of the majority should govern the state; yet "only in civil things"; God alone was respected as the ruler of conscience. To their more aristocratic neighbours it seemed as if these fugitives "would have no magistrates," for everything was as yet decided in convention of the people.

This first system has had its influence on the whole political history of Rhode Island; in no state in the world, not even in the agricultural state of Vermont, has the magistracy so little power, or the representatives of the freemen so much. The annals of Rhode Island, if written in the spirit of philosophy, would exhibit the forms of society under a peculiar aspect; had

the territory of the state corresponded to the importance and singularity of the principles of its early existence, the world would have been filled with wonder at the phenomena of its history. The most touching trait in the founder of Rhode Island was his conduct towards his persecutors. Though keenly sensitive to the hardships which he had endured, he was far from harbouring feelings of revenge towards those who banished him, and only regretted their delusion. "I did ever, from my soul, honour and love them, even when their judgment led them to afflict me." In all his writings on the subject, he attacked the spirit of intolerance, the doctrine of persecution, and never his persecutors or the colony of Massachusetts.[b]



COTTON MATHER
(1663–1728)

In contrast with Bancroft's eulogy we may quote the bitter estimate of the sharp-penned Cotton Mather, who was born a score of years before Roger Williams died.[a]

COTTON MATHER'S ESTIMATE OF ROGER WILLIAMS

I tell my reader that there was a whole country in America like to be set on fire by the rapid motion of a windmill in the head of one particular man. Know, then, that about the year 1630, arrived here, one Mr. Roger Williams, who, being a preacher that had less light than fire in him, hath, by his own sad example, preached unto us the danger of that evil which the apostle mentions in Romans x, 2, "They have a zeal, but not according to knowledge." He violently urged that the civil magistrate might not punish breaches of the first table in the laws of the ten commandments; which assertion, besides the door which it opened unto a thousand profanities, by not being duly limited, it utterly took away from the authority all capacity to prevent the land, which they had purchased on purpose for their own recess from such things; its becoming such a sink of abominations, as would have been the reproach and ruin of Christianity in these parts of the world. The church taking the advice of their fathers in the state, on this occasion Mr. Williams removed unto Plymouth, where he was accepted as a preacher for the two years ensuing. These things were, indeed, very disturbant and offensive; but there were two other things in this quixotism, that made it no longer convenient for the civil authority to remain unconcerned about him; for, first, Whereas the king of England had granted a royal charter unto the governor and company of this colony, which patent was, indeed, the very life of the colony, this hot-headed man publicly and furiously preached against the patent, as an instrument of injustice, and pressed both rulers and people to be humbled for their sin in taking such a patent, and utterly throw it up, on an insignificant pretence of wrong thereby unto the Indians, which were the natives of the country, therein given to the subjects of the English crown. Secondly, an order of the court, upon some just occasion, had been made, that an oath of fidelity should be, though not imposed upon, yet offered unto

the freemen, the better to distinguish those whose fidelity might render them capable of employment in the government; which order this man vehemently withstood, on a pernicious pretence that it was the prerogative of our Lord Christ alone to have his office established with an oath; and that an oath being the worship of God, carnal persons, whereof he supposed there were many in the land, might not be put upon it. These crimes at last procured a sentence of banishment upon him.[n]

### ESTIMATES OF ROGER WILLIAMS

Justin Winsor[o] is hardly more complimentary to Roger Williams. He affirms that the treatise in which Williams attacked the validity of titles acquired under patents granted by the king, as drawn up at Plymouth from 1631-1633, contained matter that was of the gravest importance to the state. In his opinion, had Williams been able to impose his views upon the community, the whole foundation of the colony's government would have been profoundly disturbed, and momentous economic complications would have arisen. It is perhaps not easy to say to what extent this view is justified, but doubtless a man of Winsor's temperament did not speak without due consideration when he declared that the civil policy of Williams was "factious and impracticable," and that it was this "quite as much or even more than any views on theology" that led to his banishment.

Charles Deane[h] appears to be convinced of the essential correctness of such estimates as this, for he declares that "Williams was banished from Massachusetts principally for political reasons."

Edward Eggleston[p] reaches a quite different conclusion as to the character of Williams and his relations to the communities in which his active life was passed. Eggleston does not hesitate to declare that "local jealousy and sectarian prejudice have done what they could to obscure the facts of the trial and banishment of Williams." He points out that many of the controversialists have declared that the exclusion of Williams from Massachusetts colony was purely and simply a question of politics. But he does not hesitate to characterise this argument as pettifogging. He stigmatises the idea that a commercial company was excluding an uncongenial person from its territory as absurd, pointing out that the rulers of Massachusetts in the days of Dudley and Haynes would have repudiated with indignation any plea that their magistracy lacked essential authority. He declares that they not only punished for unorthodox expressions, but they did not hesitate to inquire minutely into private beliefs; and he makes the convincing assertion that Williams was but one of scores who were banished because of matters of purely religious opinion.

Eggleston admits, however, that there was much in the temperament of the reformer that made him a difficult person to deal with in such a community. He thinks that Williams had no large philosophical views; that he was in many respects more childish than perhaps the average citizens of a childish age; but that against his defects of temperament must be balanced an elevation of spirit that carried him forward where reason might have failed. Yet withal the man was not a pure sentimentalist. He had no delusions as to the true character of the savages, since he himself styles them as "wolves endued with men's brains"; but he was a humanitarian and an altruist; nay, he was a veritable prophet imbued with "a clear-shining light not to be dimmed by prejudices or obscured by the deft

logic of a disputatious age." Even those who are disposed to accept this view of the reformer, however, will not deny that a prophet may make himself a very disagreeable member of the community, and we may perhaps understand, even if we do not justify, the sentiments that led the colonists of Massachusetts to think themselves better off without such a reformer.[a]

### THE GOVERNORSHIP OF HARRY VANE

Thus was Rhode Island the offspring of Massachusetts. The loss of the few emigrants who deserted to the new state was not sensibly felt in the parent colony. The stream of emigration now flowed with a full current.[b]

During the summer of the same year twenty ships arrived in Massachusetts, bringing no less than three thousand new settlers. Among them was Hugh Peters, the celebrated chaplain and counsellor of Oliver Cromwell, and Sir Henry, commonly called Sir Harry Vane, son of a privy councillor at the English court. Peters, a zealous Puritan and a warm advocate of popular rights, became minister of Salem. He remained in New England till 1641, when at the request of the colonists he went to transact some business for them in the mother country, from which he was fated never to return. Vane, afterwards Sir Henry Vane the younger, had been for some time restrained from indulging his wish to proceed to New England, by the prohibition of his father, who was at length induced to waive his objections by the interference of the king. A young man of patrician family, animated with such ardent devotion to the cause of pure religion and liberty that, relinquishing all his prospects in Britain, he chose to settle in an infant colony, which as yet afforded little more than a subsistence for its inhabitants, he was received in New England with the fondest regard and admiration. He was then little more than twenty-four years of age. His youth, which seemed to magnify the sacrifice he had made, increased no less the impression which his manners and appearance were calculated to produce. So much did his mind predominate over his senses that, though constitutionally timid, and keenly susceptible of impressions of pain, yet his whole life was one continued course of great and daring enterprise; and when, amidst the wreck of his fortunes and the treachery of his associates, death was presented to him in the form of a bloody execution, he prepared for it with a heroic and smiling intrepidity, and encountered it with tranquil and dignified resignation. The man who could so command himself was formed to acquire a powerful ascendency over the minds of others. He was instantly admitted a freeman of Massachusetts; and extending his claims to respect by the address and ability which he displayed in conducting business, he was elected governor in the year subsequent to his arrival, by unanimous choice, and with the highest expectations of a happy and advantageous administration.

In these expectations they were disappointed. Vane's ideas of civil and religious liberty were at least a century in advance of the people among whom he was settled; his character was not understood; his youth prevented him from commanding the deference to which his personal qualities entitled him; he became involved in a controversy, where he had nothing but reason and justice to oppose to violent party spirit; and a party in opposition to him, composed of some of the most noted men in the colony, was organised at the very outset of his career.

Meantime others of the English nobility were disposed to follow him to the Puritan colony. Lords Say and Seal and Lord Brooke signified their

willingness to become citizens of Massachusetts, if they could be permitted a hereditary seat in the senate, as at home. The colonial authorities were willing to make any reasonable concession to gain such powerful friends; and they offered appointments for life, but declined making any hereditary grants, assigning the most obvious reason for their refusal—the possible incapacity of some future scion of some noble house to discharge creditably the duties of a senator. Thus Massachusetts escaped the infliction of a hereditary nobility.

The structure of the government in Massachusetts gave political power to the clergy, since church membership was a necessary qualification for a voter,[1] and this could only be obtained by clerical approbation. The founders of the colony, Winthrop and his friends, of course approved of this state of things, since it had originated with them. A party, however, soon rose in the colony actuated by more liberal views, and opposed to every infringement of spiritual liberty. The leader of this party was a woman.[e]

### MRS. ANNE HUTCHINSON

No person in American annals has suffered more obloquy without cause than Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. She came with her husband from Lincolnshire to Boston in 1636. Her husband was a man of note, being a representative of Boston, and in good repute. Mrs. Hutchinson was a well-educated woman. She was ambitious and active, and was delighted with metaphysical subtleties and nice distinctions. She had a ready pen and a fine memory, and from the habit of taking notes in church she possessed herself of all the points in Mr. Cotton's sermons, which she was fond of communicating to others of less retentive faculties.

She held conference meetings at her own house, and commented on the great doctrines of salvation. She entertained several speculative opinions that, in the present state of intelligence, would be considered as harmless as a poet's dream, but which at that time "threw the whole colony into a flame." Every household was fevered by religious discussions upon covenants of faith and covenants of works, always the most bitter of all disputes. In all probability the vanity of Mrs. Hutchinson was raised, to see that she could so easily disturb the religious and metaphysical world about her; and no doubt but that the persecutions she suffered made her more obstinate than she otherwise would have been. If they had let her alone, her doctrines would have passed away with a thousand other vagaries; but the clergy would not suffer this to be, notwithstanding they risked something in calling this popular woman to an account. She was considered wiser and more learned in the Scriptures than all her opponents. She had powerful friends. Sir Henry Vane, the governor, was her friend, and Cotton and Wheelwright, the ministers, were her warm supporters, and had a profound respect for her talents and virtues; but still the majority of the clergy was against her.

In 1637 a synod was called, the first in American history, which was held in conclave at Cambridge. It was composed of the governor, the deputy governor, the council of assistants, and the teachers and elders of churches. They sat in conclave for fear of the people, particularly Mrs. Hutchinson's followers. Her friend, Sir Henry Vane, was no longer in the chair of state. In this body she was charged with heresy, and called upon to defend herself

[1 Indeed, Straus[i] says that Massachusetts was under a government of congregations rather than of towns, since only church members could vote.]

[1636 A.D.]

before these inquisitors. The charges and specifications were numerous, as is proved by the judgment of the court. Before the tribunal she stood for three weeks, defending herself against a body of inquisitors, who were at once the prosecutors, the witnesses, and the judges. The report of the trial is said to be from the minutes of Governor Winthrop, certainly not from her own brief. The charges from the governor, who presided, were vituperative and vague, consisting of general matters rather than of special allegations; to all of which she returned the most acute and pregnant answers, evincing a mind of the first order. One after another of her judges questioned and harangued, but she never lost her self-possession. The only circumstance in the whole case that shows the sincerity of her judges is the report they have made of her trial. Her judges were the first in the land, comprising everyone in the colony who had not fallen under the suspicion of having been her friend. That intolerant old Dudley, the lieutenant-governor, was the most inveterate of her enemies. Cotton, who was called as a witness, behaved well, and grave and holy as he was, was treated with great severity as a witness. On the whole, they proved nothing against her but that she had expressed her own opinions freely, and supported them manfully by unanswerable texts of Scripture.

They found her guilty of more than eighty heretical opinions; but, fortunately for themselves, they did not venture to specify them in her sentence, but ordered her to recant and renounce them under the penalty of excommunication and banishment. Mrs. Hutchinson was firm; she made a fair explanation, but would not renounce what she conscientiously believed to be right.*j*

### POLITICAL EFFECTS OF THE ANTINOMIAN CONTROVERSY; VANE'S FALL, 1636

Amidst the arrogance of spiritual pride, the vagaries of undisciplined imaginations, and the extravagances to which the intellectual power may be led in its pursuit of ultimate principles, the formation of two distinct parties may be perceived. The first consisted of the original settlers, the framers of the civil government, and their adherents—they who were intent on the foundation and preservation of a commonwealth, and were satisfied with the established order of society. They had founded their government on the basis of the church, and church membership could be obtained only by the favour of the clergy and an exemplary life. They dreaded unlimited freedom of opinion as the parent of ruinous divisions.

The other party was composed of individuals who had arrived after the civil government and religious discipline of the colony had been established. They came fresh from the study of the tenets of Geneva, and their pride consisted in following the principles of the Reformation with logical precision to all their consequences. Their eyes were not primarily directed to the institutions of Massachusetts, but to the doctrines of their religious system. They had come to the wilderness for freedom of religious opinion, and they resisted every form of despotism over the mind. To them the clergy of Massachusetts were "the ushers of persecution," "popish factors," who had not imbibed the true doctrines of Christian reform. Every political opinion, every philosophical tenet, assumed in those days a theological form: with the doctrine of justification by faith alone, they derided the formality of the established religion, and sustained with intense fanaticism the paramount authority of private judgment.

Anne Hutchinson was encouraged by John Wheelwright, her brother, and by Henry Vane, the governor of the colony; while a majority of the people of Boston sustained her in her rebellion against the clergy. Scholars and men of learning, members of the magistracy, and the general court adopted her opinions. The public mind seemed hastening towards an insurrection against spiritual authority, and she was denounced by Winthrop [g] as "weakening the hands and hearts of the people towards the ministers," as being "like Roger Williams or worse."

The subject possessed the highest political importance. Nearly all the clergy, except Cotton, in whose house Vane was an inmate, clustered together in defence of their influence and in opposition to Vane; and Wheelwright, who in a fast-day's sermon (March, 1637) had strenuously maintained the truth of his opinions, and had never been confuted, in spite of the remonstrance of the governor, was censured by the general court for sedition. At the ensuing choice of magistrates the religious divisions controlled the elections. The friends of Wheelwright had threatened an appeal to England; but in the colony, says Burdett,[k] "it was accounted perjury and treason to speak of appeals to the king." The contest appeared, therefore, to the people, not as the struggle for intellectual freedom against the authority of the clergy, but as a contest for the liberties of Massachusetts against the power of the English government. Could it be doubted who would obtain the confidence of the people?

In the midst of such high excitement that even the pious Wilson climbed into a tree to harangue the people on election day, Winthrop and his friends, the fathers and founders of the colony, recovered the entire management of the government. But the dispute infused its spirit into everything; it interfered with the levy of the troops for the Pequot war; it influenced the respect shown to the magistrates; the distribution of town lots; the assessment of rates; and at last the continued existence of the two opposing parties was considered inconsistent with the public peace. To prevent the increase of a faction esteemed to be so dangerous, a law somewhat analogous to the alien law in England and to the European policy of passports, was enacted by the party in power; none should be received within the jurisdiction but such as should be allowed by some of the magistrates. The dangers which were simultaneously menaced from the Episcopal party in the mother country gave to the measure an air of magnanimous defiance; it was almost a proclamation of independence. As an act of intolerance, it found in Vane[1] an inflexible opponent, and, using the language of the times, he left a memorial of his dissent. "Scribes and Pharisees, and such as are confirmed in any way of error"—these are the remarkable words of the man who soon embarked for England, where he afterwards pleaded in parliament for the liberties of Catholics and dissenters—"all such are not to be denied cohabitation, but are to be pitied and reformed. Ishmael shall dwell in the presence of his brethren."

Now that Vane had returned to England, it was hardly possible to find any grounds of difference between the flexible Cotton and his equally orthodox opponents. The general peace of the colony being thus assured, the triumph of the clergy was complete, and the civil magistrates proceeded to

[1 Milton, whose intercourse with Vane afforded him ample opportunities of understanding his character, pronounces a noble eulogy on him in the sonnet which commences,

"Vane, young in years, but in sage counsels old,
Than whom a better senator ne'er held
The helm of Rome."]

pass sentence on the more resolute offenders. Wheelwright, Anne Hutchinson, and Aspinwall were exiled from the territory of Massachusetts, as "unfit for the society" of its citizens.

So ended the Antinomian strife in Massachusetts. The principles of Anne Hutchinson were a natural consequence of the progress of the Reformation. She had imbibed them in Europe; and it is a singular fact, though easy of explanation, that in the very year in which she was arraigned at Boston, Descartes, like herself a refugee from his country, like herself a prophetic harbinger of the spirit of the coming age, established philosophic liberty on the method of free reflection. Both asserted that the conscious judgment of the mind is the highest authority to itself. Descartes did but promulgate, under the philosophic form of free reflection, the same truth which Anne Hutchinson, with the fanaticism of impassioned conviction, avowed under the form of inward revelations.

Wheelwright and his immediate friends removed to the banks of the Piscataqua, and at the head of tide-waters on that stream they founded the town of Exeter; one more little republic in the wilderness, organised on the principles of natural justice by the voluntary combination of the inhabitants.

The larger number of the friends of Anne Hutchinson, led by John Clarke and William Coddington, proceeded to the south, designing to make a plantation on Long Island, or near Delaware Bay. But Roger Williams welcomed them to his vicinity (March 24th, 1638), and his own influence, and the powerful name of Henry Vane, prevailed with Miantonomoh, the chief of the Narragansets, to obtain for them a gift of the beautiful island of Rhode Island. The spirit of the institutions established by this band of voluntary exiles, on the soil which they owed to the benevolence of the natives, was derived from natural justice; a social compact, signed after the manner of the precedent at New Plymouth, so often imitated in America, founded the government upon the basis of the universal consent of every inhabitant; the forms of the administration were borrowed from the examples of the Jews. Coddington was elected judge in the new Israel, and three elders were soon chosen as his assistants. The colony rested on the principle of intellectual liberty; philosophy itself could not have placed the right on a broader basis. The settlement prospered, and it became necessary to establish a constitution. It was therefore ordered by the whole body of freemen, and "unanimously agreed upon, that the government, which this body politic doth attend unto in this island, and the jurisdiction thereof, in favour of our prince, is a Democracie, or popular government; that is to say, it is in the power of the body of freemen orderly assembled, or major part of them, to make or constitute just Lawes, by which they will be regulated, and to depute from among themselves such ministers as shall see them faithfully executed between man and man. It was further ordered that none be accounted a delinquent for doctrine"; the law for "liberty of conscience was perpetuated." The little community was held together by the bonds of affection and freedom of opinion; benevolence was their rule; they trusted in the power of love to win the victory; and "the signet for the state" was ordered to be "a sheafe of arrows," with "the motto *Amor vincet omnia.*" A patent from England seemed necessary for their protection; and to whom could they direct their letters but to the now powerful Henry Vane?

Such were the institutions which sprung from the party of Anne Hutchinson. But she did not long enjoy their protection. Recovering from a transient dejection of mind, she had gloried in her sufferings, as her great-

est happiness; and, making her way through the forest, she travelled by land to the settlement of Roger Williams, and from thence joined her friends on the island, sharing with them the hardships of early emigrants. Her powerful mind still continued its activity; young men from the colonies became converts to her opinions; and she excited such admiration that to the leaders in Massachusetts it "gave cause of suspicion of witchcraft." She was in a few years left a widow, but was blessed with affectionate children. A tinge of fanaticism pervaded her family: one of her sons and Collins, her son-in-law, had ventured to expostulate with the people of Boston on the wrongs of their mother. But would the Puritan magistrates of that day tolerate an attack on their government? Severe imprisonments for many months was the punishment inflicted on the young men for their boldness. Rhode Island itself seemed no longer a safe place of refuge, and the whole family removed beyond New Haven into the territory of the Dutch. The violent Kieft had provoked an insurrection among the Indians; the house of Anne Hutchinson was attacked and set on fire (1643); herself, her son-in-law, and all their family, save one child, perished by the rude weapons of the savages, or were consumed by the flames.[b]

### THE COLONISATION OF CONNECTICUT[f]

When Lord Brooke and lords Say and Seal proposed to emigrate to New England, they obtained from the earl of Warwick an assignment of a grant which he had received from the Plymouth council for lands on the Connecticut river, and they had proceeded so far in their design as to send out an agent to take possession of the territory and build a fort. "Happily for America," says Grahame,[c] "the sentiments and habits that rendered them unfit members of a society where complete civil liberty and perfect simplicity of manners were esteemed requisite to the general happiness, prevented these noblemen from carrying their project into execution. They proposed to establish an order of nobility and hereditary magistracy in America, and consumed so much time in arguing this important point with the other settlers who were to be associated with them, that at length their ardour for emigration subsided, and nearer and more interesting projects opened to their view in England."

In 1633 certain emigrants from the New Plymouth colony built a trading-house at Windsor, and others from Massachusetts were preparing to follow them; but they had all been preceded by the subjects of another European power. The first settlements on the Connecticut river were effected by the Dutch; and the imputation of the English settlers that the former were intruders seems to be quite unfounded in justice or truth. The patent obtained from their own government for all lands they should discover included the lands on the Connecticut river, which was as yet unknown to the English. They traded with the Indians for several years, and purchased from them a tract of land, on which they erected a fort and trading-house at Hartford before the English had taken possession of the country. Those who came from Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies, and attempted to drive the Dutch from their settlements, were not possessed of the smallest title from the Plymouth Company. The prior claim of the Dutch will appear from the account of this transaction given by Governor Bradford,[m] in which he relates how they eluded the vigilance of the Dutch by craft and deceit, and, on the pretence of trading with the natives, succeeded in passing their settlement,

and sailed to about a mile above them, on the Connecticut, where they made a clearing, erected a house, and fortified the place by palisades. The writer continues: "The Dutch send word home to the Monhatos of what was done; and in process of time they send a band of about seventy men, in warlike manner, with colours displayed, to assault us; but seeing us strengthened, and that it would cost blood, they come to a parley, and return in peace. And this was our entrance there. We did the Dutch no wrong, for we took not a foot of any land they bought, but went to the place above them, and bought that tract of land which belonged to the Indians we carried with us, and our friends, with whom the Dutch had nothing to do."

In 1634 a number of the inhabitants of Cambridge, with the reverend Mr. Hooker at their head, applied to the general court of Massachusetts for permission to remove to the banks of the Connecticut, on the plea that the number of emigrants did not allow them such a choice of lands as they desired. The court was divided on the subject, and its consideration was postponed for a time. Several of the most active of those engaged in the enterprise had proceeded so far in their preparations for removing that they would not wait the court's consent; and, accordingly, five of them set out and proceeded to a beautiful spot on the Connecticut, a few miles below Hartford, where they built huts and passed the winter. The general court again assembled in May, 1636, and granted permission to Hooker and his company to remove to Connecticut, as they desired; stipulating, however, that they should remain under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. Active preparations for removal were immediately commenced, and small parties were sent out in advance, not only from Cambridge, but also from Dorchester and Watertown.

While preparing for their departure from Massachusetts, the colonists were apprised that the lands they had intended to occupy had been granted to a London company by royal charter. They finally determined to go, having agreed with the Plymouth Company that in case they were obliged to abandon the lands the company should indemnify them, or provide another place of settlement. They commenced their journey about the middle of October, accompanied by their cattle, swine, and other property, and numbering about sixty persons, men, women, and children. They were occupied several weeks on the march, having numberless difficulties to encounter in the fording of streams, crossing hills and swamps, and cutting pathways through dense forests. When near the place of their destination the company divided, and different parties occupied the several towns of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield.

Unfortunately for the settlers, the winter began much earlier than usual; the weather was stormy and severe, and by the 15th of November Connecticut river was frozen over, and the snow lay to a considerable depth. Several vessels were wrecked on the New England coast, and from one three men escaped to New Plymouth, famished and benumbed with wandering for ten days in deep snow. A general scarcity of provisions ensued by the beginning of December. A party of thirteen set out for Boston, and on their way one of the number fell through the ice in crossing a stream, and the remainder must have perished but for the kindness of the Indians. Another party of sixty persons proceeded down the river to meet their provisions; but being disappointed in this, they went on board the *Rebecca*, a vessel of sixty tons, which was shut up by the ice, twenty miles up the river. By the partial melting of the ice she was enabled to return to open water, but running on a bar in the sound, she was obliged to unload in order to get off.

The cargo was replaced, and in five days they reached Boston. Those who remained on the Connecticut suffered intensely during the winter, and though they were kindly assisted by the Indians, yet they were forced to subsist on malt, grains, and acorns.

Those who had left Connecticut in the winter, returned thither in the spring, accompanied by many others who had determined to take up their abode in the new colony.

### DESTRUCTION OF THE PEQUOTS (1637 A.D.)

The Indians about the Connecticut had shown a hostile disposition from the first settlement. The Pequots were the most formidable tribe of New England, numbering from seven hundred to a thousand warriors, long accustomed to victory. Their principal forts were at Groton, where their great prince Sassacus resided, and at Stonington, on the Mystic river. The Pequots were endeavouring to form a league with the Narragansets and Mohegans for the utter extirpation of the whites. Information of this design had been given to the governor of Massachusetts by Roger Williams; but not content with this measure of precaution, the intrepid founder of Rhode Island embarked himself alone in a small canoe and proceeded directly to the house of the sachem of the Narragansets. Here he met the emissaries of the Pequots, and it was not without days and nights of earnest solicitation, and at the imminent peril of his life, that he finally succeeded in detaching the Narragansets from the league. Their example was followed by the Mohegans, and thus the Pequots were left to contend single-handed with their civilised adversaries.

Meanwhile the repeated injuries inflicted by the Pequots, and the actual murder of about thirty of the settlers, determined the general court of Connecticut to proceed to active hostilities; and on the 1st of May, 1637, they resolved to raise ninety men, who were placed under the command of Captain Mason. This force, accompanied by sixty friendly Indians under Uncas, a Mohegan sachem, sailed on the 19th for Narragansett Bay. On the 22nd they repaired to the court of Canonicus, the patriarch of the tribe, and were received with Indian solemnity by the younger and more fiery sachem Miantonomoh, who offered to join them. They here heard of the arrival of the Massachusetts troops at Providence; but it was determined not to wait for them, and on the next day the allies marched to Nihantick, bordering on the country of the Pequots. Here a large body of friendly Indians joined them, and, pushing on the Mystic river, the army encamped about two miles from the enemy's fort, just at nightfall. The Pequots, who had seen the vessels pass the harbour some days before, and believed that the English wanted courage to attack them, were passing the night in rejoicing, singing, and dancing, till weary with these exertions they at last sought repose. A bright moon favoured the English, who surprised the fort just before day. The barking of a watch-dog and cry of an Indian sentinel roused the slumbering savages, who rushed from their wigwams to meet a determined foe. The Pequots fought bravely, and would probably have made their escape, had not Mason set fire to their dwellings, and thus forced them from their lurking-places into open light, to be a mark for the English muskets. The victory was complete, but the conquerors were in a dangerous situation. Several of their numbers were killed, and one-fourth wounded. The remainder, exhausted with fatigue, destitute of provisions, and ill-provided with ammunition, were exposed to the rage of a fresh body of savages, but a few miles distant, who

would be exasperated on hearing of the destruction of their brethren. Fortunately, at the time of this perplexity their vessels were seen steering into the harbour; and being received on board, the troops reached their homes in less than a month from the day that the court had resolved on war.

The troops from Massachusetts and Connecticut arrived in time to hunt out a number of the fugitives, burn their remaining villages, and lay waste their corn-fields. Sassacus fled towards the Hudson, with a party of his chief sachems; but he was surprised by the Mohawks, and with his warriors put to death. Mononotto alone escaped.[e]

### THE NEW HAVEN COLONY (1637 A.D.)

The few that survived, about two hundred, surrendering in despair, were enslaved by the English, or incorporated among the Mohegans and the Narragansets. There remained not a sannup nor squaw, not a warrior nor child, of the Pequot name. A nation had disappeared from the family of man. The vigour and courage displayed by the settlers on the Connecticut, in this first Indian war in New England, struck terror into the savages, and secured a long succession of years of peace. The infant was safe in its cradle, the labourer in the fields, the solitary traveller during the night-watches in the forest; the houses needed no bolts, the settlements no palisades.[b]

### THE "FUNDAMENTAL ORDERS"; THE FIRST WRITTEN CONSTITUTION (1639 A.D.)

Under the benignant auspices of peace, the citizens resolved to perfect its political institutions, and to form a body politic by a voluntary association. The constitution which was thus framed (January 14th, 1639) was of unexampled liberality. [It was known as "The Fundamental Orders," and adopted by a general convention of the planters of the three towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield.] The elective franchise belonged to all the members of the towns who had taken the oath of allegiance to the commonwealth; the magistrates and legislature were chosen annually by ballot; and the representatives were apportioned among the towns according to population. Centuries have elapsed; the world has been made wiser by the most various experience; political institutions have become the theme on which the most powerful and cultivated minds have been employed; and so many constitutions have been framed or reformed, stifled or subverted, that memory may despair of a complete catalogue; but the people of Connecticut have found no reason to deviate essentially from the frame of government established by their fathers. No jurisdiction of the English monarch was recognised; the laws of honest justice were the basis of the commonwealth, and therefore its foundations were lasting. These humble emigrants invented an admirable system. No ancient usages, no hereditary differences of rank, no established interests, impeded the application of the principles of justice. They who judge of men by their services to the human race, will never cease to honour the memory of Hooker and of Haynes.[b]

Alexander Johnston[q] speaks even more glowingly of the Fundamental Orders. He speaks of the first constitution of Connecticut as being "the first written constitution, in the modern sense of the term, as a permanent limitation on governmental power, known in history," and it is not strange that he becomes enthusiastic in characterising so memorable a document. Possibly there is something of local partisanship in his plea, yet we shall not

be far wrong in accepting his point of view for the moment and inspecting the constitution through his eyes. He notes that there is a popular opinion to the effect that democracy had its origin on the western continent in a compact that was really made in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, but he declares that the instrument in question had no sound political basis, and was indeed the exponent of no new or progressive idea. It even began, quite after the manner of European documents of the time, with formal acknowledgment of the authority of the king; and this was natural enough, considering that the authors of the document were themselves subjects of the king, who had no thought of breaking away from the traditions of their country, nor any feeling that they were entering an alien territory.

Possibly Johnston goes too far, however, in declaring that the Plymouth system was only accidentally democratic, unless indeed the word accidental be used in a very liberal interpretation; for, after all, the Pilgrim Fathers, notwithstanding their recognition of the king's authority and their loyalty to that form of government under which they had been reared, had nevertheless an idea of reaching out for greater freedom of personal action—though that idea came to be interpreted as meaning that your neighbour's manner of life must be established in accordance with your own conceptions of propriety.

### THE TRUE IMPORT OF THE ORDERS

But such limitations of the altruistic spirit are little to be wondered at. It is not easy to vault from one form of government or one manner of life to another. Progress in politics, as in other affairs, must be by evolution if new goals are to be securely reached, rather than by sudden saltations. Perhaps it is not to be wondered at that the Plymouth colony could not accomplish all that was brought to pass at a later period on the banks of the Connecticut, and under the leadership of such a reformer as Thomas Hooker. There is little doubt that here at Hartford a distinct step towards a broader interpretation of the spirit of democracy was made; perhaps even the step was so important as to justify Johnston's characterising of it as a new birth. But be that as it may, the essential feature of the idea which finds embodiment in the Fundamental Orders was one that was to play an important part in the future history, not only of New England, but of all other portions of the American commonwealth. It was the idea that the town is the unit of government; that the smallest community is a microcosm in which the principles of government that control the commonwealth as a whole are to be embodied.

Speaking more specifically, Johnston regards the really new principle introduced by the Orders as being the provision that certain chief inhabitants of each town, not exceeding seven, were to be chosen to act as magistrates. This was the foundation of that system of local executive boards or "selectmen" who from that time forward were to exercise the responsibility of deciding all minor matters, and even matters of considerable moment, for their respective commonwealths in the intervals between the town meetings. Numerous details as to the right of suffrage, the power of selling lands, of passing local laws, and of matters of assessment and taxation, were naturally included in the constitution, though some of these required to be interpreted by the courts at a later day. All in all, these proceedings in Connecticut in 1639 have been held singularly to forecast, on a small scale, the great developments that were to mark the national growth of the succeeding century.[a]

### THE NEW HAVEN COLONY

In equal independence, a Puritan colony sprang up at New Haven, under the guidance of John Davenport as its pastor, and of the excellent Theophilus Eaton, who was annually elected its governor for twenty years, till his death. Its forms were austere, unmixed Calvinism, but the spirit of humanity had sheltered itself under the rough exterior. The colonists held their first gathering under a branching oak (April 18th, 1638). It was a season of gloom. Under the leafless tree the little flock were taught by Davenport that, like the Son of man, they were led into the wilderness to be tempted. After a day of fasting and prayer, they rested their first frame of government on a simple plantation covenant, that "all of them would be ordered by the rules which the Scriptures held forth to them." A title to lands was obtained by a treaty with the natives, whom they protected against the Mohawks. When, after more than a year, the free planters of the colony desired a more perfect form of government, they held their constituent assembly in a barn (June 4th, 1639). There, by the influence of Davenport, it was solemnly resolved that the Scriptures are the perfect rule of a commonwealth; that the purity and peace of the ordinance to themselves and their posterity were the great end of civil order; and that church members only should be free burgesses. A committee of twelve was selected to choose seven men, qualified for the foundation work of organising the government. Eaton, Davenport, and five others were "the seven pillars" for the new house of wisdom in the wilderness. August 23rd, 1639, the seven pillars assembled, possessing for the time absolute power. Having abrogated every previous executive trust, they admitted to the court all church members; the character of civil magistrates was next expounded "from the sacred oracles"; and the election followed. Then Davenport, in the words of Moses to Israel in the wilderness, gave a charge to the governor, to judge righteously; "the cause that is too hard for you"—such was part of the minister's text—"bring it unto me, and I will hear it." Annual elections were ordered; and thus New Haven made the Bible its statute-book, and the elect its freemen. As neighbouring towns were planted, each was likewise a house of wisdom, resting on its seven pillars, and aspiring to be illumined by the eternal light. The colonists prepared for the second coming of Christ, which they confidently expected. Meantime their pleasant villages spread along the Sound, and on the opposite shore of Long Island, and for years they nursed the hope of "speedily planting Delaware."

### MASSACHUSETTS PREPARES TO RESIST CHARLES I

The English government was not indifferent to the progress of the colonies of New England. The fate of the first emigrants had been watched by all parties with benevolent curiosity; nor was there any inducement to oppress the few sufferers, whom the hardships of their condition were so fast wasting away. The adventurers were encouraged by a proclamation on November 24th, 1630, which, with a view to their safety, prohibited the sale of firearms to the savages.

The stern discipline exercised by the government at Salem produced an early harvest of enemies; resentment long rankled in the minds of some, whom Endicott had perhaps too passionately punished; and when they

returned to England, Mason and Gorges, the rivals of the Massachusetts Company, willingly echoed their vindictive complaints. Massachusetts was ably defended by Saltonstall, Humphrey, and Cradock, its friends in England.

Revenge did not slumber because it had been once defeated; and the triumphant success of the Puritans in America disposed the leaders of the high-church party to listen to the clamours of the malignant. Proof was produced of marriages celebrated by civil magistrates, and of the system of colonial church discipline—proceedings which were wholly at variance with the laws of England. "The departure of so many of the best," such "numbers of faithful and free-born Englishmen and good Christians," began to be regarded by the archbishops as an affair of state; and ships bound with passengers for New England were detained in the Thames by an order of the council. Burdett [k] had also written from New England to Laud that "the colonists aimed not at new discipline, but at sovereignty"; and the greatest apprehensions were raised by a requisition which commanded the letters patent of the company to be produced in England. To this requisition the emigrants returned no reply.

Still more menacing was the appointment of an arbitrary special commission for the colonies. The archbishop of Canterbury and those who were associated with him, on April 10th, 1634, received full power over the American plantations, to establish the government and dictate the laws; to regulate the church; to inflict even the heaviest punishments; and to revoke any charter which had been surreptitiously obtained, or which conceded liberties prejudicial to the royal prerogative.

The news of this commission reached Boston (September 18th), and it was at the same time rumoured that a general governor was on his way. The intelligence awakened the most lively interest in the whole colony, and led to the boldest measures. Poor as the new settlements were, six hundred pounds were raised towards fortifications; "the assistants and the deputies discovered their minds to one another," and the fortifications were hastened. All the ministers assembled at Boston on January 19th, 1635; it marks the age, that their opinions were consulted; it marks the age still more, that they unanimously declared against the reception of a general governor.

Restraints were therefore placed upon emigration (December, 1634); no one above the rank of a serving-man might remove to the colony without the special leave of the commissioners; and persons of inferior order were required to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. Willingly as these acts were performed by religious bigotry, they were prompted by another cause. The members of the grand council of Plymouth, long reduced to a state of inactivity, prevented by the spirit of the English merchants from oppressing the people, and having already made grants of all the lands from Penobscot to Long Island, determined to resign their charter, which was no longer possessed of any value. Several of the company desired as individuals to become the proprietaries of extensive territories, even at the dishonour of invalidating all their grants as a corporation. The hope of acquiring principalities subverted the sense of justice. A meeting of the lords was duly convened, and the whole coast, from Acadia to beyond the Hudson, being divided into shares, was distributed, in part at least, by lots. Whole provinces gained an owner by the drawing of a lottery.

Thus far all went smoothly; it was a more difficult matter to gain possession of the prizes; the independent and inflexible colony of Massachusetts formed too serious an obstacle. The grant for Massachusetts, it was argued, was

surreptitiously obtained; the lands belonged to Robert Gorges by a prior deed; the intruders had "made themselves a free people." The general patent for New England was surrendered to the king in June. To obtain of him a confirmation of their respective grants, and to invoke the whole force of English power against the charter of Massachusetts, were at the same time the objects of the members of the Plymouth Company, distinctly avowed in their public acts.

Now was the season of greatest peril to the rising liberties of New England. The king and council already feared the consequences that might come from the unbridled spirits of the Americans; his dislike was notorious; and at the Trinity term in the court of king's bench a *quo warranto* was brought against the company of the Massachusetts Bay. At the ensuing Michaelmas several of its members who resided in England made their appearance, and judgment was pronounced against them individually; the rest of the patentees stood outlawed, but no judgment was entered up against them. The unexpected death (in December) of Mason, who, as the proprietary of New Hampshire, had been the chief mover of all the aggressions on the rights of the adjoining colony, suspended the hostile movements, which Gorges had too much honesty and too little intrigue to renew.

The severe censures in the star chamber, the greatness of the fines, which avarice rivalled bigotry in imposing, the rigorous proceedings with regard to ceremonies, the suspending and silencing of multitudes of ministers, still continued; and men were, says John Miller, "enforced by heaps to desert their native country. Nothing but the wide ocean, and the savage deserts of America, could hide and shelter them from the fury of the bishops." The pillory had become the bloody scene of human agony and mutilation, as an ordinary punishment, and the friends of Laud jested on the sufferings which were to cure the obduracy of fanatics. They were provoked to the indiscretion of a complaint, and then involved in a persecution. They were imprisoned and scourged; their noses were slit; their ears were cut off; their cheeks were marked with a red-hot brand. But the lash and the shears and the glowing iron could not destroy principles which were rooted in the soul, and which danger made it glorious to profess. Not even America could long be safe against the designs of despotism. A proclamation was issued to prevent the emigration of Puritans; the king refused his dissenting subjects the security of the wilderness.

The privy council interfered to stay a squadron of eight ships, which were in the Thames, preparing to embark for New England (May 1st, 1638). It has been said that Hampden and Cromwell were on board this fleet. The English ministry of that day might willingly have exiled Hampden; no original authors, except royalists writing on hearsay, allude to the design imputed to him. There are no circumstances in the lives of Hampden and Cromwell corroborating the story, but many to establish its improbability; there came over, during this summer, twenty ships, and at least three thousand persons; and had Hampden designed to emigrate, he whose maxim in life forbade retreat, and whose resolution was as fixed as it was calm, possessed energy enough to have accomplished his purpose. Nor did he ever embark for America; the fleet in which he is said to have taken his passage was delayed but a few days; on petition of the owners and passengers King Charles removed the restraint; the ships proceeded on their intended voyage; and the whole company, as it seems without diminution, arrived safely in the bay of Massachusetts. Had Hampden and Cromwell been of the party, they too would have reached New England.

### MASSACHUSETTS REFUSES TO SURRENDER ITS CHARTER

A few weeks before this attempt to stay emigration, the lords of the council had written to Winthrop, recalling to mind the former proceedings by a *quo warranto*, and demanding the return of the patent. In case of refusal, it was added, the king would assume into his own hands the entire management of the plantation. But "David in exile could more safely expostulate with Saul for the vast space between them." The colonists, without desponding, demanded a trial before condemnation. They urged (September 6th) that the recall of the patent would be a manifest breach of faith, pregnant with evils to themselves and their neighbours; that it would strengthen the plantations of the French and the Dutch; that it would discourage all future attempts at colonial enterprise; and, finally, "if the patent be taken from us"—such was their cautious but energetic remonstrance—"the common people will conceive that his majesty hath cast them off, and that hereby they are freed from their allegiance and subjection, and therefore will be ready to confederate themselves under a new government, for their necessary safety and subsistence, which will be of dangerous example unto other plantations, and perilous to ourselves, of incurring his majesty's displeasure." They therefore beg of the royal clemency the favour of neglect.

But before their supplication could find its way to the throne, the monarch was himself already involved in disasters. There is now no time to oppress New England; the throne itself totters; there is no need to forbid emigration; England is at once become the theatre of wonderful events, and many fiery spirits, who had fled for a refuge to the colonies, rush back to share in the open struggle for liberty. In the following years, 1640 to 1642, few passengers came over; the reformation of church and state, the attainder of Strafford, the impeachment of Laud, the great enemy of Massachusetts, caused all men to stay in England in expectation of a new world.

Yet a nation was already planted in New England; a commonwealth was matured; the contests in which the unfortunate Charles became engaged, and the republican revolution that followed, left the colonists, for the space of twenty years, nearly unmolested in the enjoyment of the benefits of virtual independence. The change which their industry had wrought in the wilderness was the admiration of their times—the wonder of the world. Plenty prevailed throughout the settlements. The wigwams and hovels in which the English had at first found shelter were replaced by well-built houses. The number of emigrants who had arrived in New England before the assembling of the Long Parliament is estimated to have been twenty-one thousand two hundred. One hundred and ninety-eight ships had borne them across the Atlantic; and the whole cost of the plantations had been almost a million of dollars—a great expenditure and a great emigration for that age.

Affluence was already beginning to follow in the train of industry. The natural exports of the country were furs and lumber; grain was carried to the West Indies; fish also was a staple. The business of shipbuilding was early introduced. Vessels of four hundred tons were constructed before 1643. So long as the ports were filled with newcomers, the domestic consumption had required nearly all the produce of the colony. But now, says Winthrop *g* (and in the history of American industry the fact is worth preserving), "our supplies from England failing much, men began to look about them, and fell to a manufacture of cotton, whereof we had store from

Barbadoes." In view of the exigency, "the general court" had already "made order for the manufacture of woollen and linen cloth."

The Long Parliament contained among its members many sincere favourers of the Puritan plantations. Yet the English in America, with wise circumspection, did not for a moment forget the dangers of a foreign jurisdiction. As Winthrop says, "Upon the great liberty which the king had left the parliament in England, some of our friends there wrote to us advice to solicit for us in the parliament, giving us hope that we might obtain much. But consulting about it, we declined the motion for this consideration, that if we should put ourselves under the protection of the parliament, we must then be subject to all such laws as they should make, or, at least, such as they might impose upon us. It might prove very prejudicial to us." The love of political independence declined even benefits. When letters arrived, inviting the colonial churches to send their deputies to the Westminster assembly of divines, in 1642, the same sagacity led them to neglect the invitation.

Still more important for New England were the benefits of a secure domestic legislation. Among the first-fruits may be esteemed the general declaration of the principles of liberty—the promulgation of a bill of rights. The colony, moreover, in 1641 offered a free welcome and aid, at the public cost, to Christians of every nation who might fly beyond the Atlantic "to escape from wars or famine, or the tyranny and oppression of their persecutors." The nation, by a special statute, made the fugitive and the persecuted the guests of the commonwealth. Its hospitality was as wide as misfortune.

The same liberality dictated the terms on which the jurisdiction of Massachusetts was extended over New Hampshire, and the strict interpretation of the charter offered an excuse for claiming the territory. The banks of the Piscataqua had not been peopled by Puritans, and the system of Massachusetts could not properly be applied to the new acquisitions. The general court adopted on September 8th, 1642, the measure which justice recommended; neither the freemen nor the deputies of New Hampshire were required to be church members. Thus political harmony was established, though the settlements long retained marks of the difference of their origin.

The attempt to gain possession of the territory on Narragansett Bay was less deserving of success. Massachusetts proceeded with the decision of an independent state. Samuel Gorton had created disturbances in the district of Warwick. A minority of the inhabitants, wearied with harassing disputes, requested the interference of the magistrates of Massachusetts, and two sachems, near Providence, surrendered the soil to the jurisdiction of the state. Gorton and his partisans did not disguise their scorn for the colonial clergy; they were advocates for liberty of conscience; they denied the authority of the magistrates of Massachusetts, not only on the soil of Warwick, but everywhere, inasmuch as it was tainted by a want of true allegiance. Such opinions, if carried into effect, would have destroyed the ecclesiastical system of Massachusetts and subverted its liberties, and were therefore thought worthy of death; but the public opinion of the time, as expressed by a small majority of the deputies, was more merciful, and Gorton and his associates were imprisoned (1643). It is the nature of a popular state to cherish peace; the people murmured at the severity of their rulers, and the imprisoned men were soon set at liberty; but the claim to the territory was not immediately abandoned.

## THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND

The enlargement of the territory of Massachusetts was, in part, a result of the virtual independence which the commotions in the mother country had secured to the colonies. The establishment of a union among the Puritan states of New England was a still more important measure. Immediately after the victories over the Pequots in 1637, at a time when the earliest synod had gathered in Boston the leading magistrates and elders of Connecticut, the design of a confederacy was proposed. The next year it came again into discussion; but Connecticut, offended "because some pre-eminence was yielded to Massachusetts," insisted on reserving to each state a negative on the proceedings of the confederacy. This reservation was refused.

The vicinity of the Dutch, a powerful neighbour, whose claims Connecticut could not, single-handed, defeat, led the colonists on the west to renew the negotiation; and with such success that, in 1643, the United Colonies of New England were, says Winthrop,[9] "made all as one." Protection against the encroachments of the Dutch and the French; security against the tribes of savages; the liberties of the gospel in purity and in peace—these were the motives to the confederacy, which did, itself, continue nearly half a century, and which, even after it was cut down, left a hope that a new and a better union would spring from its root.

Neither was the measure accomplished without a progress in political science. If the delegates from three of the states were empowered to frame and definitively conclude a union, the colony of Plymouth now set the example of requiring that the act of their constituent representatives should have no force till confirmed by a majority of the people.

The union embraced the separate governments of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven; but to each its respective local jurisdiction was carefully reserved. The affairs of the confederacy were intrusted to commissioners, consisting of two from each colony. Church membership was the only qualification required for the office. The commissioners, who were to assemble annually, or oftener if exigencies demanded, might deliberate on all things which are "the proper concomitants or consequents of a confederation." The affairs of peace and war, and especially Indian affairs, exclusively belonged to them; they were authorised to make internal improvements at the common charge; they, too, were the guardians to see equal and speedy justice assured to all the confederates in every jurisdiction. The common expenses were to be assessed according to population.

Thus remarkable for unmixed simplicity was the form of the first confederated government in America. It was a directory, apparently without any check. There was no president, except as a moderator of its meetings; and the larger state, Massachusetts, superior to all the rest in territory, wealth, and population, had no greater number of votes than New Haven. But the commissioners were, in reality, little more than a deliberative body; they possessed no executive power, and, while they could decree a war and a levy of troops, it remained for the states to carry their votes into effect.

Provision was made for the reception of new members into the league; but the provision was wholly without results. The people beyond the Piscataqua were not admitted because "they ran a different course" from the Puritans, "both in their ministry and in their civil administration." The plantations of Providence also desired in vain to participate in the benefits of the union; and the request of the island of Rhode Island was equally rejected

because it would not consent to form a part of the jurisdiction of Plymouth. Yet this early confederacy survived the jealousies of the Long Parliament, met with favour from the protector, and remained safe from censure on the restoration of the Stuarts.[b]

### RHODE ISLAND SECURES A CHARTER

Thus excluded from the benefit of the federal union, the inhabitants of Rhode Island and Providence endeavoured to provide for their separate security by conciliating the friendship of the Indians, and the humane and courteous policy which they pursued proved remarkably successful.

The main object of the confederacy was security against their still powerful neighbours, the Indians. They, however, were becoming weaker by contentions among themselves. In 1643 the Narragansets, under the direction of their chief, Miantonomoh, assembling to the number of a thousand warriors, fell suddenly upon the Mohegans, the allies of the English; but they were defeated, and the chief was taken prisoner. His captor, Uncas, conducted him to Hartford, where he was formally tried by "the elders," to whom his case had been referred, and sentenced to die. His English judges might have spared their pains, on this occasion, as it was a common practice among the Indians to kill captives taken in war. Uncas, having received the sanction of his allies, conducted his prisoner beyond the jurisdiction of Connecticut and put him to death. Miantonomoh deserved a better fate. His hospitable treatment of Roger Williams should have insured him the protection of every white man in New England.

In 1644 an act of the Long Parliament gave to Rhode Island, at the instance of Roger Williams, who visited England for the purpose of obtaining it, "a free and absolute charter of civil government." Williams' ancient friendship with Vane was the principal means of his success in this important affair. But the colony was still menaced with dismemberment, by a grant of the council of state, in England, made in 1651 to Coddington, to govern the islands. This difficulty was removed, however, by a second visit of Williams to England, and the integrity of the state was preserved. The active friendship of Vane was still, says Backus,[l] "the sheet-anchor of Rhode Island."

About the same time Maine was brought under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. The death of Gorges (March 1st, 1642) in the civil war of England, and the neglect of his heirs to claim their proprietary rights, threw the inhabitants upon their own resources. [In July, 1649, Piscataqua, Georgeana, and Wells formed themselves into a body politic.] Massachusetts offered its protection (May 30th, 1652). Commissioners were sent to settle the government; and notwithstanding the opposition of the governor, Edward Godfrey, the towns severally yielded submission [some only after threats and the appearance of troops] to the powerful state which claimed their allegiance.

### NEW ENGLAND DURING THE LONG PARLIAMENT AND THE PROTECTORATE

During the domination of the Long Parliament and the protector, New England, notwithstanding the Puritan opinions of the inhabitants, maintained a neutral position with respect to the contending parties in the mother country, and even declined offering any hostile demonstration towards the Dutch colonies in New York (then called New Netherlands) while war was raging

between Great Britain and Holland. Massachusetts declared itself a "perfect republic," determined to resist any aggression which might be attempted on behalf either of the king or his opponents. Their agent in England denied the right of parliament to legislate for the colony unless it was represented in the legislature, and was supported in that opinion by Vane and his distinguished friends.

A practice strongly fraught with the character of sovereign authority was adopted, a few years after (1652), when the increasing trade of the colonists with the West Indies, and the quantity of Spanish bullion that was brought through this channel into New England, induced the provincial authorities to erect a mint for the coinage of silver money at Boston. The coin was stamped with the name of New England on one side, of Massachusetts as the principal settlement on the other, and with a tree as the symbol of national vigour and increase. Maryland was the only other colony that ever presumed to coin money, and indeed this prerogative has been always regarded as the peculiar attribute of sovereignty. "But it must be considered," says one of the New England historians, "that at this time there was no king in Israel." In the distracted state of England, it might well be judged unsafe to send bullion there to be coined; and from the uncertainty respecting the form of government which would finally arise out of the civil wars, it might reasonably be apprehended that an impress received during their continuance would not long retain its currency. The practice gave no umbrage whatever to the English government. It received the tacit allowance of the parliament of Cromwell, and even of Charles II during twenty years of his reign.

In 1646 the dissenters from Congregationalism, the established religion of Massachusetts, petitioned the general court for leave to impeach Governor Winthrop before the whole body of his fellow-citizens, on a charge of having punished some of their number for interfering at an election. He was tried and acquitted; and this proceeding was so far from impairing his popularity that he was chosen governor every year after so long as he lived. The petitioners, being reprimanded for their alleged attempt to subvert the fundamental laws of the colony, appealed to the government of England, but without success.

After the abolishment of royalty in England, the Long Parliament sent a mandate to the governor and general court of Massachusetts, requiring the surrender of their charter and the acceptance of a new charter from the existing government. This demand was evaded. The general court, instead of surrendering the patent, transmitted a petition to parliament against the obnoxious mandate, setting forth that "these things not being done in the late king's time, or since, it was not able to discern the need of such an injunction." The intercession of Cromwell in their behalf was also solicited, and his favour, which was uniformly extended to New England, was not found wanting on this occasion.

Cromwell had been desirous in 1651 to present the colonists of Massachusetts with a district in Ireland, which was to be evacuated for their reception; and he also offered them a new home in the fertile island of Jamaica; but both these propositions were respectfully declined. His favour, however, was by no means forfeited by this refusal. His ascendency in England was highly beneficial to the northern colonies. Rhode Island, immediately after his elevation, resumed the form of government which the parliament had recently suspended; Connecticut and New Haven were afforded the means of defence against the Dutch colonists of New York; all the New England states were exempted from the operation of the parliamentary ordinance against trade

with foreign nations; and both their commerce and their security were promoted in 1654 by the conquest which the protector's arms achieved of the province of Acadia from the French.

### PERSECUTION OF THE QUAKERS

The religious dissensions of Massachusetts had not entirely terminated with the expulsion of Mrs. Hutchinson and her friends. The desire of the government to preserve a certain degree of uniformity of opinion was constantly exposing them to new troubles. In 1651 seven or eight persons, under the direction of Obadiah Holmes, professed the Baptist tenets, and seceded from the congregation to which they had been attached. The excesses of Boccold and his followers at Münster, in the previous century, were not yet forgotten; and the sudden appearance of a body of persons professing similar opinions, in the very midst of the Puritans, excited horror and alarm. Admonition and whipping were resorted to as a corrective, and a new law was passed having direct reference to the teachers of Anabaptist doctrines. This severity appears to have occasioned the retirement of many of the Baptists from the colony for a season. Some of them repaired to England, and complained to Cromwell of the persecution they had undergone; but he rejected their complaint, and applauded the conduct of the provincial authorities.

The treatment which the Quakers experienced was much more severe. The peculiar doctrines of the Quakers appear to have been particularly offensive to the Puritans, and the extravagances into which an imperfect understanding of them led some weak-minded persons of the sect may have rendered them proper subjects of confinement or restraint, but certainly did not make them amenable to capital punishment. In July, 1656, two male and six female Quakers arrived in Boston, where the reproach which their sect had incurred by the extravagances of some of its members in England had preceded them, and they were regarded with terror and dislike by the great bulk of the people. They were instantly arrested by the magistrates and examined for what were considered bodily marks of witchcraft. No such indications being found, they were sent out of the jurisdiction and forbidden to return. A law was passed at the same time imposing penalties on every shipmaster who should bring Quakers or their writings into the colony; forbidding Quakers to come, under penalty of stripes and labour in the house of correction, and adjudging all defenders of their tenets to fine, imprisonment, or exile. The four associated states of New England adopted this law and urged the authorities of Rhode Island to co-operate with them in stemming the progress of Quaker opinions; but the assembly of that colony replied that "they could not punish any man for declaring his opinion."

The penal enactments of the other colonies only inflamed the zeal of those against whom they were directed. The banished persons all returned, except Mary Fisher, who travelled to Adrianople and delivered her testimony to the grand vizir, without molestation, being probably regarded by the Turks as entitled to that reverence which they always accord to insane people. Again the authorities of Massachusetts resorted to imprisonment, flogging, and banishment; and a new law, inflicting mutilation of the ears, was enacted and executed on three individuals. These severities, far from effecting the object of the authorities, brought multitudes of Quakers into the country, whose violent language and extravagant acts were certainly calculated to

exasperate any quiet and well-ordered community. One of them, named Faubord, conceiving that he experienced a celestial encouragement to rival the faith and imitate the sacrifice of Abraham, was proceeding with his own hands to shed the blood of his son, when his neighbours, alarmed by the cries of the lad, broke into the house and prevented the consummation of this atrocity. Others interrupted religious services in the churches by loudly protesting that these were not the services that God would accept; and one of them illustrated this assurance by breaking two bottles in the face of the congregation, exclaiming, "Thus will the Lord break you in pieces." They declared that the Scriptures were replete with allegory, that the inward light was the only infallible guide to religious truth, and that all were blind beasts and liars who denied it.[1]

"Exasperated," says Grahame,[c] "by the repetition and increase of these enormities, and the extent to which the contagion of their radical principle was spreading in the colony, the magistrates of Massachusetts at length, in the close of the year 1658, introduced into the assembly a law denouncing the punishment of death upon all Quakers returning from banishment." This legislative proposition was opposed by a considerable party of the colonists; and various individuals, who would have hazarded their own lives to extirpate the opinions of the Quakers, solemnly protested against the cruelty and iniquity of shedding their blood. It was at first rejected by the assembly, and finally adopted by the narrow majority of a single voice.

In the course of the two following years this barbarous law was carried into execution on three separate occasions—when four Quakers, three men and a woman, were put to death at Boston. It does not appear that any one of these unfortunate persons had been guilty of the outrages which the conduct of their brethren in general had associated with the profession of Quakerism. Oppressed by the prejudice which had been created by the frantic conduct of others, they were adjudged to die for returning from banishment and continuing to preach the Quaker doctrines. In vain the court entreated them to accept a pardon on condition of abandoning forever the colony from which they had been repeatedly banished. They answered by reciting the heavenly call to continue there, which on various occasions, they said, had sounded in their ears, in the fields and in their dwellings, distinctly syllabling their names, and whispering their prophetic office and the scene of its exercise. When they were conducted to the scaffold, their demeanour evinced the most inflexible zeal and courage, and their dying declarations breathed in general the most elevated and affecting piety.

These executions excited much clamour against the government; many persons were offended by the representation of severities against which the establishment of the colony itself seemed intended to bear a perpetual testimony, and many were touched with an indignant compassion for the sufferings of the Quakers, that effaced all recollection of the strong disgust which the principles of these sectaries had heretofore inspired. The people began to flock in crowds to the prisons and load the unfortunate Quakers with demonstrations of kindness and pity. The magistrates at first attempted to combat the censure they had provoked, and published a vindication of their proceedings, for the satisfaction of their fellow citizens and of their friends in other countries, who united in blaming them; but at length the rising sentiments of humanity and justice overpowered all opposition.

[1 Apologists for the Puritans make much of the fact that Quaker women appeared in public naked. The guilty persons were poor creatures half-crazed by persecution. Every one of the few instances occurred after, not before, the law imposing the death penalty was passed.—HALLOWELL.r]

[1660 A.D.]

On the trial of Leddra, the last of the sufferers, another Quaker, named Wenlock Christison, who had been banished with the assurance of capital punishment in case of his return, came boldly into court with his hat on, and reproached the magistrates with shedding innocent blood. He was taken into custody, and soon after brought to trial. Summoned to plead to his indictment, he desired to know by what law the court was authorised to put him on the defence of his life. When the last enactment against the Quakers was cited to him, he asked who empowered the provincial authorities to make that law, and whether it was not repugnant to the jurisprudence of England? The governor very inappositely answered that an existing law in England appointed Jesuits to be hanged. But Christison replied that they did not even accuse him of being a Jesuit, but acknowledged him to be a Quaker, and that there was no law in England that made Quakerism a capital offence. The court, however, overruled his plea, and the jury found him guilty. When sentence of death was pronounced upon him, he desired his judges to consider what they had gained by their cruel proceedings against the Quakers. "For the last man that was put to death," said he, "here are five come in his room; and if you have power to take my life from me, God can raise up the same principle of life in ten of his servants, and send them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon torment."

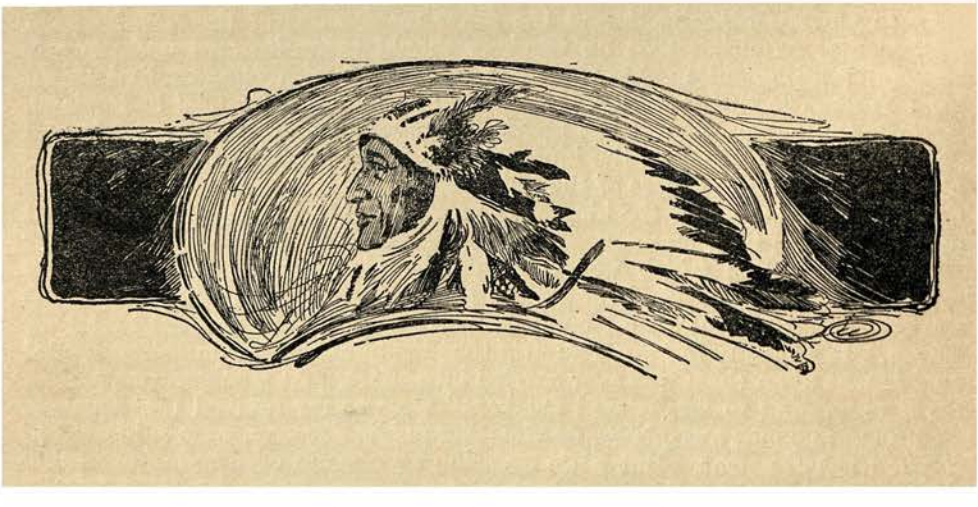
The magnanimous demeanour of this man, who seems to have been greatly superior in understanding to the bulk of his sectarian associates, produced an impression which could not be withstood. The law now plainly appeared to be unsupported by public consent, and the magistrates hastened to interpose between the sentence and its execution. Christison and all the other Quakers who were in custody were forthwith released and sent beyond the precincts of the colony; and as it was impossible to prevent them from returning, only the minor punishments of flogging and reiterated exile were employed. Even these were gradually relaxed in proportion as the demeanour of the Quakers became more quiet and orderly; and in the year after the restoration of Charles II, the infliction of flogging was suspended by a letter from the king to Governor Endicott and the other magistrates of the New England settlements, requiring that no Quakers should thenceforward undergo any corporal punishment in America; but if charged with offences that might seem to deserve such severity, they should be remitted for trial to England. Happily the moderation of the provincial government was more steady and durable than the policy of the king, who retracted his interposition in behalf of the Quakers in the course of the following year. But the Quakers no longer needed the protection of the king. The attitude of the provincial government now guaranteed their security.

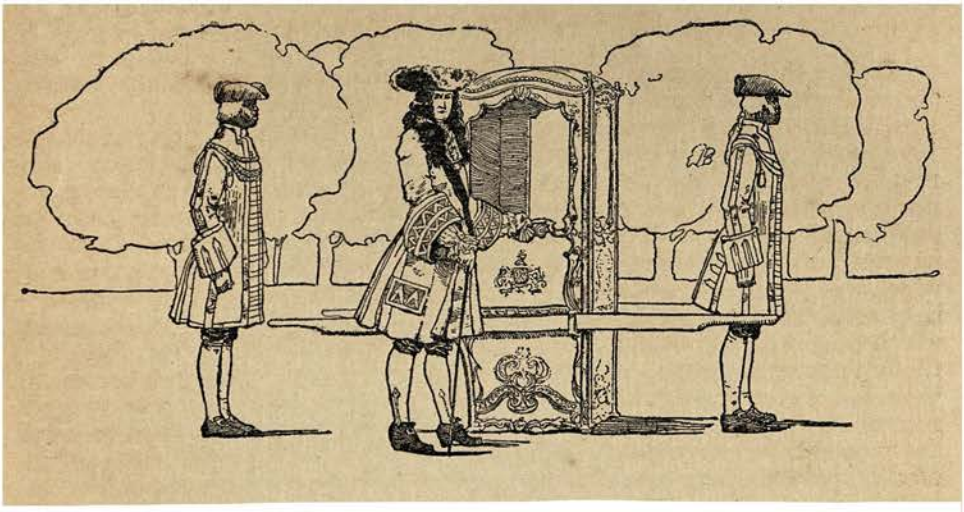
The persecution which was thus happily closed had not been equally severe in all the New England states; the Quakers suffered most in Massachusetts and Plymouth, and comparatively little in Connecticut and New Haven. It was only in Massachusetts that the inhuman law inflicting capital punishment upon them was ever carried into effect. At a subsequent period, the laws relating to "vagabond Quakers" were so far revived that Quakers disturbing religious assemblies, or violating public decency, were subjected to corporal chastisement. But little occasion ever again occurred of executing these severities, the wild excursions of the Quaker spirit having generally ceased, and the Quakers gradually subsiding into a decent and orderly submission to all the laws except such as related to the militia and the support of the clergy; in their scruples as to which, the provincial legislature, with corresponding moderation, consented to indulge them.

## RESTORATION OF THE STUARTS

During the long period that had now elapsed since the commencement of the civil war in Britain, the New England provinces continued to evince a steady and vigorous growth, in respect both to the numbers of their inhabitants and the extent of their territorial occupation. The colonists were surrounded with abundance of cheap and fertile land, and secured in the enjoyment of that ecclesiastical estate which was the object of their supreme desire, and of civil and political freedom. They were exempted from the payment of all taxes except for the support of their internal government, which was administered with great economy; and they enjoyed the extraordinary privilege of importing commodities into England free from all the duties which other importers were obliged to pay. By the favour of Cromwell, too, the ordinances by which the Long Parliament had restricted their commerce were not put in force, and they continued to trade wherever they pleased. Almost all the peculiar circumstances which had thus combined to promote the prosperity of New England during the suspension of monarchy contributed proportionally to overcast the prospects awakened by the restoration.

There were the strongest reasons to expect an abridgment of commercial advantages, and to tremble for the security of religious and political freedom. Other circumstances combined to retard the recognition of the royal authority in New England. On the death of Cromwell, the colonists had been successively urged to recognise first his son Richard as protector, afterwards the Long Parliament, which for a short time resumed its ascendency, and subsequently the committee of safety, as the sovereign authority in England. But they prudently declined to commit themselves by positive declaration.[c]





# CHAPTER IV

## VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND AFTER THE RESTORATION

[1660–1710 A.D.]

> For seventy years or more before the Declaration of Independence the matters of general public concern, about which stump speeches were made on Virginia court-days, were very similar to those that were discussed in Massachusetts town meetings when representatives were to be chosen for the legislature. This perpetual antagonism to the governor, who represented British imperial interference with American local self-government, was an excellent schooling in political liberty alike for Virginia and for Massachusetts. When the stress of the Revolution came, these two leading colonies cordially supported each other, and their political characteristics were reflected in the kind of achievements for which each was especially distinguished. The Virginia system, concentrating the administration of local affairs in the hands of a few county families, was eminently favourable for developing skilful and vigorous leadership. And while in the history of Massachusetts during the Revolution we are chiefly impressed with the remarkable degree in which the mass of the people exhibited the kind of political training that nothing in the world except the habit of parliamentary discussion can impart, on the other hand, Virginia at that time gave us—in Washington, Jefferson, Henry, Mason, Madison, and Marshall, to mention no others—such a group of leaders as has seldom been equalled.—John Fiske.[b]

During the continuance of the English commonwealth Virginia had enjoyed a very popular form of government. All tax-payers had the right to vote for burgesses. The assembly, subject to frequent renewals, had assumed the right of electing the governor, councillors, and other principal officers; and local affairs appear to have been managed with very little of external control. Great changes in these respects were now to happen. During

the quarter of a century which followed the restoration, a considerable part of the freemen of Virginia were deprived of the elective franchise—an invaluable privilege, not recovered till the middle of the current century. The assembly's authority was also greatly curtailed, while a corresponding increase took place in the power and prerogatives of the governor and the councillors.

The founders of Virginia, like those of New England, had brought with them from the mother country strong aristocratic prejudices and a marked distinction of ranks. Both in Virginia and New England the difference between "gentlemen" and "those of the common sort" was very palpable. Indented servants formed a still inferior class; not to mention negro and Indian slaves, of whom, however, for a long period after the planting of Virginia, the number was almost as inconsiderable in that colony as it always remained in New England.

But though starting, in these respects, from a common basis, the operation of different causes early produced different effects, resulting in a marked difference of local character. The want in New England of any staple product upon which hired or purchased labour could be profitably employed discouraged immigration and the importation of indented servants or slaves. Hence the population soon became, in a great measure, home-born and home-bred.

The lands were granted by townships to companies who intended to settle together. The settlements were required to be made in villages, and every village had its meeting-house, its schools, its military company, its municipal organisation.[1] In Virginia, on the other hand, plantations were isolated; each man settled where he found a convenient unoccupied spot. The parish churches, the county courts, the election of burgesses, brought the people together, and kept up something of adult education. But the parishes were very extensive; there were no schools, and parochial and political rights were soon greatly curtailed.

Even the theocratic form of government prevailing in New England tended to diminish the influence of wealth by introducing a different basis of distinction; and still more so that activity of mind, the consequence of strong religious excitement, developing constantly new views of religion and politics, which an arrogant and supercilious theocracy strove in vain to suppress. Hence, in New England, a constant tendency towards social equality. In Virginia and Maryland, on the other hand, the management of provincial and local affairs fell more and more under the control of a few wealthy men possessed of large tracts of land, which they cultivated by the labour partly of slaves, but principally of indented white servants.

The cultivation of tobacco, at the low prices to which it had sunk, afforded only a scanty resource to that great body of free planters obliged to rely on their own labour. Yet all schemes for the introduction of other staples had failed. The maritime character of New England was already well established. The fisheries and foreign trade formed an important part of her industry. Her ships might be seen on the Grand Bank, in the West Indies, in the ports of Britain, Spain, and Portugal, on the coast of Africa, in the Chesapeake itself; while hardly one or two small vessels were owned in Vir-

[1 Even though Virginia had not the town meeting, it had its court-day, which, says Edward Ingle,[c] "was a holiday for all the country-side, especially in the fall and spring. From all directions came in the people on horseback, in wagons, and afoot. On the court-house green assembled, in indiscriminate confusion, people of all classes—the hunter from the backwoods, the owner of a few acres, the grand proprietor, and the grinning, heedless negro. Old debts were settled and new ones made; there were auctions, transfers of property, and, if election times were near, stump-speaking."[i]]

ginia, and that notwithstanding the efforts of the assembly to encourage shipbuilding and navigation, for which the province afforded such abundant facilities.

Competition between Dutch and English trading vessels had assisted hitherto to keep up the price of tobacco, and to secure a supply of imported goods at reasonable rates. But that competition was now to cease. The English commercial interest had obtained from the Convention Parliament, which welcomed back Charles II to the English throne, the famous Navigation Act of 1660.*d*

THWAITES ON THE NAVIGATION ACTS [1]

All manner of trade was more or less hampered by the parliamentary acts of Navigation and Trade. In the time of Richard II (1377–1399) it had been enacted that "none of the king's liege people should ship any merchandise out of or into the realm except in the ships of the king's ligeance, on pain of forfeiture." Under Henry VII (1485–1509) only English-built ships manned by English sailors were permitted to import certain commodities; and in the reign of Elizabeth (1558–1603) only such vessels could engage in the English coasting trade and fisheries. The earliest English colonies were exempted by their charters from these restrictions, but under James I (1603–1625) the colonies were included. For many years the colonists did not heed the Navigation acts; in consequence, the Dutch, then the chief carriers on the ocean, obtained control of the colonial trade, and thereby amassed great wealth. Jealous of their supremacy, the statesmen of the commonwealth sought to upbuild England by forcing English trade into English channels, and this policy succeeded. Holland soon fell from her high position as a maritime power, and England, with her far-spreading colonies, succeeded her. The Act of 1645 declared that certain articles should be brought into England only by ships fitted out from England, by English subjects, and manned by Englishmen; this was amended the following year so as to include the colonies. In exchange for the privilege of importing English goods free of duty, the colonists were not to suffer foreign ships to be loaded with colonial goods. In 1651 a stringent Navigation Act was passed by the Long Parliament, the beginning of a series of coercive ordinances extending down to the time of the American Revolution. It provided that the rule as to the importation of goods into England or its territories, in English-built vessels, English manned, should extend to all products "of the growth, production, or manufacture of Asia, Africa, or America, or of any part thereof, as well of the English plantations as others"; but the term "English-built ships" included colonial vessels, in this and all subsequent acts.

Under the restoration the commonwealth law was confirmed and extended (1660). Such enumerated colonial products as the English merchants desired to purchase were to be shipped to no other country than England; but those products which they did not wish might be sent to other markets, provided they did not there interfere in any way with English trade. In all transactions, however, "English-built ships," manned by "English subjects" only, were to be patronised. Three years later (1663) another step was taken. By an act of that year such duties were levied as amounted to prohibition of the importation of goods into the colonies except such as had been actually shipped from an English port; thus the colonists were forced to go to England

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for their supplies—the mother country making herself the factor between her colonies and foreign markets.

A considerable traffic had now sprung up between the colonies. New England merchants were competing with Englishmen in the southern markets. At the behest of commercial interests in the parent isle, an act was passed in 1673 seriously crippling this intercolonial trade; all commodities that could have been supplied from England were now subjected to a duty equivalent to that imposed on their consumption in England. From 1651 to 1764 upwards of twenty-five acts of parliament were passed for the regulation of traffic between England and her colonies. Each succeeding ministry felt it necessary to adopt some new scheme for monopolising colonial trade in order to purchase popularity at home. It was 1731 before the home government began to repress the manufacture in the colonies of goods that could be made in England; thereafter numerous acts were passed by parliament having this end in view.

In brief, the mother country regarded her American colonies merely as feeders to her trade, consumers of her manufactures, and factories for the distribution of her capital. Parliament never succeeded in satisfying the greed of English merchants, while in America it was thought to be doing too much. The constant irritation felt in the colonies over the gradual application of commercial thumb-screws—turned at last beyond the point of endurance—was one of the chief causes of the Revolution. Had it not been that colonial ingenuity found frequent opportunities for evading these acts of Navigation and Trade, the final collision would doubtless have occurred at a much earlier period.[e]

### THE NEW CODE AND ITS TREATMENT OF SLAVES

The Virginians, alarmed at the Navigation Act of 1660 which threatened to place them at the mercy of the English traders, sent Governor Berkeley to England, in March, 1661, at an expense to the colony of two hundred thousand pounds of tobacco, to remonstrate on their behalf. Berkeley failed in this public mission; but he improved the opportunity to secure for himself a share in the new province of Carolina, now erected by charter, and of which he became one of the eight proprietors.

Under the administration of Colonel Francis Moryson [or Morrison], captain of the fort at Point Comfort, a royalist immigrant of 1649, appointed by the council to act as governor during Berkeley's mission to England, a third revision was made of the Virginia statutes. The Church of England is re-established by this code, with the canons, the liturgy, and the church catechism. The anniversary of the execution of Charles I is made a fast, and of the restoration of Charles II a holiday. Nonconformist preachers are to be silenced and sent out of the country. Shipmasters bringing Quakers into the colony were subjected to a penalty of £100. The Quakers themselves were to be imprisoned without trial till they gave security to leave the colony and not to return. The management of county as well as of parish affairs was taken from the body of the inhabitants and vested in a few wealthy planters, who held their appointments for life, or at the pleasure of the governor. Trial by jury was established in all cases, and grand juries are now first introduced. There were to be provided by each county a prison, pillory, pair of stocks, whipping-post, and ducking-stool.

The provisions of this code respecting the Indians are conceived in a more humane and candid spirit than any previous enactments on the same

subject. Several persons, apparently of wealth and consideration, were heavily fined by the assembly for wrongs done to the Indians and intrusions upon them. An act was passed, the first statute of Virginia which attempts to give a legislative basis to the system of hereditary servitude. The Virginia assembly saw fit to adopt the rule of the civil law, so much more convenient for slaveholders, by enacting that children should be held bond or free, "according to the condition of the mother."

The lawfulness of holding Africans as slaves was supposed to rest, in part at least, on the fact that they were heathen. But of the negroes brought to Virginia some had been converted and baptised, and this was the case to a still greater extent with those born in the colony. By what right were these Christians held as slaves? This question having been raised in Virginia, the assembly in 1667 came to the relief of the masters by enacting that negroes, though converted and baptised, should not thereby become free. At the same session, in remarkable deviation from the English law, it was also enacted that killing slaves by extremity of correction should not be esteemed felony, "since it cannot be presumed that prepense malice should induce any man to destroy his own estate." The prohibition against holding Indians as slaves was also relaxed as to those brought in by water, a new law having enacted "that all servants, not being Christians, imported by shipping, shall be slaves for life." About this period, and afterwards, a considerable number of Indian slaves seem to have been imported into Virginia and New England from the West Indies and the Spanish Main. While the slave code was thus extended, the privileges and political power of the poorer whites underwent a corresponding diminution. During the period of the commonwealth the Virginia assemblies had been chosen for only two years; but this privilege of frequent elections was no longer enjoyed. The assembly[1] of 1661 was still in existence, such vacancies as occurred being filled from time to time by special elections. Even this small privilege was begrudged to the poorer freemen; and, on the usual pretexts of tumultuous elections and want of sufficient discretion in the poorer voters, it was now enacted that none but householders and freeholders should have a voice in the election of burgesses.

Some replies of Berkeley to a series of questions submitted to him by the plantation committee of the privy council (1671) give quite a distinct picture of the colony as it then was. The population is estimated at forty thousand, including two thousand "black slaves," and six thousand "Christian servants," of whom about fifteen hundred were imported yearly, principally English. Since the exclusion of Dutch vessels by the Acts of Navigation, the importation of negroes had been very limited; not above two or three ship-loads had arrived in seven years. "We have forty-eight parishes," adds the governor, "and our ministers are well paid, and by my consent should be better, if they would pray oftener and preach less. But as of all other commodities, so of this, the worst are sent us, and we have few that we can boast of since the persecution, in Cromwell's tyranny, drove divers worthy men hither. But I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government: God keep us from both!"

[1 It was hence known as the "Long Assembly." As Fiske [b] says, "Berkeley having secured a legislature that was quite to his mind, kept it alive for fifteen years, until 1676, simply by the ingenious expedient of adjourning it from year to year, and refusing to issue writs for a new election. The effect of this was to carry more than one staunch cavalier over into what was by no means a Puritan, but none the less a strong opposition party."]

### VIRGINIA GIVEN TO CULPEPER AND ARLINGTON (1672 A.D.)

Public attention was soon much engrossed by some proceedings on the part of the king which might lead the Virginians to question whether even the "tyranny of Cromwell" were not quite as tolerable, on the whole, as the rule of "his sacred majesty" Charles II. The whole "northern neck," that is, the peninsula between the Rappahannock and the Potomac, had been granted to the earl of St. Albans, Lord Culpeper, and others, without even excepting the plantations already settled there. Finally (February 25th, 1673), the entire colony was assigned, for thirty-one years, to lords Culpeper and Arlington, including all quit-rents, escheats, the power to grant lands and to erect new counties, the presentation to all churches, and the nomination of sheriffs, escheators, and surveyors. These noblemen had a very bad character for rapacity. Arlington was one of the king's ministers, and a member of the famous "Cabal." They could have no object in obtaining this grant except to enrich themselves out of the colony. Perhaps they might question existing land-titles, of which some, it is probable, would hardly bear examination. The assembly was alarmed, and three agents were despatched to England to solicit a modification of this extraordinary grant, or to purchase it up for the benefit of the colony. The commissioners were also instructed to solicit a royal charter for the colony. It encountered, however, some unexplained delays in passing the seals. Its progress was finally cut short by news from Virginia of a nature to show that the absence of free schools was by no means so absolute a guarantee against discontent and rebellion as Berkeley had supposed.

### BACON'S REBELLION (1676 A.D.)

Discontents in Virginia had reached, in fact, a high pitch. The colony, county, and parish levies were all raised by poll-taxes. Those who paid these taxes had little or no voice in imposing them. There had been no general election since the restoration, and even in local elections to fill vacancies in the assembly a considerable part of the freemen had lost their right to vote. The taxes imposed to keep up the forts, and the late levy to buy out Culpeper and Arlington, caused great discontents, aggravated by the declining price of tobacco. In the selection of vestrymen and county commissioners the people had no voice at all. These local dignitaries, by long continuance in office, had grown supercilious and arbitrary. The compensation to the members of assembly had been lately fixed at one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco per day, besides near as much more for horses, servants, and boatmen. This amount was deemed excessive by the tax-payers, who accused the members of protracting their sessions for the mere sake of increasing their pay. The public dissatisfaction had already shown itself in popular disturbances, "suppressed by proclamation and the advice of some discreet persons." Nothing, however, was wanting, except an occasion and a leader, to throw the whole community into a flame. An occasion was soon found in an Indian war; a leader presented himself in Nathaniel Bacon.[1] Bacon was a young man, not yet thirty, lately arrived from London, where he had studied law in the Temple. He had estates and influential connections in Virginia. His uncle, of the same name, of whom he was presumptive

[1 His great-great-great-grandfather was the grandfather of Francis Bacon.]

heir, held a seat in the council—an honour to which the young Bacon was also soon admitted.

The Indian war seems to have originated in the movements of the Senecas, one of the clans of the Five Nations, who improved the interval of a short peace with Canada to attack their southern neighbours, the Susquehannas. The Susquehannas were precipitated on the settlements of Maryland. War followed, and aid was asked and given by the Virginia planters of the northern neck. Among these planters was one John Washington, an emigrant from the north of England, for some eighteen years past a resident in Virginia, founder of a family which produced, a century afterwards, the commander-in-chief of the American armies. A fort of the Susquehannas, on the north side of the Potomac, was besieged by a party of Virginians under his leadership, and that of Brent and Mason. Some chiefs, sent out by the Indians to treat of peace, were seized and treacherously slain. The besieged party made a desperate resistance, and, having presently escaped, revenged the outrage on their envoys by many barbarities on the Virginia planters. The whole frontier was soon in alarm.

The furious and destructive Indian war, headed by King Philip, raging at this very time in New England, no doubt tended to increase the terror of the Virginians. By suggesting the idea of a general conspiracy for the destruction of the whites, it exposed even the most friendly tribes to be suspected as enemies. The Virginia Indians, or some of them, became hostile, or were thought so. The peace which had lasted for thirty years was broken. The Indian traders, accused of having supplied the Indians with guns and ammunition, became objects of great popular detestation. The governor, who enjoyed a certain percentage on the Indian traffic, for which he had the sole right of granting licenses, shared also a part of this unpopularity, increased, there is reason to believe, by his energetic condemnation[1] of the treachery practised on the Susquehannas, and his disposition to shield the peaceful Indians from the indiscriminating rage of the colonists.

In the present excited state of the public mind the scheme of defence was not satisfactory. The governor was accused of leaning towards the Indians, and offensive operations were loudly demanded. Bacon, to whom the governor had refused a commission to beat up for volunteers against the Indians, was particularly forward. He gave out that, on news of any further depredations, he should march against the Indians, commission or no commission. An attack upon his own plantation, near the falls of James river, afforded him speedy occasion to carry his threats into effect.

Provoked at this disregard of his authority, the governor put forth a proclamation depriving Bacon of his seat in the council, and denouncing as rebels all his company who should not return within a limited day. "Those of estates" obeyed, but Bacon and fifty-seven others proceeded onward. Approaching a fort of friendly Indians, they asked provisions, offering payment. The Indians put them off. Finding themselves in danger of starvation, and suspecting that the Indians had been instigated to their procrastinations by private messages from the governor, Bacon's men waded shoulder deep through a stream that covered the fort, entreating victuals, and tendering pay. A shot from the bank they had left presently killed one of their number.

[1 Governor Berkeley reasonably enough maintained, "If they had killed my grandfather and my grandmother, my father and mother, and all my friends, yet if they had come to treat of peace, they ought to have gone in peace." But when in January on a single day the Indians killed thirty-six people, he said that "nothing could be done until the assembly's regular meeting in March."]

Apprehending an attack in the rear, "they fired the palisadoes, stormed and burned the fort and cabins, and, with the loss of three English, slew one hundred and fifty Indians." Such was Bacon's own account of this exploit.

The governor had marched in pursuit of Bacon, but was soon stopped short by disturbances in the lower counties, instigated by Drummond and Lawrence, residents at Jamestown. "The people drew together by beat of drum, declaring against forts as an intolerable pressure, and of no use"; nor was it found possible to appease these tumults except by dissolving the old assembly and calling a new one. Bacon was elected a burgess for the county of Henrico; but as he approached Jamestown in a sloop with thirty armed followers, he was intercepted by an armed ship. He was presently arrested and carried prisoner before the governor, with some twenty of his followers.

In consideration of a pardon which the governor had promised, Bacon, placed at the bar, confessed, on his knees, "his late unlawful, mutinous, and rebellious practices"; begged pardon therefor; desired the council and burgesses to mediate for him, and proffered his whole estate in Virginia as security for his good behaviour.

Though all Bacon's company were pardoned, and himself restored to his seat in the council, he soon secretly left Jamestown. A few days after, he reappeared at the head of three or four hundred armed men from the upper counties. Anticipating the York train-bands, for which the governor had sent, Bacon's men occupied all the avenues, disarmed the townspeople, "surround the state house (sitting the assembly), rage thereat, storm for a commission for Bacon, which, upon the earnest importunity of the council and assembly, was at length obtained, as also an act of indemnity to Bacon and his men for this force, and a high applausive letter to the king in favour of Bacon's designs and proceedings, signed by the governor, council, and assembly." So says the report of the royal commissioners appointed to investigate the origin and causes of Bacon's insurrection, and this account agrees sufficiently well with that given by one T. M.[1] [probably Thomas Matthews, son of ex-Governor Samuel Matthews], who sat in the assembly as a burgess for Stafford county, and who has left us a graphic history of the session.

"Upon news," says T. M., "that Mr. Bacon was thirty miles up the river, at the head of four hundred men, the governor sent to the post adjacent on both sides James river for the militia and all that could be gotten to come and defend the town. Expresses came almost hourly of the army's approaches, who, in less than four days after the first accounts of them, at two of the clock, entered the town without being withstood, and formed in a body, horse and foot, upon a green, not a flight-shot from the end of the state house, as orderly as regular veteran troops. In half an hour after, the drum beat for the house to meet; and in less than an hour more Mr. Bacon came, with a file of fusileers on either hand, near the corner of the state house, where the governor and council went forth to meet him. Mr. Bacon, and after him a detachment of fusileers (muskets not being there in use), with their locks bent, presented their fusils at a window of the assembly chamber filled with faces, repeating, with menacing voices, 'We'll have it! We'll have it!' Whereupon one of our house, a person known to many of them, shook his handkercher out at the window, saying, 'You shall have it! You shall have it!'

"In this hubbub, a servant of mine got so nigh as to hear the governor's words, and also followed Mr. Bacon and heard what he said, who told me that the governor opened his breast, and said, 'Here, shoot me! 'Fore God!

fair mark! Shoot!' often rehearsing the same, without any other words. Whereto Mr. Bacon answered, 'No, may it please your honour, we'll not hurt a hair of your head, nor of any other man's. We are come for a commission to save our lives from the Indians, which you have so often promised, and now we'll have it before we go!'

"Next day there was a rumour the governor and council had agreed Mr. Bacon should have a commission to go general of the forces we were then raising."

The assembly passed an act appointing Bacon general of a thousand men, one-eighth part horsemen or dragoons, destined for active operations. The superior officers were to be appointed by the governor; but Bacon took care to supply himself with a stock of blank commissions, signed with the governor's name.

The vigorous prosecution of the Indian war provided for, the assembly turned its attention to internal reforms. Fees and public offices were regulated, and provision made against abuses of official authority. The right of voting for burgesses, and the election of the parish vestries, were restored to the freemen. The exemption from taxes hitherto enjoyed by the families of ministers and councillors was taken away. The legislation[1] of this remarkable assembly, known collectively as Bacon's laws, concludes with an act of general and total pardon and oblivion.

The assembly adjourned, the general appointed by it undertook an expedition against the Pamunkeys, whom, according to the governor's partisans, he frightened from their lands, and made hostile, if they were so. While Bacon was thus employed, Berkeley was encouraged by Philip to issue a new proclamation, again denouncing Bacon as a rebel. But the projects of the governor were counter-worked by the activity of Drummond and Lawrence. Bacon, in reply, put forth a declaration, in which he arraigned the governor, and justified himself.[d]

Bacon's declaration begins as follows:

"If virtue be a sin, if piety be guilt, if all the principles of morality and goodness and justice be perverted, we must confess that those who are called rebels may be in danger of those high imputations, those loud and severe bulls, which would affright innocency, and render the defence of our brethren and the inquiry into our sad and heavy oppressions treason. But if there be (as sure there is) a just God to appeal to; if religion and justice be a sanctuary here; if to plead the cause of the oppress'd; if sincerely to aim at the publick good, without any reservation or by-interest; if to stand in the Gap, after so much blood of our dear brethren bought and sold; if after the loss of a great part of his majesty's colony, deserted and dispeopl'd, and freely to part with our lives and estates to endeavour to save the remainder, be treason—let God and the world judge, and the guilty die. But since we cannot find in our hearts one single spot of rebellion and treason, or that we have in any manner aimed at the Subversion of the settl'd government, or attempting the person of any, either magistrate or private man—notwithstanding the several reproaches and threats of some who for sinister ends were disaffected to us, and censure our just and honest designs—let truth be bold and all the world know the real foundation of our pretended guilt."

He then goes on to complain of the authorities, "these juggling parasites whose tottering fortunes have been repaired at the public charge." He accuses Berkeley of "having raised unjust taxes for the advancement of private favourites"; of "having abused the majesty of justice, of advancing to places of judicature scandalous and ignorant favourites," of "having bartered and sold his majesty's country and the lives of his loyal subjects to the barbarous

[1 "The better legislation was completed, according to the new style of computation, on the 4th of July, 1676, just one hundred years to a day before the congress of the United States, adopting the declaration which had been framed by a statesman of Virginia, who, like Bacon, was 'popularly inclined,' began a new era in the history of man."—BANCROFT.g]

heathen," etc. He then demanded the arrest of the governor and nineteen of his accomplices.[a]

Bacon now called a convention of delegates from the several counties to meet at Middle Plantation (now Williamsburg), August 3rd. This convention, attended by many of the principal men of the colony, agreed upon an oath to be imposed on the inhabitants, and an "engagement" to be signed by them, promising to support Bacon even against troops from England till the matters in dispute could be referred to the king.

As even the loyal inhabitants of Gloucester seemed cold to his cause, Berkeley presently retired to Accomac, on the eastern shore, accompanied by Beverley, Ludwell, and a few others. This withdrawal was treated as an abdication of office, and Bacon, with four members of the council, issued writs for electing a new assembly.

Bacon's party had been joined by Giles Bland, the collector of the customs, "a gentleman newly arrived from England to possess the estate of his deceased uncle, late of the council." Bland seized the ship of one Lorimore, increased her armament to sixteen guns, and sailed with a force of two hundred and fifty men to attack Berkeley, in company with Captain Barlow, "one of Cromwell's soldiers," and Carver, "a good seaman, and a stout, resolute fellow," who commanded a bark of four guns. But by the contrivance of Lorimore, supported by the courage of Ludwell, the large ship was betrayed into the governor's hands. The other vessel was also taken. Bland was put in irons; Carver and Barlow were hanged—a rash act, it was thought, since Bacon had Sir Henry Chicheley [the deputy governor] and other councillors in his power, and might perhaps retaliate. Most of the men, on the offer of pardon, were induced to enter the governor's service.

Berkeley collected a force of near a thousand Accomacians. With two ships and some sixteen sloops, he presently entered James river, and proceeded to occupy Jamestown (September 7th).

Bacon, far inferior in numbers to the governor, laid close siege to Jamestown. The besieged made a sally, but were repulsed with loss. Finding himself in an awkward predicament, and his troops not to be depended upon, the governor made a hasty retreat by night, taking with him the townspeople and their goods.[d]

The next morning Bacon entered; it was reported that the governor had only fled to join a party of royalists who were advancing from the north. He determined therefore to burn the town, to prevent its becoming a harbour to the enemy; and Drummond and Lawrence, who were with Bacon, not only counselled this desperate measure, but themselves set fire to their own houses, which were the best in the town after the governor's. The number of houses, however, was small, amounting to about eighteen; but the church, the oldest in America, and the newly erected state house, were consumed likewise, the ruins of the church-tower and the memorials in the adjoining graveyard being all that now remain to point out to the stranger where once Jamestown stood.

Great numbers deserted the royalist cause, and Bacon, advancing to Gloucester, called a convention and administered an oath to the people, swearing them to the cause of popular liberty. The whole of Virginia, with the exception of the eastern shore, was now revolutionised. Berkeley had again fled to Accomac.

At this important moment, Bacon, who had inhaled disease on the marshes of Jamestown, suddenly fell sick, and on the 1st of October died, leaving the great cause of the people without a leader. His death wrung the popular

heart; despair fell on all, for there was no one to finish his work. The place of his interment was never known; it was concealed even from the body of his partisans, lest his remains should be insulted by the vindictive Berkeley [who proposed to hang them on a gibbet]. According to one tradition his friend Lawrence secretly buried him, laying stones upon his coffin; others maintain that his body was sunk in the deep waters of the majestic York river; and this is by no means improbable.

### BERKELEY'S LAST TYRANNIES

The tide now set in against the insurgents; Beverley immediately captured Thomas Hansford, an insurgent leader. Brought before Berkeley, the choleric old cavalier ordered him to be hanged. He heard his sentence unmoved, but asked as "a favour that he might be shot like a soldier and not hanged like a dog." "You die as a rebel, not as a soldier!" was the reply. Reviewing his life, he professed repentance of his sins, but would not admit that his so-called rebellion was a sin; and his last words were, "I die a loyal subject and a lover of my country."

Hansford was the first Virginian who died on the gallows, the first American martyr to the popular cause. He was executed on the 13th of November, 1676. Other insurgent leaders were taken, among the rest, Edmund Cheesman and Thomas Wilford; the latter the second son of a royalist knight who had died fighting for Charles I, and now a successful Virginian emigrant. He, too, was hanged. Cheesman was brought up before the governor. "Why did you engage in Bacon's designs?" demanded the latter. At that instant a young woman rushed forward, the wife of the prisoner, and replying before he had time to utter a word, exclaimed, "My provocations made my husband join in Bacon's cause. But for me he would never have done it!" And then falling on her knees, she added, "And seeing what has been done was through my means, I am most guilty; let me be hanged and my husband be pardoned!" The governor ordered her off, adding the grossest insult to his words. Her husband died in prison of ill-usage.

With the success of his party the vindictive passions of the governor increased. Mercy was an unknown sentiment to his heart, and his avarice gratified itself by fines and confiscations. Fearing the result of trial by jury, he resorted to courts-martial, where the verdicts were certain and severe. Four persons were thus hanged on one occasion. Drummond was seized, in the depth of winter, in Chickahominy swamp, half famished, and, being stripped and put in irons, was conveyed to Berkeley. Berkeley, seeing him approach, hastened out to meet him, and with a bow of derision saluted him: "Mr. Drummond, you are very welcome; I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia; Mr. Drummond, you shall be hanged in half an hour!" "What your honour pleases," replied the patriot, calmly. He was tried by court-martial, and though he had never held any military command, he was immediately condemned; and his wife's ring being forcibly torn from his finger, he was executed within three hours. The fate of Lawrence was never known; but report said that he and four others, in the depth of winter, when the snow was ankle-deep, threw themselves into a river rather than perish like Drummond. The conduct of Berkeley had been that of a dastard in the struggle, and now his cruelty was that of a fiend. A royal proclamation arrived from England, promising pardon to all but Bacon. But this was utterly disregarded; Berkeley, indeed, altered it to suit his own temper, and

excepted from mercy about fifty persons, among whom was Sarah Grindon, the wife of the late attorney. Twenty-two were hanged; three died from hard usage in prison; three fled before trial, and two after conviction.

In the course of two months, trials before the governor and council, by "juries of life and death," were substituted instead of courts-martial; but the result was little different. The land groaned with the excess of punishment. The very assembly itself besought of the governor "to desist from sanguinary punishments, for none could tell when or where they would cease." And when executions ceased, other modes of punishment began.

When the news of these bloody doings reached London, Charles, who, with all his faults, was not cruel, exclaimed with indignation, "The old fool has taken away more lives in that naked country than I have for the murder of my father!"

As regarded the causes of this insurrection and the true character of its leaders, every possible means were taken to veil them in obscurity, or to throw disrepute and infamy upon them. No printing-press was allowed in Virginia. It was a crime punishable by fine and whipping,[1] to speak ill of Berkeley and his friends, or to write anything favourable to the rebels or the rebellion. Every accurate account remained in manuscript for more than a hundred years; so that the struggles and sufferings of these unfortunate patriots were long misunderstood and cruelly maligned.

It was on the occasion of this rebellion that English troops were first introduced into America. In three years, however, they were disbanded, and became amalgamated with the people. Sir William Berkeley returned to England with the squadron which brought out these forces, it being necessary to justify his conduct there. Arrived in England, he found the public sentiments so violent against him that he died, it was said, of a broken heart, and before he had had an opportunity of justifying himself with the monarch.

Colonel Herbert Jeffreys was left by Berkeley as deputy in his absence, and on his death he assumed the office of governor. The results of Bacon's rebellion were disastrous to Virginia. This insurrection was made a plea against granting a more liberal charter, and the restrictions and oppressions under which Virginia had groaned became only more stringent and heavy. All those liberal measures which were introduced by Bacon's assembly, and which were known under the name of "Bacon's Acts," were annulled, and the former abuses returned. In vain were commissioners sent over by the monarch to redress their grievances; reports of tyranny and rapine were received, but no amelioration of the system which permitted them was introduced; as Bancroft[g] says, "every measure of effectual reform was considered void, and every aristocratic feature which had been introduced into the legislature was perpetuated."

### CULPEPER'S ADMINISTRATION AS PROPRIETARY

When Virginia was granted to the lords Culpeper and Arlington, the former was appointed governor for life on the demise of Berkeley; he embarked in 1680 for Virginia, where he arrived in May. The principal of his acts was that

[1 The third offence to be punished as treason. If the culprit were a married woman, and no one volunteered to pay her fine, she was "to be whipped on the bare back with twenty lashes for the first offence," and thirty for the second. Similar penalties were imposed for speaking disrespectfully of any in authority.[d]]

the impost of two shillings on every hogshead of tobacco should be perpetual, and instead of being accounted for to the assembly as hitherto, should be applied as a royal revenue for the support of government. His own salary —as governor—of £1,000 he doubled, on the plea that, being a nobleman, such increase was necessary; besides house-rent and perquisites, amounting to nearly another thousand. Not satisfied with this, he altered the currency, and then disbanding the soldiers, paid their arrears in the new coin, greatly to his own advantage. But shortly afterwards, finding that, by the same rule, his own perquisites would be deteriorated, he restored it to its former value.

Virginia was now quiet, but her miseries were not at an end. Large crops of tobacco were raised, and the price sank far below a remunerative scale, and again the scheme of the "stint," or the cessation of planting, was entertained. During two sessions the assembly endeavoured to legislate for these difficult circumstances; but in May, 1682, the malcontents commenced to cut up the tobacco-plants, especially the sweet-scented, which was produced nowhere else, and to this futile procedure, Culpeper, who had now returned, put a stop by measures of great severity—hanging the ringleaders and enacting plant-cutting high treason.

A printing-press was at this time brought over into Virginia, by John Buckner, who printed the enactments of the session in 1682; but such publicity was dreaded. He was called to account by Culpeper, and forbidden to print anything until his majesty's pleasure should be known; and the following year any printing-press was forbidden in Virginia, under the royal authority. The slave-code received some alterations during Culpeper's government, which were worthy of the remorseless spirit of the man. Slaves were forbidden the use of arms, or to leave their masters' plantations without a written pass, or to lift a hand against a Christian, even in self-defence. Runaways, who refused to give themselves up, might be lawfully killed.

"All accounts," says Bancroft,[g] "agree in describing the condition of Virginia at this time as one of extreme distress. Culpeper had no compassion for poverty, no sympathy for a province impoverished by perverse legislation; and the residence in Virginia was so irksome, that in a few months he again returned to England. The council reported the griefs and restlessness of the country, and renewed the request that the grant to Culpeper might be recalled. The poverty of the province rendered negotiation easy, and in the following year Virginia was once more a royal province."

### VIRGINIA AGAIN A ROYAL PROVINCE UNDER EFFINGHAM

Lord Howard of Effingham[1] succeeded Culpeper as governor in 1684, but the change was hardly beneficial to the unhappy province. It is said that with an eye to the fees, he established a court of chancery, claiming, by virtue

[1 "Like master, like man: Charles debauched and debased England, and Culpeper and Effingham degraded their governments and almost ruined Virginia. In the whole range of American colonial history there are to be found no administrations at once so contemptible, so sordid, and so injurious as those inflicted upon Virginia by the noble governors appointed by Charles II. One event but little noticed at the time rises above the sorry details of this period. In 1684 Virginia sent delegates to Albany to meet the agents of Massachusetts and the governor of New York, in order to discuss the Indian troubles. Thus another uncertain step was taken on the road to confederation. Every event of this nature, no matter how trifling, acquires importance in marking the slow stages by which the principle of union rose by external pressure from the jarring interests of separate colonies."—LODGE.*h*]

of his office, to be sole judge. The accession of James II produced no change in the state of Virginia, but the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion sent over to her a number of truly noble, though involuntary exiles. These were the men who, by sentence of the infamous Judge Jeffreys, were condemned to transportation, and sent over for sale to the labour-market of the American colonies. These political convicts were, many of them, men of family and superior education, accustomed to the conveniences and elegancies of life; and, as regarded them, the government of Virginia received injunctions, under the signature of the monarch; "take care," said they, "that these convicted persons continue to serve for ten years at least, and that they be not permitted, in any manner, to redeem themselves by money or otherwise until that time be fully expired." But Virginia had suffered too much not to sympathise with her noble transports. In December, 1689, the exiles were pardoned. America, in every one of her colonies, was benefited by the tolerance and the oppressions of Europe. Hence she derived her best population; hence her clear instinct of liberty, and the courage and energy which bore her through the struggle for its attainment.

The state of Virginia did not improve under James II; and so oppressive was the government found to be, that the first assembly convened after his accession called in question the monarch's right to negative such of their proceedings as did not meet with his approbation; the king was displeased, and censured "the disaffected and unjust disposition of the members, and their irregular and tumultuous proceedings." The assembly was dissolved by royal proclamation, and James Collins loaded with irons and imprisoned for treasonable expressions. But the council stood firm to their principles of obedience and conformity, and pledged themselves to bring the state to submission. Beverley, a royalist and former adherent of Berkeley's, and for a long time clerk of the assembly, in whose soul the despotism of the time seems to have called forth a germ of liberty, fell under the strong resentment of the king; and being disfranchised, and a prosecution commenced against him, he died soon afterwards, a martyr to those very principles for which Bacon had struggled, and which he then had opposed.

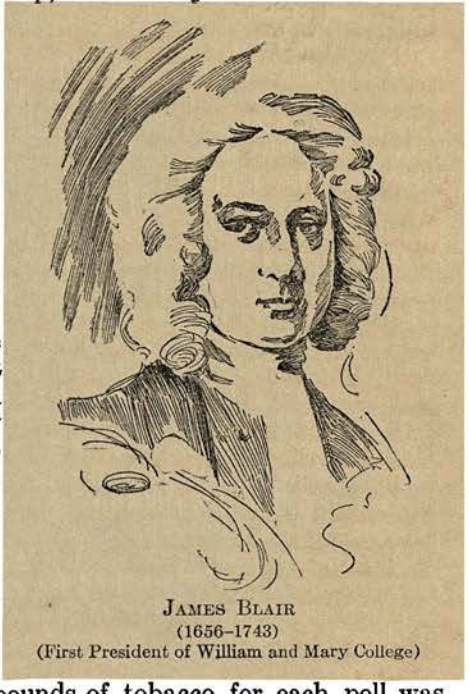
The principles of Bacon indeed were, under the severity of the present rule, becoming the principles of the whole of Virginia, as the noblest essences are only brought out by extreme pressure. The spirit of the colony was shown by the new assembly, which was now, in 1688, convened, and for the turbulent and unmanageable disposition of which it was very soon dissolved by the council. Discussion, so long fettered, once more asserted its liberty; the scattered dwellers along the river banks passed from house to house the kindling cry of liberty. The whole colony was about to rise once more; and Effingham, alarmed at the position of affairs, hastened to England, followed by Philip Ludwell, as his accuser in the name of the people. During his absence, Nathaniel Bacon, the elder, president of the council, assumed the temporary administration. But before either the accused or the accuser reached the English shores, James had abdicated, and that revolution had taken place which for the moment cast the affairs of Virginia into the shade.

### VIRGINIA AFTER THE REVOLUTION OF 1688

For Virginia, the revolution of 1688 gave to her liberties the regularity of law; in other respects, the character of her people and the forms of her government were not changed. The first person who, in the reign of King Will-

iam, entered the ancient dominion as lieutenant-governor, was the same Francis Nicholson who in the days of King James had been the deputy of Andros for the consolidated provinces of the north, and had been expelled from New York by the insurgent people; and his successor was Andros himself, fresh from imprisonment in Massachusetts in 1692. The earlier administration of the ardent but narrow-minded Nicholson was signalised by the establishment of the college of William and Mary, the first-fruits of the revolution, in age second only to Harvard.

The powers of the governor were exorbitant; he was at once lieutenant-general and admiral, lord-treasurer and chancellor, the chief judge in all courts, president of the council, and bishop, or ordinary: so that the armed force, the revenue, the interpretation of law, the administration of justice, the church—all were under his control or guardianship.



JAMES BLAIR
(1656–1743)
(First President of William and Mary College)

Yet the people of Virginia still found methods of nourishing the spirit of independence. When additional supplies became necessary, the burgesses, as in Jamaica, and in other colonies, claimed the right of nominating a treasurer of their own, subject to their orders, without further warrant from the governor. The statutes of Virginia show that the first assembly after the revolution set this example in 1691, which was often imitated. The denial of this system by the crown increased the aversion to raising money; so that Virginia refused to contribute its quota to the defence of the colonies against France, and not only disregarded the special orders for assisting Albany, but with entire unanimity, and even with the assent of the council, justified its disobedience. While other provinces were exhausted by taxation, in eleven years, eighty-three pounds of tobacco for each poll was the total sum levied by all the special acts of the assembly of Virginia.

From the days of the insurrection of Bacon, for a period of three-quarters of a century, Virginia possessed uninterrupted peace. The political strifes were but the fitful ebullitions of a high spirit, which, in the wantonness of independence, loved to tease the governor; and, again, if the burgesses expressed loyalty, they were loyal only because loyalty was their humour. Hence the reports forwarded to England were often contradictory. "This government," wrote Spotswood, the governor from 1710–1722, in 1711, "is in perfect peace and tranquillity, under a due obedience to the royal authority, and a gentlemanly conformity to the Church of England"; and the letter had hardly left the Chesapeake before he found himself thwarted by the impracticable burgesses, dissolving the assembly, and fearing to convene another till opinion should change. But Spotswood, the best in the line of Virginia governors, was soon restored to colonial favour. Like schoolboys of old at a barring out, the Virginians resisted their government, not as ready for independence, but as resolved on a holiday.[9]

## MARYLAND AND DELAWARE AFTER THE RESTORATION

Five years after the restoration of 1660 the population of Maryland had increased to sixteen thousand, and so much had their commerce increased, that the number of ships engaged in carrying on their trade with various parts of the British dominions was at least one hundred. Its internal regulations at this time were such as well deserve our notice. Every young person was trained to useful labour; pauperism and beggary were unknown; and even the introduction of slavery had not been sufficient to degrade honest labour in public esteem. A mint was established by law of assembly, in 1661, and the act which established it was confirmed and declared to be perpetual in 1676.

The address of Calvert saved the colony from an evil which seemed inevitable. The encroachments upon the western bank of the Delaware, and the hostilities of a distant tribe of Indians, now threatened the tranquillity of the colony; but the governor's remonstrances obliged the former to desert the whole country around Cape Henlopen; while his prudence, seconded by the friendly demonstrations of the Indians in alliance with the province, restored peace with the hostile tribe. On the Dutch removing from Henlopen, many of these united themselves to Maryland, where they were received with the utmost kindness; and in 1666 the assembly passed in their favour the first act which occurs in any colonial legislature for the naturalisation of aliens. In 1671 provision was made for self-defence by imposing a duty of two shillings on every hogshead of tobacco exported, and applying one-half of this revenue to the support of a magazine and the supply of firearms. The other half was settled upon the proprietary, as a mark of gratitude. This illustrious nobleman died in 1676, having lived to reap the fruits of this plantation, which he had ordered with so much wisdom and virtue; and was succeeded by his son Charles, who for fourteen years had governed the province with a high reputation for virtue and ability.

By the assembly convened this year an attempt was made to stem the progress of an evil which had for some time existed in the colony: namely, the transportation thither of felons from England. A law was passed forbidding the importation of convicts into the colony; in spite of which, however, the evil increased, and shortly previous to the revolution three hundred and fifty were landed annually in the province. About the year 1681 many attempts were made to introduce domestic manufactures; but the undertaking was premature, and although domestic industry supplied some articles for domestic use, yet even many years after it was found impossible to render Maryland a manufacturing country.

In the following year William Penn arrived in America, when an interview took place between him and Lord Baltimore, in the hope of effecting an amicable adjustment of the boundaries of their respective territories. But so inconsistent were the claims, and so little was either party inclined to yield to the other, that it was found impossible to adjust them in a manner satisfactory to both; and by Penn's interest at court, he caused it to be adjudged that the disputed district should be divided into two equal parts, one of which was appropriated to himself, and the other to Lord Baltimore. The part thus dismembered from Maryland constitutes the territory included within the limits of the present state of Delaware.

Meanwhile the late proceedings against Fendal were made the foundation of fresh complaints against Lord Baltimore; and in spite of his explanation

of the affair, which was quite satisfactory, the ministers of the king, anxious to shift the imputation of popery from themselves, commanded that all offices of government should, in future, be committed exclusively to the hands of Protestants. Another and a still more serious charge was now preferred against him. He was accused of obstructing the custom-house officers in the collection of the parliamentary duties; and though, when the affair was investigated thoroughly, it appeared that the opposition was not so great as was at first represented, yet Charles threatened him with a writ of *quo warranto;* a threat which, however, was never executed.

The news of the accession of James II to the throne of his brother was speedily published in the colonies, and there received with lively and unaffected demonstrations of joy; but they were sadly disappointed in their expectations of the treatment they should receive at his hands, for, disregarding alike the feelings of the Puritans of Massachusetts and the Catholics of Maryland, he involved both in the same project of oppression. No less was the joy excited throughout the province on receiving news of the birth of a son to James II; but the flames of revolt and revolution, which raged so fiercely in England, were soon communicated to Maryland, and the latent dissensions, inflamed by fresh incentives, burst forth in a blaze of insurrectionary violence.

The rumour, suddenly and rapidly disseminated, that the deputy governors and the Catholics had formed a league with the Indians for the massacre of all the Protestants in the province—together with several unlucky circumstances which combined to corroborate this unfounded statement—so operated upon the minds of the people, producing confusion, dismay, and indignation, that a Protestant Association was formed by John Coode, the former associate of Fendal, the members of which, being strengthened by the accession of new adherents, took up arms in defence of the Protestant faith, and the assertion of the royal title of William and Mary. William expressed his approbation of these proceedings, and authorised the insurgents to exercise in his name the power they had acquired by injustice and violence. Armed with this commission, for three years they continued to administer the government, with that severity and oppression which power is prone to arrogate when it has been acquired by corrupt or violent means.

The associates having entered a complaint against Lord Baltimore, he was summoned to answer before the privy council the charges preferred against him. This produced a tedious investigation, which involved him in a heavy expense; and it being impossible to convict him of any other crime than that of holding a different faith from the men by whom he had been so ungratefully traduced, he was suffered to retain the patrimonial interest attached by his charter to the office of proprietary. But, by an act of council, he was deprived of the political administration of the province, and Sir Edmund Andros was appointed its governor by the king. Thus fell the proprietary government of Maryland, after an existence of fifty-six years, during which time it had been administered with unexampled mildness, and with a regard to the liberties and welfare of the people that merited a better requital than that which it has been our task to record.

Though Andros is said to have approved himself a good governor in Virginia, yet he appears to have exercised no little severity and rapacity in Maryland. He protected Coode against the complaints he had provoked; but that profligate hypocrite, finding himself neglected by Colonel Nicholson, the successor of Andros, began to practise his treacherous intrigues against the proprietary administration. This occasioned his downfall. Being indicted

for treason and blasphemy in 1695, he declined to stand a trial, and fled forever from the province which he had contributed so signally to dishonour.

The suspension of the proprietary government was accompanied by an entire subversion of the principles on which its administration had been founded. The church of England was declared to be the established ecclesiastical constitution of the state; and an act passed in 1692 having divided the several counties into parishes, provision was made for the support of a minister of this communion in every one of these provinces; the appointment of the ministers vested in the governor, and the management of parochial affairs in vestries elected by the Protestant inhabitants; free schools and public libraries were established by law in all the parishes, and an ample collection of books presented to the libraries as a commencement of their literary stock by the bishop of London.

But with all this seeming liberality, a strong prejudice was entertained against the Catholics, and a bitter persecution practised towards them; and while the ecclesiastical rulers, with the most unchristian cruelty, enacted toleration to themselves, and granted the same to all Protestant dissenters, they denied it to the men by whose toleration they themselves had been permitted to gain an establishment in the province. Not only were these unfortunate victims of religious persecution excluded from all participation in political privileges, but by an act passed in 1704 they were debarred also from the exercise of their peculiar form of worship.

Thus, for twenty-seven years, the crown retained the absolute control of the province; when, in 1716, the proprietary was restored to his rights, which he and his successors continued to enjoy until the commencement of the American Revolution. In 1699 Annapolis was substituted for St. Mary's as the capital of the province; but it was not till many years after that the towns of Maryland assumed any considerable size—the same cause that prevented their growth in Virginia retarding their increase in Maryland. Most merchants and shopkeepers were also planters; and it being the custom for every man to keep on his own plantation a store, so as to supply his family, servants, and slaves with the usual accommodations of a shop, there was little to induce any large congregation of citizens, so as to form considerable towns. At a later period, however, the towns and cities seem to have acquired a sudden principle of increase; and Baltimore has grown with a rapidity equalled only by that with which the new western cities have since sprung up, and continue to advance in wealth and population.[j]

Benedict, the fourth Lord Baltimore, renounced Catholicism to secure the colony, but died almost immediately. The last Baron Baltimore, Frederick, received the colony in 1751. Under his governor, Sharpe, the colony took little or no share in the wars with the French.[a]

# CHAPTER V

## THE NORTHERN COLONIES AFTER THE RESTORATION

[1660–1744 A.D.]

> THE struggle against Andros in Massachusetts bore no little likeness to the proceedings of the revolutionists eighty years later. In each case the colonists were not so much resisting actual oppression as warring against a system under which gross oppression would become possible. In each case the administrators were tactless and blundering, and by their half-hearted tyranny at once excited opposition and failed to crush it. The parallel is incomplete in that, in the first instance, happily for both countries, the drama was cut short by external intervention, instead of working itself out to its natural climax; while the encroachments planned by James II and intrusted to Andros were more far-reaching and more destructive to liberty than anything devised by George III and his advisers.—JOHN A. DOYLE.[b]

### MASSACHUSETTS AND CHARLES II; THE DECLARATION OF RIGHTS, 1661

THE return of the Stuarts to the English throne in 1660 was not altogether unexpected in the colonies. The incompetency of Richard Cromwell, who was never proclaimed protector in America, awakened apprehensions of restoration. Yet if dreaded, it was principally because it was feared there would be a change in the government, and the Puritans would be compelled to abate their exclusiveness.

The proclamation in England of Charles II took place May 26th, 1660, and July 27th the tidings were received in Massachusetts by the ships which brought the regicides Goffe and Whalley; but no notice was publicly taken of the event. At the October court a motion for an address to the king was negatived. Rumour represented England as still in an unsettled state, and until different intelligence was received delay was deemed prudent. At length (November 30th) the government was certified of the proceedings of parliament, and was informed that its enemies had revived, and that his

majesty's council was besieged with their complaints. A court was convened (December 19th), and addresses were prepared for the king and the parliament. The style of these addresses has been censured as fulsome.[1] The agency of the clergy in their preparation is apparent; but, with the exception of hyperboles drawn from the Old Testament, and metaphors according with the customary adulation of princes in the East, they are straightforward, consistent, and manly productions. With these addresses, letters were forwarded to several gentlemen of note, and instructions were sent to Mr. Leverett, their agent, a large portion of whose life was spent in the service of the colony, to interest as many as possible to favour the cause of the colonies, and to obtain speedy information of his majesty's sense of their petition.[e]

The fugitive regicides had already retired to New Haven, thus escaping a royal order for their arrest which arrived at Boston in February, 1661, by the hands of some zealous young royalists, to whom the general court of Massachusetts intrusted its execution. But, with all show of zeal, there was no intention to give them up, if it could be avoided. By great privacy and the aid of faithful friends, they remained undiscovered, and were presently joined by Colonel John Dixwell, another of the late king's judges. In spite of diligent efforts for their arrest, all three finished their days in New England. Dixwell lived openly at New Haven under a feigned name; the other two remained in concealment, sometimes in Connecticut, sometimes in Massachusetts.

Alarmed by repeated rumours from England of changes intended to be made in their government, the general court, at their meeting in June, judged it proper to set forth, with the assistance of the elders, a distinct declaration of what they deemed their rights under the charter. This declaration claimed for the freemen power to choose their own governor, deputy governor, magistrates, and representatives; to prescribe terms for the admission of additional freemen; to set up all sorts of officers, superior and inferior, with such powers and duties as they might appoint; to exercise, by their annually elected magistrates and deputies, all authority, legislative, executive, and judicial; to defend themselves by force of arms against every aggression; and to reject any and every imposition which they might judge prejudicial to the colony. This statement of rights[2] might seem to leave hardly any perceptible power either to parliament or the king. It accorded, however, sufficiently well with the practice of the colony ever since its foundation—a practice maintained with equal zeal against both royal and parliamentary interference.

At length, after more than a year's delay, Charles II was formally proclaimed at Boston in August, 1661. But all disorderly demonstrations of joy on the occasion were strictly prohibited. None were to presume to drink the king's health, which, the magistrates did not scruple to add, "he hath in an especial manner forbidden"; meaning, we must suppose, that the king spake in their laws. As if to make up in words what was wanting in substance, a second loyal address, in the extremest style of oriental hyperbole, designated the king as one "of the gods among men."

With the late leaders of the independents it had gone hard in England. Several of them had been already executed for their concern in the late king's death. Sir Henry Vane, formerly governor of Massachusetts, and always

[1 Ebeling[c] accuses them of "oriental adulation"; he is, says Bancroft,[d] "rarely so uncharitable."]

[2 Elson[f] calls this Declaration of Rights of 1661, "one of the memorable documents of the colonial era. It was aimed, for the most part, at the Navigation Acts. It has the true American ring." Doyle,[g] the British historian of the colonies, says that it seems to take us forward a hundred years, and that "the men of 1776 had nothing to add to or take away from the words of their ancestors."]

a firm friend of New England, presently suffered a similar fate. Others were concealed or in exile. These changes in the mother country occasioned some emigration to New England, but not to any great extent.

The Massachusetts agents, Bradstreet and Norton, returned in September, 1662, bearers of a royal letter, in which the king recognised the charter, and promised oblivion of all past offences. But he demanded the repeal of all laws inconsistent with his due authority; an oath of allegiance to the royal person, as formerly in use, but dropped since the commencement of the late civil war; the administration of justice in his name; complete toleration for the Church of England; the repeal of the law which restricted the privilege of voting and tenure of office to church members, and the substitution of a property qualification instead; finally, the admission of all persons of honest lives to the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper. Little favour was shown for the Quakers; indeed, liberty was expressly given to make a "sharp law" against them—a permission eagerly availed of to revive the act by which vagabond Quakers were ordered to be whipped from town to town out of the jurisdiction. The claimants for toleration, formerly suppressed with such prompt severity, were now encouraged, by the king's demands in their favour, again to raise their heads. They advocated, also, the supremacy of the crown, sole means in that day of curbing the theocracy and compelling it to yield its monopoly of power.

The vigour of the theocratic system, by the operation of internal causes, was already somewhat relaxed. A synod met to take this subject into consideration. The majority of the ministers, alarmed at the aspect of things in England, and always better informed and more liberal than the majority of the church members, were willing to enlarge somewhat the basis of their polity. Under the influence of Mitchell—successor of Shepard as minister of Cambridge—the synod came to a result the same with that agreed upon by a select council of Massachusetts ministers five years before, authorising what was called the "half-way covenant"; the admission to baptism, that is, of the children of persons of acceptable character, who approved the confession of faith, and had themselves been baptised in infancy, though not church members in full communion. This result was approved by the Massachusetts general court.

### CONNECTICUT AND RHODE ISLAND OBTAIN CHARTERS

Connecticut and Rhode Island, having favours to ask, had been more prompt than Massachusetts to acknowledge the authority of Charles II. Winthrop for Connecticut, of which colony he was governor, and Clarke for Rhode Island presented themselves at Charles' court in quest of charters. The season was propitious. The restoration, at least for the moment, was a sort of era of good feeling. Winthrop might be subject to suspicion as the son-in-law of Hugh Peters; but his talents, his scientific acquirements—he was one of the founders of the Royal Society—and his suavity of address, secured him many friends. He seems to have encountered little difficulty in obtaining the charter which he sought. That instrument, dated April 23rd, 1662, following the terms of the old alleged grant to the earl of Warwick, established for the boundaries of Connecticut the Narragansett river, the south line of Massachusetts, the shore of the Sound, and the Atlantic Ocean. It thus not only embraced a large part of the continental portion of Rhode Island, but the whole of New Haven also—an absorption about which the inhabitants of that colony had not been consulted, and with which, at first, they were not very well satisfied. Clarke

was obliged to expend a considerable sum of money, for which he mortgaged his own house in Newport, and which the colony was a long time in paying back. An agreement, presently entered into between Clarke and Winthrop, fixed for the limit between the two colonies the Pawcatuck, declared to be the Narragansett river mentioned in the Connecticut charter; and this agreement was specially set forth (July 8th, 1663) in the charter of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

The charters thus granted vested in the proprietary freemen of Connecticut and Rhode Island the right of admitting new associates, and of choosing annually from among themselves a governor, magistrates, and representatives, with powers of legislation and judicial authority. No appellate jurisdiction and no negative on the laws were reserved to the crown any more than in the charters of Massachusetts, Maryland, and Carolina.

Historians have expressed surprise that, under the reign of Charles II, charters so democratic should have been granted. But, in a legal point of view, in the grant by the crown of independent jurisdiction, they did not differ from the other charters hitherto granted for plantations in America. The inconveniences of such independent governments had not yet attracted attention. Twenty years after, when Penn obtained the grant of Pennsylvania, intervening experience caused the insertion into his charter of several additional safeguards for metropolitan authority.

The privileges of freemen were restricted in Rhode Island, by act of the colonial assembly, to freeholders and their eldest sons. For the long period that Rhode Island remained chiefly an agricultural community, this limitation was hardly felt as a grievance. Later, amidst a manufacturing population, it excited serious discontents, occasioning almost a civil war, only appeased by the adoption of a more liberal provision. The New Haven people appealed to the commissioners for the United Colonies of New England against the invasion of their independence on the part of Connecticut. But the alarm occasioned, the next year, by the grant of New York, which extended as far east as Connecticut river, and threatened thus to absorb New Haven under a far less congenial jurisdiction; more than all, Winthrop's prudent and conciliatory measures, at length consolidated the new colony in 1664, of which for the next twelve years he was annually chosen governor. The office of deputy governor, at first bestowed on Mason, for several years before deputy governor of Connecticut and acting governor in Winthrop's absence, was afterwards given, in 1667, to William Leet, of New Haven, one of the original planters of that colony, its last governor, and after Winthrop's death, his successor as governor of the united colony. The peculiar usages of New Haven being abandoned, the laws of Connecticut were extended to the whole province. The theocratic system of New Haven thus lost its legal establishment, but the administration of the entire colony was long greatly influenced by theocratic ideas. The ministers and churches, upheld by taxes levied on the whole population, retained for many years a predominating and almost unlimited authority.

### DECLINE OF THE NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERATION (1663 A.D.)

New Haven thus absorbed into Connecticut, the new province sent henceforward but two representatives to the meeting of commissioners for the United Colonies of New England. The political consequence of that board was, however, terminated. The superintendence of the Indian missions, and the disbursement of the funds remitted from England for that purpose, became

henceforth its chief business. The meetings became triennial, and soon entirely ceased.

While Connecticut and Rhode Island were rejoicing in their charters, Massachusetts remained uneasy and suspicious. An evasive answer had been returned to the royal letter. The only concession actually made was the administration of justice in the king's name. Meanwhile, complaints against the colony were multiplying. Gorges and Mason, grandsons of the grantees of Maine and New Hampshire, alleged that Massachusetts had occupied their provinces. Wrongs and encroachments were also alleged by the chiefs of the Narragansetts, who prayed the king's interference and protection. Controversies had arisen as to the boundaries of Connecticut and Rhode Island on the one side, and of Rhode Island and Plymouth colony on the other, and as to the title to lands in that vicinity under purchases from the Indians. The king presently signified his intention to send out commissioners for hearing and determining all these matters—a piece of information which occasioned no little alarm in Massachusetts, aggravated by the appearance of a large comet. A fast was proclaimed. The charter was intrusted to a select committee of the general court for safe-keeping.

The commissioners selected by the king were sent with a small armament to take possession of New Netherlands. On the arrival of the commissioners at Boston, in August, 1664, and their first intercourse with the magistrates, the magistrates declared themselves unauthorised to raise troops for the expedition thither without the consent of the general court. The commissioners declined to await the meeting of that body, and departed, advising the magistrates against their return to take the king's letter into serious consideration. The court, which presently met, voted two hundred soldiers; but they were not needed, New Netherlands having already submitted.

The people of Connecticut, well satisfied at the subjection of the Dutch, with whom they had been in such constant collision, and having boundary questions to settle both on the east and west, received the king's commissioners with all respect. Governor Winthrop, as we have seen in a former chapter, accompanied them to the conquest of New Netherlands. After settling the boundaries of Connecticut and New York, and leaving Nichols at New York as governor, Carr and Cartwright proceeded to Massachusetts to meet Maverick. The hopes of the sectaries in that colony had been so far raised that Thomas Gould, with eight others, after meeting for some time in secret, had formally organised a Baptist church in Boston (May 28th, 1664). Prosecutions were commenced against its prominent members, who were first admonished, then fined for absence from public worship, then disfranchised, imprisoned, and presently banished. But still the organisation contrived to survive, the first Baptist church of Massachusetts. Still another inroad, not less alarming, was now made upon ecclesiastical uniformity. The commissioners, on their arrival, caused the English church service to be celebrated at Boston—the first performance of that hated ceremonial in that Puritan town. Out of respect to the inveterate prejudices of the people, the surplice was not used. But the liturgy alone was sufficiently distasteful.

### MASSACHUSETTS IN CONFLICT WITH THE KING'S COMMISSIONERS

The remonstrances of Massachusetts against the powers and appointment of the commissioners were esteemed in England unreasonable and groundless. The magistrates were sturdy and unbending; the commissioners were haughty,

overbearing, and consequential. Both parties disliked and suspected each other, and the correspondence between them soon degenerated into a bitter altercation.

The commissioners proposed, at length, to sit in form, for the purpose of hearing complaints against the colony, of which no less than thirty had been exhibited. The general court, by public proclamation (May 24th, 1665), at the sound of the trumpet, prohibited any such procedure, as contrary to their charter, and invasive of their exclusive jurisdiction within the limits of Massachusetts. Thus met, and without a military force, or any means to support their authority, the commissioners were obliged to forego their intentions. They presently left Boston, and proceeded to New Hampshire and Maine, where they decided in favour of the claims of Mason and Gorges. But the New Hampshire towns, satisfied with the rule of Massachusetts, and afraid of Mason's pretensions to quit-rents, did not favour the plans of the commissioners. More successful in Maine, where they were supported by the old Episcopal party, they issued commissions for a new government, which was accordingly organised in June. On their return to Boston, the magistrates complained that they had disturbed the peace of Maine, and requested an interview. The commissioners refused with much asperity, accusing the magistrates of treason, and threatening them with the king's vengeance.

The commissioners were accustomed to hold of Saturday nights a social party at a tavern in Ann street kept by one Robert Vyal, vintner. This was contrary to the law, which required the strict observance of Saturday night as a part of the Lord's Day. A constable went to break them up (January 18th, 1666), but was beaten and driven off by Sir Robert Carr and his servant. Mason, another constable, bolder and more zealous, immediately proceeded to Vyal's tavern; but, meanwhile, the party had adjourned to the house of a merchant over the way. Mason went in, staff in hand, and reproached them, king's officers as they were, who ought to set a better example, for being so uncivil as to beat a constable; telling them it was well they had changed their quarters, as otherwise he should have arrested them all. "What," said Carr, "arrest the king's commissioners!" "Yes," answered Mason, "the king himself, had he been there." "Treason! treason!" shouted Maverick; "knave, thou shalt presently hang for this!" And he called on the company to take notice of the words. The matter finally came before the general court, where Mason was acquitted of the more serious charge, but was fined for insolence and indiscretion, principally, no doubt, through apprehension lest some handle might be made of the matter by the commissioners.

Having transmitted to England the results of their labours, the commissioners presently received letters of recall, approving their conduct, and that of all the colonies except Massachusetts. That province was ordered by the king to appoint "five able and meet persons to make answer for refusing the jurisdiction of his commissioners." This demand, transmitted through Maverick, who sent a copy of the royal letter to the magistrates, occasioned no little alarm. The general court was called together in special session in September. From sending over agents, as that paper required, they excused themselves on the ground that no agents they could send could make their case any plainer. "Prostrate before his majesty," they beseech him "to be graciously pleased to rest assured of their loyalty according to their former professions." At the same time they sent a present of masts for the royal navy, and a contribution of provisions for the English fleet in the West Indies —seasonable supplies, which were graciously acknowledged. This bold step

of disobeying the king's special orders was not taken, however, without great opposition. Circumstances at the moment favoured the theocracy. Charles at this time was very hard pressed. The Dutch war gave the king's ministers full employment. A Dutch fleet presently sailed up the Thames, and threatened London, already ravaged by the plague and the great fire.

As yet the acts of trade were hardly a subject of controversy. The parliament, which had welcomed back the king, had indeed in 1660 re-enacted, with additional clauses, the ordinance of 1651; an act which, by restricting exportations from America to English, Irish, and colonial vessels, substantially excluded foreign ships from all Anglo-American harbours. To this, which might be regarded as a benefit by the New England shipowners, a provision was added intended still further to isolate the colonies, the more valuable colonial staples, mentioned by name and hence known as "enumerated articles," being required to be shipped exclusively to England, or some English colony. The exportation to the colonies was also prohibited of any product of Europe, unless in English vessels and from England, except horses, servants, and provisions from Ireland and Scotland. But of the "enumerated articles," none were produced in New England.

Shortly after the departure of the royal commissioners, Leverett, now major-general of the colony, was sent to Maine, with three other magistrates and a body of horse, to re-establish the authority of Massachusetts. In spite of the remonstrances of Nichols at New York, the new government lately set up was obliged to yield (July, 1668). Several persons were punished for speaking irreverently of the re-established authority of Massachusetts.

The Quakers, as yet, had abated nothing of their enthusiastic zeal, of which the colonists had a new specimen, that greatly tried their patience, in two young married women, who walked naked through the streets of Newbury and Salem, in emulation of the prophet Ezekiel, as a sign of the nakedness of the land. They were whipped from town to town out of the colony, under the law against vagabond Quakers; the young husband of one of them following the cart to which his wife was tied, and from time to time interposing his hat between her naked and bleeding back and the lash of the executioner.[1]

Meanwhile the growing commerce of Boston began to attract the notice and envy of the jealous English merchants. Though the houses were generally wooden, and the streets narrow and crooked, "with little decency and no uniformity," that town, by far the largest and most commercial in the colonies, already had a population of seven or eight thousand; among them, some merchants of considerable capital and active enterprise. New England trading vessels frequented the Southern colonies, which they supplied to a great extent with European goods, taking in return tobacco, sugar, rum, and other tropical products, which they sold in Spain, Italy, and Holland, along with their own staples of fish and staves, thus evading the Navigation Acts, and interfering with that monopoly of colonial trade which the English merchants aimed to secure. Hence a new act of parliament in 1672, imposing on the transit of "enumerated articles" from colony to colony the same duties payable on the introduction of those articles into England. For the collection of these duties, the same act authorised the establishment of custom-houses in the colonies, under the superintendence of the English commissioners of the customs. Such was the origin of royal custom-houses in America, and of commercial duties levied there by authority of parliament and in the name of the king.[h]

[1 It is such intolerance that led Doyle[b] to characterise as "a grotesque delusion" the theory "that New England was, or wished to be thought, a home of spiritual freedom."]

## KING PHILIP'S WAR

The attempts to Christianise the Indians of New England have already been noticed. Many of them, by the efforts of John Eliot and the Mayhews, had been won from heathenism and the customs of savage life to a knowledge and love of the Christian religion, and a preference for some of the habits of civilisation. Still the great mass of the aboriginal population remained heathens. Bancroft[d] estimates the Indian population in New England, west of the St. Croix, at about forty-five or fifty thousand. Of these, ten thousand were in Maine, four thousand in New Hampshire, twelve thousand in Massachusetts and Plymouth, and fifteen hundred in Connecticut. He supposes the white population west of the Piscataqua to have been fifty thousand—double that of the Indians. Among the so-called "praying Indians," some were educated, and one took a bachelor's degree, in 1665, at Harvard College.

The treaty made by the Pilgrim Fathers with Massasoit had been observed for more than fifty years. That powerful chieftain, dying, had left the government in the hands of his son, Alexander, whose ill-treatment at the hands of the whites, which had probably occasioned his death, may in part have led to the implacable hostility of his brother and successor, Philip of Pokanoket. This chief, as well as most of those who were in alliance with him, had sternly rejected all persuasions to Christianity; and if he nursed in his bosom a strong vindictive feeling towards the colonists, it is certain that there were many reasons for it. The broad territory which had once been the possession of his fathers had dwindled away, till a narrow region round Mount Hope Bay was all that had been spared by the gradual but irresistible encroachments of the colonists. Personal insults had been offered to himself and his family, and he had been compelled to surrender his arms and pay tribute. Finally, his secretary, Seusoman or Sassamon, an Indian who, after professing Christianity, had apostatised and entered his service, had played the spy upon him, giving information of his intended movements. It was through his treacherous letters that the colonists learned that Philip and his countrymen had at length resolved to adopt measures for their destruction. Fearing the consequences of what he had done, the renegade returned to the protection of the settlers, and was soon after slain by two of the Indian leaders. The perpetrators of this deed were arrested, tried, and executed by the colonists.

Philip was alarmed by the condemnation of his counsellors; and finding that the war would inevitably be forced upon him, he resolved to be the first in the field. His tribe, the Pokanokets or Wampanoags, having sent their wives and children to the Narragansets for security, commenced hostilities at Swansea. They menaced and insulted the inhabitants, and, after killing some of the cattle in the fields, they broke open and rifled the houses. One of the Indians being shot by the English, who were highly exasperated at such proceedings, the former, in revenge, killed eight of the settlers. This was the beginning of King Philip's War, June 24th, 1675.

It is said that Philip was hurried into the war by the ardour of his men some months before he had intended to commence hostilities. He had many serious disadvantages to contend with. He had not succeeded in uniting all his countrymen in opposition to the colonists. A large portion of them were the allies of his enemies. The praying Indians would gladly have remained neutral, and such was the wish of Eliot; but Philip attacked them and drove them into hostility, although they were still distrusted by the whites. The Indians were poorly supplied with provisions, and had no strongholds

or fortified places to which they could retreat; while the English had the advantages of union, plentiful supplies of arms and provisions, garrisoned towns, and a superior knowledge of the art of war.

The superstitious among the English declared that "strange sights and sounds foreboded, in many parts of the colonies, the woes that were near; the singing of bullets, and the awful passing away of drums in the air; invisible troops of horses were heard riding to and fro; and in a clear, still, sunshiny morning, the phantoms of men fearfully flitting by!" These and other terrible omens did not, however, prevent the people from making vigorous efforts to resist the enemy.[i]

The war was regarded as a special judgment in punishment of prevailing sins. Among these sins, the general court of Massachusetts, on October 19th, after consultation with the elders, enumerated neglect in the training of the children of church members; pride, in men's wearing long and curled hair; excess in apparel; naked breasts and arms, and superfluous ribbons; the toleration of Quakers; hurry to leave meeting before blessing asked; profane cursing and swearing; tippling houses; want of respect for parents; idleness; extortion in shopkeepers and mechanics; and the riding from town to town of unmarried men and women, under pretence of attending lectures—"a sinful custom, tending to lewdness." Penalties were denounced against all these offences, and the persecution of the Quakers was again renewed. A Quaker woman had recently frightened the Old South congregation in Boston by entering that meeting-house clothed in sackcloth, with ashes on her head, her feet bare, and her face blackened, intending to personify the small-pox, with which she threatened the colony in punishment for its sins.[h]

Their usual modes of warfare were practised by the Indians. Expedition after expedition was sent against them, but they retreated into the remote swamps and were safe. When the soldiers returned to the colony, they would again emerge from their hiding-places, and have recourse to their system of surprise, massacre, and retreat. Parties on their way to church, or around the family fireside, were suddenly attacked and slaughtered in cold blood. The towns of Taunton, Nantasket, and Dartmouth were visited with fire and destruction. In July a party of English attacked Philip at Pocasset, and drove him into a swamp, which they surrounded. But the wily savage escaped into the western part of Massachusetts, the country of the Nipmucs, whom he incited to take up arms against the colonists. This tribe soon after set fire to the town of Quaboag, and massacred many of the inhabitants.

The little army of the colonists marched into the country of the Narragansets, who, although professedly neutral, were known to give shelter to the enemy. They were forced into a treaty, accompanied by a promise to deliver up the hostile Indians who should retreat to their territory. This treaty was concluded on the 15th of July. There was now a prospect of a speedy termination to the war. But it was only just begun. A sort of frenzy seemed to have seized all the Indians of New England. The eastern tribes took up the hatchet, and those on Connecticut river also joined in the war on the side of Philip. The towns of Hadley, Hatfield, Deerfield, Northfield, and Sugar Loaf Hill bore witness to their treachery and cruelty. In October the Springfield Indians deserted the alliance of the English, and, after burning three quarters of that town, joined King Philip. The treaty with the Narragansets was of short continuance; for on the 9th of September, 1675, the commissioners of the three colonies, convinced of their treachery, declared war against them, and ordered a body of one thousand men to be sent into their territory.

The time chosen for the operations of this force was the depth of winter, and their commander was Josiah Winslow. The abode of the Indians was on an island of about five or six acres, situated in an impassable swamp, the only entrance being upon a long tree lying over the water, "so that but one man could pass at a time; but the water was frozen; the trees and thickets were white with their burden of snow, as was the surface of the earth, so that the smallest movement of the Indians could be seen. Within the isle were gathered the powers of the Narraganset tribe, with their wives, families, and valuable things; the want of leaves and thick foliage allowed no ambush, and the savage must fight openly beside his own hearthstone. It was the close of day when the colonists came up to the place; a fort, a blockhouse, and a wall that passed round the isle proved the skill as well as resolution of the assailed; the frozen shores and water were quickly covered with the slain, and then the Indians fought at their doors and around their children till all was lost, and a thousand of them fell."

In this engagement the English loss was about two hundred and thirty [1] [December 19th, 1675]. It ended the offensive operations of the Narragansets, who soon after removed to the Nipmuc country. Many battles were subsequently fought in quick succession, and the Indians were hunted from place to place, until but a shadow of their former greatness remained.[i]

No longer sheltered by the River Indians, who now began to make their peace, and even attacked by bands of the Mohawks, Philip returned to his own country, about Mount Hope, where he was still faithfully supported by his female confederate and relative, Witamo, squaw-sachem of Pocasset. Philip was watched and followed by Church, who surprised his camp (August 1st), killed upwards of a hundred of his people, and took prisoners his wife and boy. The disposal of this child was a subject of much deliberation. Several of the elders were urgent for putting him to death. It was finally resolved to send him to Bermuda, to be sold into slavery—a fate to which many other of the Indian captives were subjected. Witamo shared the disasters of Philip. Most of her people were killed or taken. She herself was drowned while crossing a river in her flight; but her body was recovered, and the head, cut off, was stuck upon a pole at Taunton amid the jeers and scoffs of the colonial soldiers and the tears and lamentations of the Indian prisoners.

Philip still lurked in the swamps, but was now reduced to extremity. Again attacked by Church, he was killed by one of his own people, a deserter to the colonists. His dead body was beheaded and quartered, the sentence of the English law upon traitors. One of his hands was given to the Indian who had shot him, and on the day appointed for a public thanksgiving (August 17th) his head was carried in triumph to Plymouth.

The popular rage against the Indians was excessive. Death or slavery was the penalty for all known or suspected to have been concerned in shedding English blood. The other captives who fell into the hands of the colonists were distributed among them as ten-year servants. Roger Williams received a boy for his share. A large body of Indians, assembled at Dover to treat of peace, were treacherously made prisoners by Major Waldron, who commanded there. Some two hundred of these Indians, claimed as fugitives from Massachusetts, were sent by water to Boston, where some were hanged, and the rest shipped off to be sold as slaves. Some fishermen of Marblehead having been killed by the Indians at the eastward, the women of that town, as they

[1 Thwaites [k] puts the Indian loss at "about one thousand," and says "the contest was one of the most desperate of its kind ever fought in America." It was fought in what is now South Kingston, and is known as the Great Swamp Fight.]

came out of meeting on a Sunday, fell upon two Indian prisoners who had just been brought in and murdered them on the spot. The same ferocious spirit of revenge which governed the cotemporaneous conduct of Berkeley in Virginia towards those concerned in Bacon's rebellion, swayed the authorities of New England in their treatment of the conquered Indians. By the end of the year the contest was over in the south, upwards of two thousand Indians having been killed or taken. But some time elapsed before a peace could be arranged with the eastern tribes, whose haunts it was not so easy to reach.

### EFFECTS OF THE WAR ON THE INDIANS AND ON THE COLONIES

In this short war of hardly a year's duration the Wampanoags and Narragansets had suffered the fate of the Pequots. The work of conversion was now again renewed, and, after such overwhelming proofs of Christian superiority, with somewhat greater success. A second edition of the *Indian Old Testament*, which seems to have been more in demand than the *New*, was published in 1683, revised by Eliot, with the assistance of John Cotton, son of the "great Cotton," and minister of Plymouth. The fragments of the subject tribes, broken in spirit, lost the savage freedom and rude virtues of their fathers, without acquiring the laborious industry of the whites. Many perished by enlisting in the military expeditions undertaken in future years against Acadia and the West Indies. The Indians intermarried with the blacks, and thus confirmed their degradation by associating themselves with another oppressed and unfortunate race. Gradually they dwindled away.

On the side of the colonists the contest had also been very disastrous. Twelve or thirteen towns had been entirely ruined, and many others partially destroyed. Six hundred houses had been burned, near a tenth part of all in New England. Twelve captains and more than six hundred men in the prime of life had fallen in battle. There was hardly a family not in mourning. The pecuniary losses and expenses of the war were estimated at near a million of dollars. Massachusetts was burdened with a heavy debt. No aid nor relief seems to have come from abroad, except a contribution from Ireland of £500 for the benefit of the sufferers by the war.[h]

Thus was the race of Massasoit requited for his long-continued friendship to the whites. The Mohegans had remained faithful to the English during the war. Rhode Island had participated in the sufferings of Massachusetts. The advance of the colonies in wealth and population was retarded a full half century. The eastern Indians, supplied with arms and encouraged by the French, continued in arms nearly two years longer, peace not being restored till April, 1678.

### NEW HAMPSHIRE RECEIVES A ROYAL GOVERNOR

The expense of this war had been borne by the colonies, without recourse to the mother country; and this was made a subject of reproach by the king's ministers, as implying pride and insubordination. The project claims of Mason and Gorges with respect to New Hampshire and Maine were revived, and Edward Randolph, the agent of Mason, and an emissary from the privy council, was sent out to demand from Massachusetts the relinquishment of her jurisdiction over those colonies. He arrived in the summer of 1676, before Philip's War was terminated; and the colonists thus found themselves compelled at the same time to defend themselves against the sovereign in

England and the savages at their firesides. Stoughton and Bulkeley were despatched as agents to England to support the interests of Massachusetts. The result of the legal proceedings in England was that the jurisdiction of Massachusetts over New Hampshire ceased; but it was preserved in Maine by an arrangement with the successful claimant. The king had offered to purchase Maine, in order to unite it with New Hampshire, and bestow both on his son, the duke of Monmouth; but before he had completed the bargain the agents of Massachusetts purchased the Gorges title for twelve hundred and fifty pounds; and they continued to hold it, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the king.

The inhabitants of New Hampshire were desirous to remain attached to Massachusetts; but they were compelled to submit and receive a royal governor, the first that ever exercised power in New England. The office was conferred on Edward Cranfield, who, like Randolph, was a rapacious adventurer, intent on making a fortune, by urging the claims of Mason to the soil, which the people had purchased from others, and improved by their own labour. After involving himself in controversies and altercations with the settlers and their legislative assembly, in which he was continually foiled, he finally solicited his own recall. Shortly after his departure, New Hampshire resumed her connection with Massachusetts, and retained it until the British revolution of 1688.

### MASSACHUSETTS ROBBED OF HER CHARTER (1683 A.D.)

The enforcement of the Navigation Acts became now a source of controversy between Massachusetts and the crown. In order to compel obedience to these laws, a forfeiture of the charter was threatened; and the general court, after declaring that the Acts of Navigation were an invasion of their rights, so long as they were not represented in parliament, gave them legal force by an act of their own. This preserved their consistency, and saved the charter for the time; but it was not long before the corrupt court of Charles II commenced the work of depriving the cities and corporate towns of England of their charters, and Massachusetts could no longer hope to be spared. New agents were despatched to England, however, to avert the danger; but in 1683 a *quo warranto* was issued.[i]

Thus tyranny triumphed, and the charter fell. This was the last effective act of Charles II relative to Massachusetts; for before any new government could be settled, the monarch was dead. His death and that of the charter were nearly contemporary. The accession of James II to the English throne took place in February, 1685. The condition of the colony had long awakened the gloomiest apprehensions. The worst fears seemed confirmed, therefore, when, before the death of Charles, it was reported that Kirke, the ferocious and detestable governor of Tangier, and infamous at a later date as the associate of Jeffreys, had been appointed their governor. There were all the symptoms in the country of an expiring constitution. Several of the towns had refused to send deputies to the general court, and little was transacted by that once active body. Resentment was shown towards those magistrates who had favoured the surrender of the charter. It was a relief to the people to find that Joseph Dudley was appointed president by the king, instead of Kirke. It was the substitution of a lesser evil for one infinitely greater. The general court was then in session; a copy of his commission was presented and read; and a reply was returned, complaining of its arbitrariness, and that the people were abridged of their liberties as Englishmen.

Randolph served his writs of *quo warranto* against Rhode Island and Connecticut; and the New England colonies, having lost the freedom which they had so long enjoyed, were destined to experience the rigours of a despotism the more galling from its contrast with their former liberties.

At length the dreaded change came; and in the depth of winter his majesty's frigate *Kingfisher* arrived on the coast, and Sir Edmund Andros, a "poor knight of Guernsey," glittering in scarlet and lace, landed at Boston as "captain-general and governor-in-chief" of all New England, with "companies of soldiers brought from Europe to support what was to be imposed" upon the colony, and "repeated menaces that some hundreds more were intended." His commission, "more illegal and arbitrary than that of Dudley and Empson, granted by Henry VII," has been preserved, and its powers were sufficiently full and despotic.[e] But as this is not the first appearance of Andros in American history, we must go back and bring forward the story of New York and the other settlements wherein he first won notoriety.[a]

## THE CAREER OF ANDROS IN NEW YORK

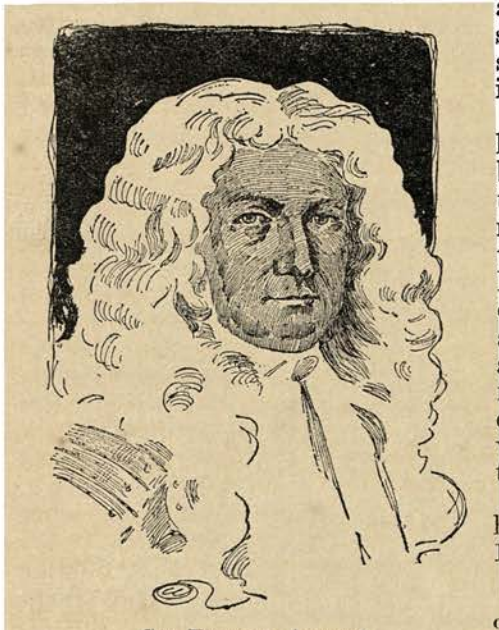
By the Treaty of Westminster in 1674 New York was restored to the English, as we have seen, and all other conquests made during the war returned to their former possessors. The validity of his former charter being questioned, the duke of York took out a second this year. It empowered him to govern the inhabitants by such ordinances as he or his assigns should establish, and to administer justice according to the laws of England, allowing an appeal to the king in person. It prohibited trade without his permission, and imposed the usual duty on exports and imports. It is singular that in neither of his charters was the brother of the king granted such extraordinary rights and privileges as were conferred on Lord Baltimore. The duke of York retained the government of the colony, under this charter, until he ascended the throne of England as James II.

Sir Edmund Andros was the first governor under the new charter, and he thus commenced a career which has given him a conspicuous place in the annals of nearly every colony for the twenty years following. The duke had instructed Andros to exercise humanity and gentleness, to administer justice according to the forms observed by his predecessors, and to respect private rights and possessions in receiving the surrender of the province from the Dutch. But his choice of a governor was a most unhappy one. The same tyranny which afterwards characterised his administration in the New England colonies also marked his course here.[i]

The country which, after the reconquest of the New Netherlands, was again conveyed to the duke of York included the New England frontier from the Kennebec to the St. Croix, extended continuously to Connecticut river, and was bounded on the south by Maryland. We have now to trace an attempt to consolidate the whole coast north of the Delaware. The inhabitants of the eastern part of Long Island resolved, in town meetings, to adhere to Connecticut. The charter certainly did not countenance their decision; and, unwilling to be declared rebels, they submitted to New York.

Andros, with armed sloops, proceeded to Connecticut (July 9th, 1675) to vindicate his jurisdiction as far as the river. On the first alarm, William Leet, the aged deputy governor, one of the first seven pillars of the church of Guilford, educated in England as a lawyer, a rigid republican, hospitable even to regicides, convened the assembly (July 10th, 1675). A proclamation

was unanimously voted, and forwarded by express to Bull, the captain of the company on whose firmness the independence of the little colony rested. It arrived just as Andros, hoisting the king's flag, demanded the surrender of Saybrook port. Immediately the English colours were raised within the fortress. Despairing of victory, Andros attempted persuasion. Having been allowed to land with his personal retinue, he assumed authority, and in the king's name ordered the duke's patent, with his own commission, to be read. In the king's name, he was commanded to desist, and Andros was overawed by the fishermen and farmers who formed the colonial troops. Their proclamation he called a slender affair, and an ill requital for his intended kindness. The Saybrook militia, escorting him to his boat, saw him sail for Long Island, and Connecticut, resenting the aggression, made a declaration of its wrongs, sealed it with its seal, and transmitted it to the neighbouring plantations.



SIR EDMUND ANDROS
(1637-1714)

In New York itself Andros was hardly more welcome than at Saybrook; for the obedient servant of the duke of York discouraged every mention of assemblies, and levied customs without the consent of the people. But since the Puritans of Long Island claimed a representative government as an inalienable English birthright, and the whole population opposed the ruling system as a tyranny, the governor, who was personally free from vicious dispositions, advised his master to concede legislative franchises.

James put his whole character into his reply to Andros (January 1st, 1677), which is as follows:

I cannot but suspect assemblies would be of dangerous consequence; nothing being more known than the aptness of such bodies to assume to themselves many privileges, which prove destructive to, or very often disturb, the peace of government, when they are allowed. Neither do I see any use for them. Things that need redress may be sure of finding it at the quarter sessions, or by the legal and ordinary ways, or, lastly, by appeals to myself. However, I shall be ready to consider of any proposal you shall send.

In November, some months after the province of Sagadahoc, that is, Maine beyond the Kennebec, had been protected by a fort and a considerable garrison, Andros hastened to England; but he could not give wisdom to the duke; and on his return (November, 1678) he was ordered to continue the duties which, at the surrender, had been established for three years. In the next year the revenue was a little increased. Yet it should be added that the taxes were hardly three per cent. on imports, and really insufficient to meet the expenses of the colony; while the claim to exercise prerogative in the church was abandoned. What was wanting to the happiness of the people? Prompted by an exalted instinct, they demanded power to govern themselves. Discontent created a popular convention in 1681; and if the two Platts, Titus, Wood, and Wicks of Huntington, arbitrarily summoned

to New York, were still more arbitrarily thrown into prison, the fixed purpose of the yeomanry remained unshaken.

The government of New York was quietly maintained over the settlements south and west of the Delaware, till they were granted to Penn; over the Jerseys Andros claimed a paramount authority. We have seen the Quakers refer the contest for decision to an English commission.

### PROGRESS OF EAST NEW JERSEY; SCOTCH EMIGRATIONS

In east New Jersey, Philip Carteret had, as the deputy of Sir George, resumed the government in 1675, and, gaining popularity by postponing the payment of quit-rents, confirmed liberty of conscience with representative government. A direct trade with England, unencumbered by customs, was encouraged. The commerce of New York was endangered by the competition; and, disregarding a second patent from the duke of York, Andros claimed that the ships of New Jersey should pay tribute at Manhattan. After long altercations, and the arrest of Carteret, terminated only by the honest verdict of a New York jury, Andros again entered New Jersey (June 2nd, 1680), to intimidate its assembly by the royal patent to the duke.

The firmness of the legislature preserved the independence of New Jersey; the decision of Sir William Jones protected its people against arbitrary taxation; its prosperity sprang from the miseries of Scotland. The trustees of Sir George Carteret, tired of the burden of colonial property, exposed their province to sale; and the unappropriated domain, with jurisdiction over the five thousand already planted on the soil, was purchased by an association of twelve Quakers, under the auspices of William Penn. Possession was soon taken by Thomas Rudyard in 1682, as governor or agent for the purchasers. Meantime the twelve proprietors selected each a partner; and to the twenty-four, among whom was the timorous, cruel, iniquitous Perth, afterwards chancellor of Scotland, and the amiable, learned, and ingenious Barclay, a new and latest patent of east New Jersey was granted by the duke of York (March 14th, 1683). From Scotland the largest emigration was expected; and to its people an argument was addressed in favour of removing to a country where there was room for a man to flourish without wronging his neighbour.

This is the era at which east New Jersey, till now chiefly colonised from New England, became the asylum of Scottish Presbyterians. Who has not heard of the ruthless crimes by which the Stuarts attempted to plant Episcopacy in Scotland, on the ruins of Calvinism, and extirpate the faith of a whole people? Just after the grant of east New Jersey, a proclamation, unparalleled since the days when Alva drove the Netherlands into independence, proscribed all who had ever communed with rebels, and put twenty thousand lives at the mercy of informers. After the insurrection of Monmouth in 1684, the sanguinary excesses of despotic revenge were revived, gibbets erected in villages to intimidate the people, and soldiers intrusted with the execution of the laws. Scarce a Presbyterian family in Scotland but was involved in proscriptions or penalties; the jails overflowed, and their tenants were sold as slaves to the plantations.

The indemnity proclaimed on the accession of James II was an act of delusive clemency. Every day wretched fugitives were tried by a jury of soldiers, and executed in clusters on the highways; women, fastened to stakes beneath the sea-mark, were drowned by the rising tide; the dungeons were

crowded with men perishing for want of water and air. The inhumanity of the government was barbarous; of the shoals transported to America, the women were often burned in the cheek, the men marked by lopping off their ears. Is it strange that many Scottish Presbyterians of virtue, education, and courage, blending a love of popular liberty with religious enthusiasm, came to east New Jersey in such numbers as to give to the rising commonwealth a permanent character? The country had for its governor the gentle Robert Barclay, whose merits as chief proprietary are attested by his wise selection of deputies, and by the peace and happiness of his colony. Thus the mixed character of New Jersey springs from the different sources of its people. Puritans, Covenanters, and Quakers met on her soil.

Everything breathed hope except the cupidity of the duke of York and his commissioners. They still struggled to levy a tax on the commerce of New Jersey, and at last to overthrow its independence. The decision of Jones, which had for a season protected the commerce of New Jersey, roused the merchants of New York. The legality of customs arbitrarily assessed was denied by the grand jury; and Dyer, the collector, was indicted as a traitor against the king, for having encroached on the English liberties of New York. Without regard to the danger of the precedent, Dyer was sent for trial to England, where no accuser followed him. Meantime ships that entered Manhattan harbour visited no custom-house, and for a few short months the vision of free trade was realised.

### NEW YORK RECEIVES A CHARTER OF LIBERTIES; DONGAN GOVERNOR, (1683 A.D.)

Thus was New York left without a revenue, just as Andros returned to England; and the grand jury, the sheriff of Yorkshire, the provisional governor, the council, the corporation of New York, all joined to entreat for the people a share in legislation. The duke of York was at the same time solicited by those about him to sell the territory. He demanded the advice of one who always advised honestly; and no sooner had the father of Pennsylvania, after a visit at New York, transmitted an account of the reforms which the province required, than, without delay, Colonel Thomas Dongan, a papist, came over as governor, with instructions to convoke a free legislature. At last, after long effort, on the 17th of October, 1683, about seventy years after Manhattan was first occupied, about thirty years after the demand of the popular convention by the Dutch, the representatives of the people met in assembly, and their self-established "charter of liberties" gave New York a place by the side of Virginia and Massachusetts.

> Supreme legislative power [such was its declaration] shall forever be and reside in the governor, council, and people, met in general assembly. Every freeholder and freeman shall vote for representation without restraint. No freeman shall suffer but by judgment of his peers, and all trials shall be by a jury of twelve men. No tax shall be assessed, on any pretence whatever, but by the consent of the assembly. No seaman or soldier shall be quartered on the inhabitants against their will. No martial law shall exist. No person professing faith in God by Jesus Christ, shall at any time be any ways disquieted or questioned for any difference of opinion.

Thus did the collision of different elements eliminate the intolerance and superstition of the early codes of Puritanism.[d]

The Dutch and English of the colony were from this time firmly compacted into one national body, and their union strengthened by frequent inter-

marriage. The next year, the long-disputed subject of the boundary between New York and Connecticut was amicably settled by a treaty with the provincial authorities.

### TREATY WITH THE FIVE NATIONS

The administration of Dongan was chiefly distinguished by the attention which he bestowed upon Indian affairs, and especially his treaty with the Five Nations. This Indian confederacy has been so famous in the annals of our country that it will be well here to consider its organization and early history. It had long existed in the neighbourhood of the colony, and indeed claimed an origin derived from the remotest antiquity. Its members reckoned themselves superior to all the rest of mankind, and a system of wise and politic measures had acquired them a degree of power and importance never attained by any other of the North American tribes. They had adopted the Roman principle of incorporating the people of conquered nations with themselves, so that some of their wisest sachems and hardiest warriors were derived from defeated foes. Each nation had its separate republican constitution, in which official power and dignity were claimed only by age, procured only by merit, and retained only during the continuance of public esteem.

They possessed to an unusual degree the Indian virtues of fortitude in the endurance of pain and strong attachment to liberty. All the neighbouring tribes paid tribute to them, and none could make war or peace without the consent of the Five Nations. In 1677 the confederacy possessed two thousand one hundred and fifty fighting men; and it is easily to be seen that a nation of this strength, with the boldness and hardihood of character which is always attributed to them, could hardly fail to render themselves formidable to the white settlers.

The Five Nations were engaged in a war with the powerful tribe of the Adirondacks at the time the French first settled in Canada, and had driven their enemies before them; when Champlain, who conducted the French colony, joined the Adirondacks, and by superior conduct, and the use of fire-arms, defeated the Five Nations in several combats and greatly reduced their numbers. The settlements of the Dutch on the Hudson river at this critical juncture furnished the Five Nations with a supply of arms and ammunition, and thus enabled them to renew the war with so much spirit and determination that they succeeded in completely annihilating the tribe of the Adirondacks. Hence originated the hatred entertained by the confederacy against the French, and their grateful attachment to the people of New York.

In the winter of 1665 a party of French despatched against the Five Nations by Courcelles, the governor of Canada, lost their way amidst wastes of snow, and, after enduring extreme misery, arrived in the greatest distress at Schenectady, where Corlear, a Dutchman of some consideration, touched with compassion at their misfortunes, received them kindly, supplied them with provisions, and by employing influence and artifice with the Indians induced them to save their unfortunate enemies. Courcelles expressed much gratitude for Corlear's kindness, and the Indians never resented his benevolent stratagem. Peace was concluded between the French and Indians in 1667, and continued with little interruption until Colonel Dongan's administration.

The French, meantime, had advanced their settlements along the St. Lawrence, and in 1672 built Fort Frontenac, on the northwest bank, near Lake Ontario. The Jesuit priests were actively engaged among the Indians, giving them religious instruction, and acquiring an influence by which many

of them were led to remain neutral, while the larger number became the auxiliaries of the French in time of war. Colonel Dongan sought to establish peace with his powerful neighbours, and in July, 1684, he, in conjunction with Lord Effingham, governor of Virginia, concluded with the Five Nations a definite treaty of peace, embracing all the English settlements and all tribes in alliance with them. In accordance with their customs, hatchets, corresponding to the number of the English colonies, were solemnly buried in the earth by the Indians. This treaty was long and inviolably adhered to. De la Barre, the governor of Canada, invaded the country of the Five Nations the same year; but famine and disease reduced his army, and he was compelled to sue for peace and return in disgrace. His successor, De Nouville, led a larger army into the territory, but with no better success, being defeated with heavy loss.

On the death of Charles II, in 1685, the duke of York ascended the throne of England, with the title of James II. The people of New York now solicited a new constitution, which had been promised them by the newly created king when he was as yet only duke of York; but, not ashamed to violate his former promises, he returned a calm refusal, having already determined to establish in New York the same arbitrary system which he designed for New England. The next year additional taxes were imposed, and the existence of a printing-press in the province was forbidden. The French ministers had the address to conclude with the king a treaty of neutrality for America, which proved highly disadvantageous for the colony, providing that neither party should give assistance to Indian tribes at war with the other. This did not prevent the French from exciting hostilities between their Indian adherents and the Five Nations; but it compelled the English to refrain from assisting these, their ancient allies. Such a change of treatment on the part of the proprietary produced a corresponding change in the sentiments of the colonists, who now became turbulent and discontented.[i]

### CONSOLIDATION OF THE NORTHERN COLONIES UNDER ANDROS

With all his faults, James II had a strong sentiment of English nationality; and in consolidating the northern colonies, he hoped to engage the energies of New England in defence of the whole English frontier.

At last, as we have seen, Sir Edmund Andros, glittering in scarlet and lace, landed at Boston as governor of all New England (December 20th, 1686). How unlike Penn at New Castle! He was authorized to remove and appoint members of his council, and, with their consent, to make laws, lay taxes, and control the militia of the country. He was instructed to tolerate no printing-press, to encourage Episcopacy, and to sustain authority by force. From New York came West as secretary; and in the council four subservient members, of whom but one was a New England man, alone commanded his attention. The other members of the council formed a fruitless but united opposition.

A series of measures followed, the most vexatious and tyrannical to which men of English descent were ever exposed: "The wicked walked on every side, and the vilest men were exalted," said Cotton Mather.[m] As agents of James II, they established an arbitrary government; as men in office, they coveted large emoluments. The schools of learning, formerly so well taken care of, were allowed to go to decay. A town-meeting was allowed only for the choice of town officers. The vote by ballot was rejected. To a com-

mittee from Lynn, Andros said plainly, "There is no such thing as a town in the whole country." To assemble in town-meeting for deliberation was an act of sedition or a riot. None might leave the country without a special permit. Probate fees were increased almost twenty-fold. To the scrupulous Puritans, the idolatrous custom of laying the hand on the Bible, in taking an oath, operated as a widely-disfranchising test.

The Episcopal service had never yet been performed within Massachusetts Bay, except by the chaplain of the hated commission of 1665. Its day of liberty was come. Andros demanded one of the meeting-houses for the church. The wrongs of a century crowded on the memories of the Puritans as they answered, "We cannot with a good conscience consent." Goodman

WHIPPLE HOUSE, IPSWICH
(Built in 1633 A.D.)

Needham declared he would not ring the bell; but at the appointed hour the bell rang, March 25th, 1687, and in a Boston meeting-house the common prayer was read in a surplice.

At the instance and with the special concurrence of James II, a tax of a penny in the pound, and a poll-tax of twenty pence, with a subsequent increase of duties, were laid by Andros and his council (March 3rd, 1687). The towns generally refused payment. Wilbore, of Taunton, was imprisoned for writing a protest. To the people of Ipswich, in town-meeting, John Wise, the minister who used to assert, "Democracy is Christ's government in church and state," advised resistance. "We have," said he, "a good God and a good king; we shall do well to stand to our privileges." "You have no privilege," answered one of the council, after the arraignment of Wise and the selectmen, "you have no privilege left you but not to be sold as slaves." "Do you believe," demanded Andros, "Joe and Tom may tell the king what money he may have?" The writ of *habeas corpus* was withheld. The prisoners pleaded Magna Charta. "Do not think," replied one of the judges, "the laws of

England follow you to the ends of the earth." And in his charge to the packed jury, Dudley spoke plainly, "Worthy gentlemen, we expect a good verdict from you." The verdict followed; and after imprisonment came heavy fines and partial disfranchisements.

Oppression threatened the country with ruin; and the oppressors, quoting an opinion current among the mercantile monopolists of England, answered without disguise, "It is not for his majesty's interests you should thrive." Lynde, of Charlestown, produced an Indian deed. It was pronounced "worth no more than the scratch of a bear's paw." Lands were held, not by a feudal tenure, but under grants from the general court to towns, and from towns to individuals. The town of Lynn produced its records; they were slighted "as not worth a rush." Others pleaded possession and use of the land. "You take possession," it was answered, "for the king." The lands reserved for the poor, generally all common lands, were appropriated by favourites; writs of intrusion were multiplied; and fees, amounting in some cases to one-fourth the value of an estate, were exacted for granting a patent to its owner. A selected jury offered no relief. "Our condition," said Danforth, "is little inferior to absolute slavery"; and the people of Lynn afterwards gave thanks to God for their escape from the worst of bondage. "The governor invaded liberty and property after such a manner," said the temperate Increase Mather, "as no man could say anything was his own."

### RHODE ISLAND, PROVIDENCE, AND CONNECTICUT LOSE THEIR LIBERTY (1687 A.D.)

The jurisdiction of Andros had, from the first, comprehended all New England. Against the charter of Rhode Island a writ of *quo warranto* had been issued. The judgment against Massachusetts left no hope of protection from the courts, submissive to the royal will; and the Quakers, acting under instructions from the towns, resolved not "to stand suit," but to appeal to the conscience of the king for the "privileges and liberties granted by Charles II, of blessed memory." The colony of Rhode Island had cause to bless the memory of Charles II. Soon after the arrival of Andros, he demanded the surrender of the charter. Walter Clarke, the governor, insisted on waiting for "a fitter season." Repairing to Rhode Island, Andros dissolved its government and broke its seal (January 12th, 1687); five of its citizens were appointed members of his council; and a commission, irresponsible to the people, was substituted for the suspended system of freedom.

In the autumn of the same year, Andros, attended by some of his council, and by an armed guard, set forth for Connecticut (October 26th, 1687), to assume the government of that place. On the third writ of *quo warranto*, the colony, in a petition to the king, asserted its chartered rights, yet desired, in any event, rather to share the fortunes of Massachusetts than to be annexed to New York. Andros found the assembly in session (October 31st), and demanded the surrender of its charter. The brave Governor Treat pleaded earnestly for the cherished patent, which had been purchased by sacrifices and martyrdoms, and was endeared by halcyon days. The shades of evening descended during the prolonged discussion; an anxious crowd of farmers had gathered to witness the debate. The charter lay on the table. Of a sudden, the lights are extinguished; and, as they were rekindled, the charter had disappeared. William Wadsworth, of Hartford, stealing noiselessly through the opening crowd, concealed the precious parchment in the hollow of an oak,

which was older than the colony, and was long standing to confirm the tale.[1] Meantime, Andros assumed the government, selected counsellors, and, demanding the records of Connecticut, to the annals of its freedom set the word "Finis."

If Connecticut lost its liberties, the eastern frontier was depopulated. An expedition against the French establishments, which have left a name to Castin, roused the passions of the neighbouring Indians in 1688; and Andros, after a short deference to the example of Penn, made a vain pursuit of a retreating enemy, who had for their powerful allies the savage forests and the inclement winter. Not long after the first excursion to the east, in July, 1688, the whole seaboard from Maryland to the St. Croix was united in one extensive despotism. The entire dominion, of which Boston, the largest English town in the New World, was the capital, was abandoned to Andros, its governor-general, and to Randolph, its secretary, with his needy associates. But the impoverished country disappointed avarice. The eastern part of Maine had already been pillaged by agents, who had been—it is Randolph's own statement—"as arbitrary as the Grand Turk"; and in New York also there was, as Randolph expressed it, "little good to be done," for its people "had been squeezed dry by Dongan." But on the arrival of the new commission, Andros hastened to the south to supersede his hated rival, and assumed the government of New York and New Jersey.

INCREASE MATHER
(1639–1723)

The spirit which led forth the colonies of New England kept their liberties alive; in the general gloom, the ministers preached sedition and planned resistance. Desperate measures were postponed, that one of the ministers might make an appeal to the king; and Increase Mather, escaping the vigilance of Randolph, was already embarked on the dangerous mission for redress. But relief came from a revolution of which the influence was to pervade the European world.

### THE REVOLUTION OF 1688 IN NEW ENGLAND; ANDROS IMPRISONED

The great news of the invasion of England, the flight of James II, and the declaration of Prince William of Orange reached Boston on the fourth day of April, 1689. The messenger was immediately imprisoned; but his message could not be suppressed; and "the preachers had already matured the evil design" of a revolution. For the events that followed were "not a violent passion of the rabble, but a long-contrived piece of wickedness." "There is a general buzzing among the people, great with expectation of their

[1 The tradition of the "Charter Oak" has caused historians some uneasiness. It seems to appear first in Trumbull's history in 1797. That work is very reliable as a rule, but the incident lacks all contemporary confirmation. While neither improbable nor controvertible the tradition must be branded "not proved."]

old charter, or they know not what"; such was the ominous message of Andros to Brockholt, with orders that the soldiers should be ready for action.

About nine o'clock of the morning of the 18th, just as George, the commander of the *Rose* frigate, stepped on shore, Green and the Boston ship-carpenters gathered about him and made him a prisoner. The town took the alarm. The royalist sheriff hastened to quiet the multitude, and the multitude secured him as their prisoner. The governor, with his creatures, resisted in council, withdrew to the fort to desire a conference with the ministers and two or three more. The conference was declined. The old magistrates were reinstated, as a council of safety; the whole town rose in arms, "with the most unanimous resolution that ever inspired a people"; and a declaration, read from the balcony, defended the insurrection as a duty to God and the country.

The governor, vainly attempting to escape to the frigate, was, with his creatures, compelled to seek protection by submission; through the streets where he had first displayed his scarlet coat and arbitrary commission, he and his fellows were marched to the town-house, and thence to prison. The castle was taken; the frigate was mastered; the fortifications were occupied. How should a new government be instituted? Town-meetings, before news had arrived of the proclamation of William and Mary, were held throughout the colony. Of fifty-four towns, forty certainly, probably more, voted to reassume the old charter. Representatives were chosen, and once more Massachusetts assembled in general court (May 22nd). It is but a short ride from Boston to Plymouth. Already, on the 22nd of April, Nathaniel Clark, the agent of Andros, was in jail; Hinckley resumed the government, and the children of the Pilgrims renewed the constitution which had been unanimously signed in the *Mayflower*. But not one of the fathers of the old colony remained alive. The days of the Pilgrims were over, and a new generation possessed the soil.

The royalists had pretended that "the Quaker grandees" of Rhode Island had imbibed nothing of Quakerism but its indifference to forms, and did not even desire a restoration of the charter. On May Day, their usual election day, the inhabitants and freemen poured into Newport; and the whole "democracie" published to the world their gratitude "to the good providence of God." "We take it to be our duty"—thus they continue—"to lay hold of our former gracious privileges, in our charter contained." And by a unanimous vote the officers whom Andros had displaced were confirmed. For nine months there was no acknowledged chief magistrate. Did no one dare to assume responsibility? All eyes turned to one of the old Antinomian exiles, the more than octogenarian, Henry Bull; and the fearless Quaker, true to the light within, employed the last glimmerings of life to restore the democratic charter of Rhode Island. Once more its free government is organised; its seal is renewed; the symbol, an anchor; the motto, "Hope."

The people of Connecticut spurned the government which Andros had appointed and which they had always feared it was a sin to obey. The charter, discoloured, but not effaced, was taken from its hiding-place May 9th, 1690; an assembly was convened; and in spite of the "Finis" of Andros, new chapters were begun in the records of freedom. Suffolk county, on Long Island, rejoined Connecticut.

New York also shared the impulse, but with less unanimity. But the common people among the Dutch, led by Leisler and his son-in-law Milbourne, insisted on proclaiming William the stadtholder king of England. As we shall see later, the peaceful inhabitants of New Jersey were left in a state of nature;

their old governments were dissolved; and, in the simplicity and freedom of their wilderness, they were secure in their own innocence. Maryland had also perfected a revolution, in which Protestant intolerance, as well as popular liberty, had acted its part.

Thus did a popular insurrection, beginning at Boston, extend to the Chesapeake and to the wilderness. This New England revolution "made a great noise in the world." Its object was Protestant liberty; and William and Mary, the Protestant sovereigns, were proclaimed with rejoicings such as America had never before known in its intercourse with England. Could it be that America was deceived in her confidence—that she had but substituted the absolute sovereignty of parliament, which to her would prove the sovereignty of a commercial aristocracy, for the despotism of the Stuarts? Boston was the centre of the revolution which now spread to the Chesapeake; in less than a century it would commence a revolution for humanity.[d]

## LEISLER'S REBELLION

In 1687 Andros had been reappointed governor of New York, as we have seen; and having a year before been appointed to the supreme command of New England, he remained at Boston, as the metropolis of his jurisdiction, and committed the domestic government of New York to Nicholson, as lieutenant-governor. The appointment of this tyrant, and the annexation of the colony to the neighbouring one, were measures particularly odious to the people.

In July, 1688, the Five Nations being at war with the French, a party of twelve hundred warriors made a sudden descent on Montreal, burned and sacked the town, killed one thousand of the inhabitants, carried away a number of prisoners, whom they burned alive, and then returned to their own country, with the loss of only three of their number. Had the English followed up this success of their allies, all Canada might have been easily conquered; a single vigorous act on the part of the English colonies would have sufficed to terminate forever the rivalry of France and England in this quarter of the world.

Meantime, the discontent of the people of New York had greatly increased, and the news of the accession of William and Mary, and the successful insurrection at Boston, served to heighten it. Still it might have subsided without any violent outbreak of popular violence, had not the local authorities of New York indicated a hesitation to comply with the general revolution of feeling in the colony. The lieutenant-governor and his council refrained from proclaiming William and Mary, and sent a haughty letter to General Bradstreet, at Boston, demanding the immediate release of Andros. The more prudent citizens of New York were disposed calmly to await the issue, which must inevitably have been in favour of the new sovereigns; but the more numerous body of the people apprehended some craft from Nicholson and his associates in office, and, forming a party, they placed at its head Jacob Leisler, a man of headstrong temper, restless disposition, and very narrow capacity. He had already resisted the payment of customs on some goods which he had imported, and alleged that there was no legitimate government in the colony.

Nicholson having begun to make preparations for defence against a foreign invasion (June, 1689), Leisler took command of some trained bands, marched to the fort, took possession, and expressed his determination to hold it until

the decision of the sovereigns should be known. He despatched a messenger to King William, and succeeded in interesting the government at Boston in his favour. The report being raised that an English fleet was approaching to assist the insurgents, all classes in New York immediately joined the party of Leisler; while Nicholson, fearful of sharing the fate of Andros, fled to England. Soon after Leisler's assumption of power, a letter came from the British ministry, directed "to such as for the time take care for administering the laws of the province," and giving authority to perform the duties of lieutenant-governor. Regarding this as addressed to himself, Leisler assumed the office, issued commissions, and appointed his own executive council. A convention composed of deputies from the several towns and districts assembled at New York, and adopted various regulations for the temporary government of the province.

But these proceedings had many opponents among the colonists. The inhabitants of Long Island solicited Connecticut to annex their insular settlements to its jurisdiction, while a number of gentlemen, jealous of the elevation of a man of inferior rank to the supreme command, retired to Albany, seized the fort there, declaring that they held it for King William, and disavowed all connection with Leisler. James Milbourne, later a son-in-law of Leisler, was despatched to Albany to dislodge them. They gave up the fort to him and retired to the neighbouring colonies; and Leisler, to revenge himself for their defection, confiscated their estates. The colonists of New York were thus unhappily divided, and animosity and malignity existed between the factions for nearly two years. The quarrel, however, exhibited no symptoms of national antipathy, as the Dutch were divided between the two parties, and no blood was shed by either during the continuance of the controversy. The miseries of foreign war and hostile invasion were now unhappily added to the calamity of internal dissensions.

The condition of the French in Canada had been suddenly raised from the brink of ruin to a state of comparative security by the arrival of a strong reinforcement from the parent state, under a skilful and active old general, Count de Frontenac, who now assumed the command of the French settlement, and speedily retrieved the affairs of his countrymen. He effected a treaty of neutrality with the Five Nations, and then despatched a body of French and Indians against New York, in the depth of winter. This party wandered for twenty-two days through deserts rendered trackless by the snow, when approaching the village of Schenectady (February 8th, 1690), benumbed, famished, and fatigued, they sent forward a messenger to deliver to the inhabitants their submission as prisoners of war. But arriving at a late hour of an inclement night, and finding that the inhabitants were all in bed, without even the precaution of a public watch, they determined to massacre the people from whom they were just before about to implore mercy. The inhabitants rushed from their beds as the savage war-whoop burst upon their ears, and at their doors met the murderers with uplifted tomahawk. The light of the burning village, which was soon fired by the Indians, disclosed the helpless inhabitants to the savages, who, frantic with slaughter, cut down all who fell in their way. Sixty perished in that dreadful night; of those who attempted to escape by flight, twenty-five lost their limbs from the severity of the season; while a few made their perilous way to Albany through a violent snow-storm.[i]

In 1690 Leisler took a step which Fiske[o] calls "a memorable event in American history." He called together the first congress of American colonies, May 1st, to prepare offensive and defensive measures against the French

in Canada. Though the southern colonies declined to take part; Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and Maryland joined New York, but they had no general to match the genius of Frontenac.[a] The army proceeded as far as to the head of Lake Champlain, whence they were obliged to return for want of boats to convey them farther. To co-operate with them, a fleet of thirty vessels, under Sir William Phipps, sailed from Boston into the St. Lawrence, and, landing troops, made an attack upon Quebec; but the garrison was too strong for him, and the enterprise was abandoned.

Leisler's messenger to King William was graciously received by his majesty; but the representations of Nicholson induced the king to make no express recognition of Leisler's authority; and in August, 1689, Henry Sloughter was appointed Governor of New York.[i] Leisler refused to surrender the fort to one of the governor's officers who reached New York before him, and a conflict took place in which some blood was shed. When the governor himself arrived, Leisler vainly endeavored to secure terms, but after a short delay was seized, together with some of his adherents.[a]

The prisoners, eight in number, were promptly arraigned before a special court constituted for the purpose by an ordinance, and having inveterate royalists as judges. Six of the inferior insurgents made their defence, were convicted of high treason, and were reprieved. Leisler and Milbourne denied to the governor the power to institute a tribunal for judging his predecessor, and they appealed to the king. On their refusal to plead, they were condemned of high treason as mutes, and sentenced to death. Sloughter, in a time of excitement, assented[1] to the vote of the council that Leisler and Milbourne should be executed. "The house, according to their opinion given, did approve of what his excellency and council had done."

Accordingly, on the next day (May 16th), amidst a drenching rain, Leisler, parting from his wife, Alice, and his numerous family, was with his son-in-law, Milbourne, led to the gallows. Both acknowledged the errors which they had committed "through ignorance and jealous fear, through rashness and passion, through misinformation and misconstruction"; in other respects they asserted their innocence, which their blameless private lives confirmed. "Weep not for us, who are departing to our God"—these were Leisler's words to his oppressed friends—"but weep for yourselves, that remain behind in misery and vexation"; adding, as the handkerchief was bound round his face, "I hope these eyes shall see our Lord Jesus in heaven." Milbourne exclaimed, "I die for the king and queen, and the Protestant religion in which I was born and bred. Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

The appeal to the king, which had not been permitted during their lives, was made by Leisler's son; and though the committee of lords of trade reported that the forms of law had not been broken, the estates of "the deceased" were restored to their families. Dissatisfied with this imperfect redress, the friends of Leisler persevered till an act of parliament, strenuously but vainly opposed by Dudley, reversed the attainder in 1695.

Thus fell Leisler and Milbourne, victims to party spirit. The event struck deep into the public mind. Long afterwards, their friends, whom a royalist of that day described as "the meaner sort of the inhabitants," and who were distinguished always by their zeal for popular power, for toleration, for opposition to the doctrine of legitimacy, formed a powerful and ultimately a successful party. The rashness and incompetency of Leisler were forgotten

[1 An old tradition tells that Sloughter would not sign the death warrant until he had been made drunk by enemies whom Leisler's tyrannies had rendered implacable. There is no proof for or against the tradition.]

in sympathy for the judicial murder by which he fell; and the principles which he upheld, though his opponents might rail at equality of suffrage, and demand for the man of wealth as many votes as he held estates, necessarily became the principles of the colony.[d]

John Fiske[o] speaks of Leisler in terms of high appreciation. He admits that Leisler made many errors, and that his record was stained with violence and fanaticism; contending, however, that he was an early representative of ideas now regarded as statesmanlike. In particular, he should be remembered as a man who called together the first congress of American colonies.[a]

There existed in the province no party which would sacrifice colonial freedom. Even the legislature, composed of the deadly enemies of Leisler, asserted the right to a representative government, and to English liberties, to be inherent in the people, and not a consequence of the royal favour. This act received the veto of King William.[d]

The administration of Sloughter, thus tragically begun, marks the final abandonment in New York of the ancient Dutch usages, and the complete introduction of English law. The acts of the assembly which solicited the execution of Leisler, by one of which all previous laws were repealed, stand first in the series of New York statutes, the basis of the existing code. The king placed his veto on a statute declaring the right of the inhabitants to participate, through an assembly, in the enactment of all laws, and claiming all the privileges of the English Bill of Rights; but, in practice, an assembly became henceforth an essential part of the political system of New York. Yet, by voting a revenue for a term of years, and allowing payments from the treasury only on the governor's warrant, that officer was rendered, to a certain extent, independent of the assembly, and was thus enabled to exercise a powerful influence on the politics of the province.[h]

### TREATY WITH THE FIVE NATIONS

In July, 1691, Sloughter's short administration was terminated by his sudden death. The only act of any benefit to the province was the renewal of the treaty with the Five Nations. To test their friendship and confirm it by calling it into exercise, Major Schuyler advanced against Montreal at the head of three hundred Mohawks. No very decisive action took place, but the expedition served to rouse the spirit of the Indian allies, who continued an irregular warfare on the French during the winter. These continued assaults so exasperated Count Frontenac that he condemned to the most cruel death two Mohawk warriors who had fallen into his hands.

Colonel Fletcher succeeded Sloughter as governor of New York in 1692. He was a brave and active soldier, but avaricious and passionate. He was governed by the superior information and advice of Schuyler in affairs pertaining to the Indians, who were thus preserved as allies to the colony. Fletcher laboured zealously to assimilate the language and religion of the colonial inhabitants, and remove as far as possible the indications of its Dutch origin. At two successive meetings of the assembly he recommended to them to provide for the establishment English schoolmasters and clergymen in the province, and in a subsequent session they in part complied with this recommendation. But having refused an amendment added by the council, giving to the governor the power of rejection or refusal, Fletcher was so enraged that he commanded their immediate attendance on his presence, and in an angry speech prorogued them to the next year. The Peace

of Ryswick, which took place in 1697, gave repose to the colonies, but left the Five Nations exposed to the hostilities of the French. Count Frontenac prepared to direct his whole force against them, and was only prevented from executing his purpose by the energy and decision of the earl of Bellamont, who had succeeded Fletcher in the government of the colony in 1698. This governor supplied the Five Nations with munitions to defend themselves against the French, and by a well-timed threat to Count Frontenac succeeded in effecting a treaty of peace with him soon after.

Lord Bellamont was instructed to put an end to piracy, which under Fletcher had increased to an alarming extent along the American coasts, and the government having declined to furnish the necessary naval force, the governor united with Lord Chancellor Summers, the duke of Shrewsbury, and some others in a private undertaking against it. A vessel of war was fitted out and placed in command of one William Kidd,[1] who was represented as a man of honour and integrity, and well acquainted with the persons and haunts of the pirates. He received a commission as a privateer, with directions to proceed against the pirates, and hold himself responsible to Lord Bellamont. But instead of attacking the pirates, it was alleged that he formed a new contract with his crew, turned pirate himself, and became the most infamous and successful of them all. After continuing his depredations for three years, he burned his ship, and returned to Boston, where he was seized and sent to England for trial. His crime was punished capitally in May, 1701, and the noblemen who had procured his commission were charged with participating in his crimes and sharing his plunders. But no exertions of their enemies could fix the imputation upon them, as at every examination Kidd declared them [and himself] innocent.

Lord Bellamont's administration was terminated by his death, in 1701. He was succeeded by Lord Cornbury, grandson of the great chancellor Clarendon, but not possessed of one of the virtues of his ancestor, being mean, profligate, and unprincipled. Cornbury was a violent supporter of the anti-Leislerian faction. He was also an overstrenuous advocate for the established church, and persecuted with great severity the members of other denominations. The assembly having raised several sums of money for public purposes, and intrusted the expenditure of it to him as governor, he appropriated most of it to his own private use. He also ran in debt with the citizens of the province, and evaded payment by the privileges of his office. His frequent acts of violence and misconduct so disgusted the people that in 1708 the assemblies of New York and New Jersey petitioned Queen Anne to remove him. She accordingly superseded his commission the next year by the appointment of Lord Lovelace to succeed him. Cornbury was immediately seized by his creditors in the colony and thrust into prison, where he remained until the death of his father, by elevating him to the peerage, entitled him to buy his liberation. He then returned to England, and died in 1723. The administration of Lovelace was of brief duration, and distinguished by no remarkable occurrence. It was terminated by his sudden death, when General Robert Hunter was appointed to succeed him.

The new governor arrived in the colony in 1710, bringing out with him

[1 Though Captain Kidd has become a very proverb for piracy, he maintained that he had never captured a ship that was not under hostile French colours, except once or twice when his crew were starving and overpowered him. Berthold Fernow *p* indeed says, "To-day the justice which was meted out to Kidd might hardly be called justice; for it seems questionable if he had ever been guilty of piracy." He seems to have been sacrificed in an effort to whitewash the noblemen who commissioned him. The treasure he is said to have buried has kept his memory mysteriously fascinating.]

nearly three thousand Germans, a part of whom settled in New York, and the remainder in Pennsylvania. The assembly had obtained permission from Queen Anne, during the former administration, to appoint their own treasurer in case of special appropriations. This right was the cause of frequent and unsatisfactory disputes with the governor, who prorogued the assembly on their refusal to admit an amendment of a money bill, proposed by the council, and at their next session dissolved them. Extensive preparations were made in 1709 for an attack upon the French in Canada; but the promised assistance from England not arriving, the enterprise was abandoned. Two years after, the project was resumed, and an unsuccessful attempt was made against Quebec. [In July, 1711, a fleet commanded by Sir Hovenden Walker, and carrying seven thousand troops, sailed from Boston, but several ships were wrecked in the St. Lawrence river with the loss of a thousand lives, and the fleet retired.] The assembly passed several bills to defray the expenses of the expedition, and the council persisting in amending them, another contest ensued between the two bodies; the assembly was again dissolved, and at the next session the same act was repeated. The people at length became weary of this contention, and at the next election took care to choose members who were known to be favourable to the governor; in consequence of which the utmost harmony and a cordial co-operation existed between the two branches of the colonial government for a period of several years.

In 1719 Governor Hunter quitted the province, and the duties of his office were discharged by Peter Schuyler, the oldest member of the council, until the arrival of William Burnet. He was well apprised of the danger to be apprehended from the French upon the northwestern frontier, and soon penetrated their design of forming a line of posts from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi. He erected a fort at Oswego on Lake Ontario, in hopes of defeating their design. But the French were not thus to be foiled. They erected Fort Frontenac at the outlet of Lake Ontario, and another fortification at Niagara, commanding the entrance into it; they also launched two vessels upon the lake. Burnet privately assembled the sachems of the Five Nations, and having represented to them the transactions of the French at Niagara, they besought succour from the English against the governor of Canada, who, said they, "encroaches on our land and builds thereon." This favourable opportunity was seized on by the governor to procure from them a deed surrendering their country to his majesty, to be protected for their use, and confirming their grant of 1701.

The assembly elected in 1716 had been on such good terms with the governor that he continued it till 1727, when the dissatisfaction of the people at being so long without the exercise of their elective rights induced him to dissolve it.

Burnet, being soon after appointed governor of Massachusetts, was succeeded at New York by Colonel John Montgomery, whose short administration was not distinguished by any remarkable event. He died in 1731, when Rip Van Dam, the senior member of the council, became acting governor. His administration was feeble and inefficient, and during its continuance the French erected at Crown Point, within the acknowledged boundaries of the English colonies, a fortification which served as a rallying-point for hostile Indians.

William Cosby, who succeeded Rip Van Dam, was at first a very popular governor; but having attacked the liberty of the press by instigating the prosecution of John Zenger, the printer of a newspaper, for publishing an article derogatory to his majesty's government, he lost the favour and con-

fidence of the people. Zenger was ably defended by Andrew Hamilton, an eminent lawyer of Philadelphia, and acquitted by an impartial jury. For this valuable service the magistrates of the city of New York presented Mr. Hamilton the freedom of their corporation in a gold box.[1]

Cosby having died suddenly in 1735, while these disputes were still raging, George Clarke, whom successive suspensions had made senior councillor, claimed to fill, in that capacity, the vacant chair. The opposition maintained that Van Dam, whose suspension had never been confirmed in England, was still senior councillor, and, as such, entitled to the place of acting governor. Both Van Dam and Clarke assumed authority and issued orders; and so exasperated were parties, that it was only the two independent companies in garrison at New York that prevented them from actually coming to blows.

Confirmed in the temporary administration by the arrival of a royal instruction, and shortly after appointed lieutenant-governor, Clarke endeavoured to accommodate matters by calling a new assembly. But the delegates would grant a revenue only for one year—a policy to which, thenceforward, they firmly adhered.

### THE BLOODY DELUSION IN NEW YORK (1741 A.D.)

In April, 1741, the city of New York became the scene of a cruel and bloody delusion, less notorious but not less lamentable than the Salem witchcraft. That city now contained some nine or ten thousand inhabitants, of whom twelve or fifteen hundred were slaves. Nine fires in rapid succession, most of them, however, merely the burning of chimneys, produced a perfect insanity of terror. An indented servant woman purchased her liberty and secured a reward of £100 by pretending to give information of a plot formed by a low tavern-keeper, her master, and three negroes to burn the city and murder the whites. This story was confirmed and amplified by an Irish prostitute convicted of a robbery, who, to recommend herself to mercy, reluctantly turned informer. Numerous arrests had been already made among the slaves and free blacks. Many others followed. The eight lawyers who then composed the bar of New York all assisted by turns on behalf of the prosecution. The prisoners, who had no counsel, were tried and convicted upon most insufficient evidence. The lawyers vied with each other in heaping all sorts of abuse on their heads, and Chief-Justice Delancey, in passing sentence, vied with the lawyers. Many confessed to save their lives, and then accused others. Thirteen unhappy convicts were burned at the stake, eighteen were hanged, and seventy-one transported.

The war and the religious excitement then prevailing tended to inflame the yet hot prejudices against Catholics. A non-juring schoolmaster, accused of being a Catholic priest in disguise, and of stimulating the negroes to burn the city by promises of absolution, was condemned and executed. Glutted with blood and their fright appeased, the citizens began at last to recover their senses. The informers lost their credit, and a stop was put to these judicial murders.

In a last effort "to recall the delegates of New York to their duty," Clarke, the lieutenant-governor, addressed the assembly in an historical discourse, in which he traced the progress of their encroachments. He concluded by pressing the grant of a standing revenue as the only means of removing a jealousy which for some years had obtained in England, "that the plantations are not without thoughts of throwing off their dependence." The assembly,

in a historical reply, showed by what misappropriations of money and other official abuses they had been gradually driven into their present position. As to independence, they took it upon themselves to vouch that not one person in the province had any such thought or desire. Clarke yielded to necessity, and accepted such conditional and temporary grants as the assembly chose to make.

The same policy was adopted by Clarke's successor, George Clinton, an admiral in the navy, a younger son of the earl of Lincoln—that same family so intimately connected with the early settlement of Massachusetts—and father, also, of a future commander-in-chief of the British armies in America. Shortly after Clinton's arrival (August, 1743) the assembly passed an act limiting its own existence and that of future assemblies to seven years.

The Six Nations still retained the right to traverse the great valley west of the Blue Ridge. Just at this inopportune moment some of their parties came into bloody collision with the backwoodsmen of Virginia, who had penetrated into that valley. Hostilities with the Six Nations, now that war was threatened with France, might prove very dangerous, and Clinton hastened to secure the friendship of these ancient allies by liberal presents; for which purpose, in conjunction with commissioners from New England, he held a treaty at Albany. The commissioners assembled on this occasion proposed to Clinton an association of the five northern colonies for mutual defence. But the New York assembly, in hopes to secure the same neutrality enjoyed during the previous war, declined this proposal. The difficulties between Virginia and the Six Nations were soon after settled in a treaty, made at Lancaster, to which Pennsylvania and Maryland were also parties, and in which, in consideration of £400, the Six Nations relinquished all their title, as the Virginians claimed, though the Indians did not so understand it, to the whole valley of the Ohio. While the western frontier was thus secured, New England received intimation of the breaking out of the expected war with France.[h]

## NEW JERSEY, 1682-1738

To the "twenty-four proprietors" of east New Jersey, the duke of York, as we have seen, had made his third and last grant of East Jersey, bearing date March 14th, 1682. From this period, owing to the number of proprietors and the frequent transfers and subdivisions of shares, so much confusion was introduced into the titles of lands and uncertainty as to the rights of government, that both the Jerseys were in a continual state of disturbance and disorder, until 1702, when the proprietors, wearied with contention, surrendered their rights of government to the crown of England. Queen Anne reunited the two divisions under the old name of New Jersey, and appointed Lord Cornbury governor, who also exercised authority over New York. But Lord Cornbury, instead of promoting unanimity, basely abetted the animosities; and from the period of his appointment till his dismissal from office, the history of New Jersey consists of little else than a detail of his contests with the colonial assemblies, and exhibits the resolution with which they opposed his arbitrary proceedings, his partial distribution of justice, and fraudulent misapplication of the public money. After repeated complaints, the queen yielded to the universal indignation, and he was superseded, in 1709, by Lord Lovelace.

In 1738 the inhabitants of New Jersey, by petition to the king, desired that they might in future have a separate governor. Their request was granted, and the office was first conferred on Lewis Morris, esquire, under

whom the colonists enjoyed peace and prosperity. The population now amounted to forty thousand. In the same year the college called Nassau Hall was founded at Princeton.

The situation of New Jersey, remote from the Canada border, gave it a complete exemption from the direful calamities of Indian and French warfare which afflicted the northern colonies; while the Indian tribes in the neighbourhood, whom they always treated with mildness and hospitality, were ever willing to cultivate a friendly relation with the Europeans. This province furnished no further materials for history of any importance till it united with the other colonies in the great struggle for national independence. In this later period of her history it will be seen that New Jersey more than compensated for the immunity which she had previously enjoyed by becoming the theatre of hostile operations during the most dark and distressing period of the war. In these perilous times her patriotism was put to the severest test, and was ever found to be of the true temper, daring and enduring all things with heroic self-sacrifice.[i]

### PROCLAMATION OF WILLIAM AND MARY IN MASSACHUSETTS; RELEASE OF ANDROS

A little more than a month from the overthrow and imprisonment of Andros a ship from England arrived at Boston (May 26th, 1689) with news of the proclamation of William and Mary. This was joyful intelligence to the body of the people. The magistrates were at once relieved from their fears, for the revolution in the Old World justified that in the New. Three days later the proclamation was published with unusual ceremony. A week later the representatives of the several towns upon a new choice met at Boston. The representatives urged the unconditional resumption of the charter, declaring that they could not act in anything until this was conceded. It was finally adopted, and it was resolved that all the laws in force May 12th, 1686, should be continued until further orders.

The first advices from England were somewhat encouraging, and hope revived. But subsequent despatches were much less favourable. These letters did not reach Boston until late in the year, and meanwhile a scheme was devised for the escape of Andros, who succeeded in outwitting his guards near midnight, and fled to Newport, Rhode Island, where he was again apprehended, and, after an absence of eight days, returned to the castle. The arrival of the king's orders and the placing a strong guard at the castle stopped further attempts; the old government was confirmed, and the obedience of the people required; and, after orders had been passed to that effect, at the first opportunity the prisoners were sent to England. Against Dudley the resentment of the people was deep and determined.

As it was probable that no means would be spared by the friends of Andros to effect his liberation, and as affairs in the colony were yet in an unsettled state, the general court concluded to send additional agents to join Mr. Mather and Sir Henry Ashehurst, and Elisha Cooke and Thomas Oakes, two of the assistants, were selected for that purpose.

But the papers containing the charges against the prisoners not being signed by the proper authorities, advantage was artfully taken of this defect to quash further proceedings. Sir Robert Sawyer declaimed against the colony, and Sir John Somers and other lords spoke in its defence. Sir Edmund and the rest were discharged; his majesty approved the decision of

the council; the matter was ordered to be fully dismissed. Both Andros and Randolph presented charges against the colony—the former censuring the people for the subversion of his government and the insurrection in which they had engaged, and the latter complaining of irregularities in trade since those events transpired; but all these charges were fully answered, to the satisfaction of the colonists, if not to the king. Thus the instruments of tyranny escaped unharmed, and to complete the work of intrigue and duplicity Sir Edmund obtained the government of Virginia, where he conducted himself prudently; Mr. Dudley was appointed chief justice of New York, and Randolph received an appointment in the West Indies. It is probable that all of them learned wisdom from misfortunes.

### THE PROVINCE CHARTER OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY (1692 A.D.)

From the disposition of the next parliament nothing favourable to New England was expected; and, having failed in procuring a writ of error in judgment, to be brought out of chancery into the court of king's bench, all hopes of the restoration of the charter were reluctantly relinquished, and application was made for a new grant.

It had been evident for some time that William and his ministers had resolved to erect a new government in Massachusetts, which was to be known as the province of the Massachusetts Bay. The first draft of a charter was objected to by the agents because of its limitation of the powers of the governor, who was to be appointed by the king. The second draft was also objected to; whereupon the agents were informed that "they must not consider themselves as plenipotentiaries from a foreign state, and that if they were unwilling to submit to the pleasure of the king, his majesty would settle the country without them, and they might take what would follow." Nothing remained, therefore, but to decide whether they would submit, or continue without a charter and at the mercy of the king. Mather, concluding that all parties would be best conciliated by submission, wisely assumed the responsibility of consenting to the adoption of the charter as reported, and to him the nomination of officers was left.

By the terms of this new charter (October 7th, 1691), the territories of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Maine, with a tract farther east, were united into one jurisdiction, whose officers were to consist of a governor, a deputy governor, and a secretary appointed by the king, and twenty-eight councillors chosen by the people. A general court was to be holden annually, on the last Wednesday in May, and at such other times as the governor saw fit, and each town was authorised to choose two deputies to represent them in this court. The choice of these deputies was conceded to all freeholders having an estate of the value of £40 sterling, or land yielding an income of at least forty shillings per annum, and every deputy was to take the oath of allegiance prescribed by the crown. All residents of the province and their children were entitled to the liberties of natural-born subjects, and liberty of conscience was secured to all but papists. To the governor was given a negative upon all laws enacted by the general court; without his consent in writing none were valid; and all receiving his sanction were to be transmitted to the king for approval, and if rejected at any time within three years were to be of no effect. The governor was empowered to erect courts, levy taxes, convene the militia, carry on war, exercise martial law, with the consent of the council, and erect and furnish all requisite forts.

Such was the province charter of 1692—a far different instrument from the colonial charter of 1629. That charter effected a thorough revolution in the country. The form of government, the powers of the people, and the entire foundation and objects of the body politic were placed upon a new basis, and the dependence of the colonies upon the crown was secured. How far these changes were of benefit to the country remains to be seen.

It was on Saturday, the 14th of May, 1692, that Sir William Phips arrived at Boston as the first governor of the new province.

### THE WITCHCRAFT DELUSION AT SALEM (1692 A.D.)

No event probably in the whole history of New England has furnished grounds for more serious charges affecting the character of the people than the witchcraft delusion, as it has been commonly termed; an episode of thrilling and melancholy interest, impressing the mind with a vivid sense of the evils of superstition, and the unhappy consequences which flow from that morbid excitement of the passion for the marvellous which seems to have had its cycles of recurrence from the earliest period to the present time. But the belief in witchcraft was by no means confined to America, nor was it the indigenous growth of the soil of New England. Long before the settlement of the country, all nations, civilised and uncivilised, gave more or less credence to marvellous tales of ghosts and witches.[e]

Thwaites emphasises the antiquity of witch persecutions. "The witchcraft craze at Salem is commonly thought to have been a legitimate outgrowth of the gloomy religion of the Puritans. It was, however, but one of those panics of fear which during several centuries periodically swept over civilised lands. In the twelfth century thousands of persons in Europe were sacrificed because the people believed them to be witches, in league with the devil, and with the power to ride through the air and vex humanity in many occult ways. Pope Innocent VIII commanded (1484) that witches be arrested, and hundreds of odd and repulsive old women were burned or hanged in consequence. From King John down to 1712 innocent lives were constantly sacrificed in England on this charge; in the year 1661 alone, one hundred and twenty were hanged there. It was therefore no new frenzy that broke out in Massachusetts."[k]

The introduction of Christianity had not eradicated these opinions, for the writings of the fathers abound in allusions to the doctrine of possessions. In the dark ages superstition[1] held unlimited sway. Nor at the dawn of the Reformation were the mists which had brooded over the mind wholly dispersed. No spell had been found sufficiently potent to exorcise the delusions which had seized upon all. "He that will needs perswade himself that there are no witches," says Gaule,[s] "would as faine be perswaded that there is no devill; and he that can already beleeve that there is no devill, will ere long beleeve that there is no God." Hence "every old woman with a wrinkled

[1 Eggleston, indeed, referring to the remarks of Sprengel[q] on the increase of demonism after the Reformation, notes that "Luther inherited the traditions of the humble class from which he sprang, and set the first Protestant example of extreme faith in witchcraft, berating the medical men who traced diseases to natural causes, most of which he himself attributed to the devil. He advised that an afflicted child should be cast into the river Mulde, and complained afterwards that he was not obeyed. After the Reformation melancholy and hysterical women could no longer relieve their morbid sense of culpability by a meritorious pilgrimage. Perhaps this sort of faith cure was the greatest benefit of the old religion lost by the Lutheran revolution. Puritanism sometimes drove such brain-sick creatures to stark madness."[r]]

face, a furr'd brow, a hairy lip, a gobber tooth, a squint eye, a squeaking voyce, or a scolding tongue, having a rugged coate on her back, a skull cap on her head, a spindle in her hand, and a dog or cat by her side," was not only "suspected, but pronounced for a witch." The young and the beautiful —the bewitchers of modern times—were rarely accused; but every town or village had its two or three old women who were charged with laming men, killing cattle, and destroying children. Nay, even a hare could not suddenly spring from a hedge, or an "ugly weasel" run through one's yard, or a "fowle great catte" appear in the barn, but it was suspected as a witch. "A big or a boyl, a wart or a wen, a push or a pile, a scar or a scabbe, an issue or an ulcer," were "palpable witches markes," and "every new disease, notable accident, mirable of nature, rarity of art, and strange work or just judgment of God," was, says Gaule, "accounted for no other but an act or effect of witchcraft."

Hence England, in the seventeenth century, and every other nation of Europe, believed in the agency of evil spirits, and, guided by the statute of Moses—"Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," Exodus xxii, 18—the penal code of every state recognised the existence and the criminality of witchcraft; persons suspected as witches or wizards were frequently tried, condemned, and executed; and the most eminent judges, as Sir Matthew Hale, distinguished for his learning as well as for his piety, sided with the multitude, and passed sentence of death upon the accused. Commerce with the devil, indeed, was an article of faith firmly embedded in the popular belief; and thousands were ready to testify that they had caught glimpses of Satan and his allies.

The earliest trial for witchcraft in Massachusetts occurred June 15th, 1648, when Margaret Jones was charged with this crime, found guilty, and executed. The year previous there was an execution at Hartford for witchcraft. During a period of forty years there were similar instances in Massachusetts and Connecticut [as that of Mrs. Ann Hibbins, executed at Boston in 1655]. Under the administration of Andros, however, a case occurred which seems to have been the precursor of the delusion which soon after spread so widely. A child about thirteen years of age, the daughter of John Goodwin, charged a laundress residing in her father's family with having stolen some linen. The mother of this laundress, "Goody Glover," an illiterate Irish woman, and a Catholic withal, repelled the accusation, and gave Goodwin's daughter "harsh language," soon after which she fell into fits, which were said to have "something diabolical in them." A sister and two brothers of the girl, the youngest but five years old, "followed her example," and the infection spread until the excitement was general. Weird faces and giant goblins haunted the imagination of many a little one, as the life-blood curdled with horror in its veins; and trembling crones began to deliberate upon the propriety of nailing horseshoes to the door-posts to preserve them from the enchantments of evil spirits. The evidences of bewitchment were such as were usually adduced. According to the eye-witness Lawson,[t] "sometimes they would be deaf, then dumb, then blind; and sometimes all these disorders together would come upon them. Their tongues would be drawn down their throats, then pulled out upon their chins. Their jaws, necks, shoulders, elbows, and all their joints would appear to be dislocated, and they would make most piteous outcries of burnings, of being cut with knives, beat, etc., and the marks of wounds were afterwards to be seen."

The ministers of Boston, Cotton Mather, Willard, Allen, and Moody, with Symmes of Charlestown, anxious to investigate the case, "kept a day of fast-

ing and prayer at the troubled house," and with such success that "the youngest child made no more complaints"; upon which the magistrates interposed.[e]

The magistrates, William Stoughton being one of the judges, and all holding commissions exclusively from the English king, and being irresponsible to the people of Massachusetts, with a "vigour" which the united ministers commended as "just," made "a discovery of the wicked instrument of the devil." The culprit was evidently the wild Irish woman of a strange tongue. Goodwin,[u] who made the complaint, "had no proof that could have done her any hurt"; but "the scandalous old hag," whom some thought "crazed in her intellectuals," was bewildered, and made strange answers, which were taken as confessions. It was plain the prisoner was a Roman Catholic; she had never learned the Lord's Prayer in English; she could repeat the paternoster fluently enough, but not quite correctly; so the ministers and Goodwin's family had the satisfaction of getting her condemned as a witch, and executed. "Here," it was proclaimed, "was food for faith."

By a series of experiments, in reading aloud passages from the Bible in various languages, Cotton Mather[v] satisfied himself, "by trials of their capacity, that devils are well skilled in languages, and understand Latin and Greek, and even Hebrew"; though he fell "upon one inferior Indian language which the dæmons did not seem so well to understand." The vanity of Cotton Mather was further gratified, for the bewitched girl would say that the demons could not enter his study, and that his own person was shielded by God against blows from the evil spirits.

The revolution in New England seemed to open once more a career to the ambition of ministers. The rapid progress of free inquiry was alarming. "There are multitudes of Sadducees in our day," sighed Cotton Mather.[w] "A devil, in the apprehension of these mighty acute philosophers, is no more than a quality or a distemper." "We shall come," he adds, "to have no Christ but a light within, and no heaven but a frame of mind." "Men counted it wisdom to credit nothing but what they see and feel. They never saw any witches, therefore there are none." "How much," add the ministers of Boston and Charlestown, "how much this fond opinion has gotten ground is awfully observable." "Witchcraft," shouted Cotton Mather from the pulpit, "is the most nefandous high treason against the Majesty on high. A witch is not to be endured in heaven or on earth." The *Discourse* of Cotton Mather was therefore printed, with a copious narrative of the recent case of witchcraft. The story was confirmed by Goodwin, and recommended by all the ministers of Boston and Charlestown as an answer to atheism, proving clearly that "there is both a God and a devil, and witchcraft." This book, thus prepared and recommended, and destined to have a wide circulation, was printed in 1689, and distributed through New England. Unhappily, it gained fresh power from England, where it was "published by Richard Baxter," who declared the evidence strong enough to convince all but "a very obdurate Sadducee." In Salem village, now Danvers, there had been, between Samuel Parris, the minister, and a part of his people, a strife so bitter that it had even attracted the attention of the general court. The delusion of witchcraft would give opportunities of terrible vengeance. In the family of Samuel Parris, his daughter, a child of nine years, and his niece, a girl of less than twelve, began to have strange caprices; and Tituba, an Indian female servant, who had practised some wild incantations, being betrayed by her husband, was scourged by Parris, her master, into confessing herself a witch. March 11th, 1692, the ministers of the neighbourhood held at the afflicted house a day

of fasting and prayer; and the little children became the most conspicuous personages in Salem. Of a sudden, the opportunity of fame, of which the love is not the exclusive infirmity of noble minds, was placed within the reach of persons of the coarsest mould, and the ambition of notoriety recruited the little company of the possessed. There existed no motive to hang Tituba: she was saved as a living witness to the reality of witchcraft; and Sarah Good, a poor woman, of a melancholic temperament, was the first person selected for accusation. As the affair proceeded, and the accounts of the witnesses appeared as if taken from his own writings, Mather's boundless vanity gloried in "the assault of the evil angels upon the country, as a particular defiance unto himself." Parris, moved by personal malice as well as by blind zeal, "stifled the accusations of some"—such is the testimony of the people of his own village—and at the same time "vigilantly promoting the accusation of others," was, says Calef,[x] "the beginner and procurer of the sore afflictions to Salem village and the country."

The deputy governor and five other magistrates went to Salem (April 11th). It was a great day; several ministers were present. Parris officiated; and, by his own record, it is plain that he himself elicited every accusation. Examinations and commitments multiplied. It had been hinted that confessing was the avenue to safety. At last, Deliverance Hobbs owned everything that was asked of her, and was left unharmed. The gallows was to be set up, not for those who professed themselves witches but for those who rebuked the delusion.

A court of oyer and terminer was instituted by ordinance, and Stoughton appointed by the governor and council its chief judge; by the 2nd of June the court was in session at Salem, making its first experiment on Bridget Bishop, a poor and friendless old woman. The fact of the witchcraft was assumed as "notorious." The poor creature had a preternatural excrescence in her flesh; "she gave a look towards the great and spacious meeting-house of Salem"—it is Cotton Mather who records this—"and immediately a dæmon, invisibly entering the house, tore down a part of it." On the 10th of June, protesting her innocence, she was hanged.

Of the magistrates at that time, not one held office by the suffrage of the people; the tribunal, essentially despotic in its origin, as in its character, had no sanction but an extraordinary and an illegal commission, and Stoughton, the chief judge, a partisan of Andros, had been rejected by the people of Massachusetts. The responsibility of the tragedy, far from attaching to the people of the colony, rests with the very few, hardly five or six, in whose hands the transition state of the government left, for a season, unlimited influence. Into the interior of the colony the delusion did not spread at all.

If the confessions were contradictory, if witnesses uttered apparent falsehoods, "the devil," the judges would say, "takes away their memory and imposes on their brain." And who now would dare to be sceptical—who would disbelieve confessors? Besides, there were other evidences. A callous spot was the mark of the devil; did age or amazement refuse to shed tears; were threats after a quarrel followed by the death of cattle or other harm; did an error occur in repeating the Lord's Prayer; were deeds of great physical strength performed—these all were signs of witchcraft.[1] In some instances, the phenomena of somnambulism would appear to have been exhibited, and "the afflicted, out of their fits, knew nothing of what they did or said in them."

[1 One very neat woman walked miles over dirty roads without showing any mud. "I scorn to be drabbled," she said, and she was hanged for her cleanliness.—EGGLESTON.r]

Again, on a new session (August 3rd), six were arraigned, and all were convicted. Among the witnesses against Martha Carrier the mother saw her own children. Her two sons refused to perjure themselves till they had been tied neck and heels so long that the blood was ready to gush from them. The confession of her daughter, a child of seven years old, is still preserved. The aged Jacobs was condemned, in part, by the evidence of Margaret Jacobs, his granddaughter. "Through the magistrates' threatenings and my own vile heart"—thus she wrote to her father—"I have confessed things contrary to my conscience and knowledge. But oh! the terrors of a wounded conscience, who can bear?" And she confessed the whole truth before the magistrates. The magistrates refused their belief, and, confining her for trial, proceeded to hang her grandfather.

These five were condemned on the 3rd, and hanged on the 19th of August; pregnancy reprieved Elizabeth Procter. To hang a minister as a witch was a novelty; but George Burroughs denied absolutely that there was, or could be, such a thing as witchcraft, in the current sense. This opinion wounded the self-love of the judges, for it made them the accusers and judicial murderers of the innocent. On the ladder, Burroughs cleared his innocence by an earnest speech, repeating the Lord's Prayer composedly and exactly, and with a fervency that astonished. Cotton Mather, on horseback among the crowd, addressed the people, cavilling at the ordination of Burroughs, as though he had been no true minister, insisting on his guilt, and hinting that the devil could sometimes assume the appearance of an angel of light; and the hanging proceeded.

Meantime, the confessions of the witches began to be directed against the Anabaptists. Mary Osgood was dipped by the devil. The court still had work to do. On the 9th, six women were condemned, and more convictions followed. Giles Cory, the octogenarian, seeing that all were convicted, refused to plead, and was condemned to be pressed to death. The horrid sentence, a barbarous usage of English law, never again followed in the colonies, was executed forthwith. On the 22nd of September eight persons were led to the gallows. Of these, Samuel Wardwell had confessed, and was safe; but, from shame and penitence, he retracted his confession, and speaking the truth boldly, he was hanged, not for witchcraft, but for denying witchcraft. "There hang eight firebrands of hell," said Noyes, the minister of Salem, pointing to the bodies swinging on the gallows.

Already twenty persons had been put to death for witchcraft; fifty-five had been tortured or terrified into penitent confessions. With accusations, confessions increased; with confessions, new accusations.[1] The jails were full. It was also observed that no one of the condemned confessing witchcraft had been hanged. No one that confessed and retracted a confession had escaped either hanging or imprisonment for trial. No one of the condemned who asserted innocence, even if one of the witnesses confessed perjury, or the foreman of the jury acknowledged the error of the verdict, escaped the gallows. Favouritism was shown in listening to accusations, which were turned aside from friends or partisans. If a man began a career as a witch-hunter, and, becoming convinced of the imposture, declined the service, he was accused and hanged. Witnesses convicted of perjury were cautioned, and permitted still to swear away the lives of others. It was certain people had been tempted to become accusers by promise of favour. Yet the zeal of Stoughton was unabated, and the arbitrary court adjourned to the first Tuesday in November.

[1 Upham says that several hundreds were thrown in prison.]

Cotton Mather, still eager "to lift up a standard against the infernal enemy," had prepared his narrative of the *Wonders of the Invisible World*, in the design of promoting "a pious thankfulness to God for justice being so far executed among us." [d]

This called forth a reply from Robert Calef,[x] a clear-headed, fearless man, who, by the weapons of reason and ridicule, overcame and put to flight, in an astonishingly short time, both witches and devils. It was in vain that Cotton Mather denounced him as "a coal from hell"; the sentiment of the people went with him; and though a circular from Harvard College signed by the president, Increase Mather, solicited from all the ministers of the neighbourhood a return of the apparitions, possessions, enchantments, and all extraordinary things, wherein the existence and agency of the invisible world is more sensibly demonstrated, the next ten years produced scarcely five returns. The invisible world was indeed becoming really so; and as is always the case, the superstition, when it ceased to be credited, lost its power of delusion. [z]

Before the court reassembled the spell was broken. The wife of Mr. Hale, of Beverley, was among the accused; insinuations had been thrown out against Mr. Willard, the excellent pastor of the South church in Boston, and Mr. Deane, of Andover; and even the wife of Sir William Phips did not escape suspicion. Under these circumstances the revulsion was electrical. If mere accusations were in themselves plenary proofs of guilt, then might the best fall; and, in this view, was it not time to inquire whether the whole subject was not open to doubt? A large share of credit is due to the people of Andover, who openly remonstrated against the doings of the tribunals (October 18th). "We know not," say they, "who can think himself safe, if the accusations of children, and others under diabolical influence, shall be received against persons of good fame." Nor was this remonstrance ill-timed, for a large number of the inhabitants of Andover had been accused.

It is to the credit of the people that no tumultuous modes of redress were adopted, and that they did not retaliate upon their accusers, meeting violence with violence. And the result vindicated their wisdom; for when the superior court met at Salem, six women of Andover, at once renouncing their confessions, did not scruple to treat the whole affair as a frightful delusion; and of the presentments against those who were still in prison, the grand jury dismissed more than half without hesitation; and if they found bills against a few, they were all acquitted upon trial except three of the worst, and even these were reprieved by the governor, and recommended to mercy. In Calef's[x] words, "such a gaol delivery was made this court as has never been known at any other time in New England." As the excitement subsided, the prominent actors in the terrible tragedy began to reflect, and a few made public acknowledgment of their error. [e]

"Judge Sewall," says Eggleston, "at a general fast, handed up to the minister to be read a humble confession, and stood while it was read. He annually kept a private day of humiliation. Honour to his memory!" [1] But Eggleston has something quite different to say of Cotton Mather. His was

[1 Holmes [bb] says: "I find these entries in Sewall's manuscript diary, April 11th, 1692: 'Went to Salem, where in the meeting-house the persons accused of witchcraft were examined; was a very great assembly; 'twas awfull to see how the afflicted persons were agitated.' But in margin is written with a tremulous hand, probably on a subsequent review, the lamenting Latin interjection, '*Væ, væ, væ!* Decr. 24th [1696]. Sam. recites to me in Latin, Matt. 12 from the 6th to the end of the 12th v. The seventh verse did awfully bring to my mind the Salem Trajedie.'"]

the spirit of fanaticism that generated a stubbornness often confounded with firmness of will. Possibly he felt himself to be in the right even to the end; at least it was not in his nature to acknowledge the contrary.[a]

Some have spoken of this whole affair in terms of contempt; others have unsparingly denounced its participants; very few have considered the subject calmly and dispassionately, or given due credit to the honesty of the parties. It was an unhappy affair, at the best; but it can be said with truth that the delusion was less extensive, and caused less suffering, in New England than in Old; for there the belief in witchcraft prevailed until the middle of the eighteenth century, and persons were hanged, or otherwise put to death, as witches, long after such executions had ceased in America.[e]

Eggleston[r] thinks that Chief-Justice Parker's decision, rendered in 1712, to the effect that any one who submitted a witch to the ordeal of trial by water should be held guilty of wilful murder if the woman chanced to be drowned, was responsible for the discontinuance of the deplorable custom of witch-baiting in England. He cites Hutchinson, however, in proof that the custom was not at once given up, noting that a man was "swam for a wizard" in Suffolk, England, as late as the year 1825—an almost incredibly recent date.[a]

## THE GOVERNORSHIPS OF PHIPS, BELLAMONT, AND DUDLEY; THE RIGID CODE

In 1694 Sir William Phips, who was a man of choleric temper, having got into dispute with the royal collector at Boston, and afterwards with the captain of a man-of-war, on whom he inflicted personal chastisement and then committed to prison, was recalled to England to account for his conduct, where he died shortly after his arrival. The general court petitioned parliament that he might not be removed. The earl of Bellamont [Bellomont] was appointed his successor; but his arrival being delayed, Stoughton administered the government for several years.

The treaty which had been made with the eastern Indians at Pemaquid had not remained unbroken; during the awful witch-delusion the horrors of Indian warfare were renewed.

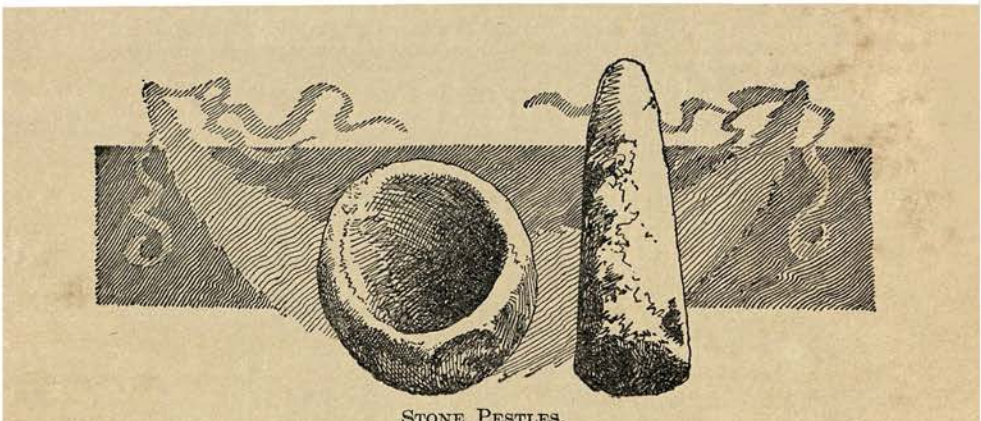
In 1699 the earl of Bellamont arrived in Boston from New York. Neither Usher, the lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire, who fled to Boston in alarm for his life, nor his successor, Partridge, who, being a ship-carpenter, had the merit of introducing into that province a profitable timber-trade to Portugal, nor the proprietary, Allen, who presently assumed the government, were more successful than Cranfield had been in extorting quit-rents from the settlers of that sturdy little province. And New Hampshire, now included under Bellamont's commission, continued for the next forty years to have the same governors as Massachusetts, though generally a lieutenant-governor was at the head of the administration.

On the death of Lord Bellamont, Massachusetts had the mortification of receiving the "apostate" Joseph Dudley, the friend of the hated Andros, as governor, he having obtained the appointment through the influence of Cotton Mather. The popular party, they who had opposed the tyranny of Andros, now set themselves in opposition to the new governor, and refused to comply with the royal instructions, which required them to fix permanently the salaries of the governor and crown officers. Although "a spirit of latitudinarianism" was gradually narrowing the bounds of the theocratic power in Massachusetts, still her code retained most of its rigid enactments. It was

still forbidden "to travel, work, or play on the Sabbath," and constables and tithingmen were commanded to "prevent all persons from swimming in the waters, all unnecessary and unreasonable walking in the streets or fields, keeping open of shops, or following secular occasions or recreations on the evening preceding the Lord's Day, or on any part of the day or evening following."

Atheism and blasphemy, under which was included the denying that any of the canonical books of Scripture were the inspired word of God, were punished with six months' imprisonment, setting in the pillory, whipping, boring through the tongue with a red-hot iron, sitting on the gallows with a rope round the neck, or any two of these punishments, at the discretion of the court. Adultery was punished by the guilty parties being set on the gallows with a rope round their necks, and on their way thence to the jail to be severely flogged, not exceeding forty stripes, and ever after to wear the capital letter A, of two inches long, cut out of cloth of a contrary colour to their clothes, and sewed upon their upper garments on the outside of their arm or on their back in public view, and if caught without this to be liable to fifteen stripes. This extraordinary mode of punishment has, it will be remembered, furnished the subject for Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter.*[z]

The territory of Massachusetts had been by the charter of 1692 vastly enlarged. On the south, it embraced Plymouth colony and the Elizabeth Islands; on the east, it included Maine and all beyond it to the Atlantic; on the north, it was described as swept by the St. Lawrence—the fatal gift of a wilderness, for the conquest and defence of which Massachusetts expended more treasure and lost more of her sons than all the English continental colonies besides.[d]



STONE PESTLES.

# CHAPTER VI

## THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS

[1689–1763 A.D.]

THE conquest of Canada was an event of momentous consequence in American history. It changed the political aspect of the continent, prepared a way for the independence of the British colonies, rescued the vast tracts of the interior from the rule of military despotism, and gave them, eventually, to the keeping of an ordered democracy. Yet to the red natives of the soil its results were wholly disastrous. Could the French have maintained their ground, the ruin of the Indian tribes might long have been postponed; but the victory of Quebec was the signal of their swift decline. Thenceforth they were destined to melt and vanish before the advancing waves of Anglo-American power, which now rolled westward unchecked and unopposed. They saw the danger, and, led by a great and daring champion, struggled fiercely to avert it. The history of that epoch is crowded with scenes of tragic interest, with marvels of suffering and vicissitude, of heroism and endurance.—FRANCIS PARKMAN.[b]

FRANCE and England were early competitors in the American seas. Their hereditary hatred, which had existed for centuries, had been deepened and intensified by repeated collisions. Differences of religion increased their animosity. They were rivals in the Old World and rivals in the New; rivals in the East Indies and rivals in the West; rivals in Africa and rivals in Europe; rivals in politics, in commerce, and the arts; rivals in ambition for conquest and supremacy. Each sought its own aggrandisement at the expense of the other; each claimed to be superior to the other in the elements of national glory and the appliances of national strength. The gaiety of the former was in contrast with the gravity and sobriety of the latter. The impetuosity of the one was the counterpart to the coolness and cautiousness of the other. Time, instead of softening, had hardened their prejudices, and for a century and a half from the date of the establishment of the first French colony at

the north, the two nations, with but slight interruptions, were constantly in the attitude of opposition and defiance.

England, without doubt, preceded France in the career of discovery, and the voyage of the Cabots gave to the former her claims to the regions visited by their vessels. But the interval which elapsed between the voyage of the Cabots (1497) and the earliest authenticated voyage of the French (1504) was exceedingly brief, and the two nations, if not contemporaries, were equals in the race. France succeeded, even before England, in settling a colony to the north, and the foundations of Quebec were laid before the landing of the Pilgrims and before the settlement of Boston. In consequence of this rivalry of England and France, the colonies at the north were early involved in difficulties and contentions, and these difficulties increased as the conflict of interests brought them into collision. Hence before the confederacy of 1643, apprehensions of hostilities were entertained in Massachusetts, and from that date to the union of the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts in 1692, these apprehensions continued to disturb the people, and resulted, at length, in vigorous action on the part of the English to uproot their rivals and drive them from their possessions.

If New England was the "key of America," New France might, with equal propriety, claim to be the lock; for Canada, with the chain of fresh-water lakes bordering upon its territory, opened a communication with the distant West; and the Jesuit missionaries, Marquette, Joliet, La Salle, and Hennepin, by their explorations on the Mississippi, the "Father of Waters," brought the vast region watered by that stream and its tributaries under the dominion of the Bourbons, and backed all British America with a cordon of military posts, hovering upon the outskirts of the northern settlements with their savage allies, greatly to the alarm of the English, who were exposed to their depredations, and from whose incursions they could defend themselves only by an expenditure of money and strength which impoverished them in their weakness and imperilled their safety.

Behold, then, the two nations, rivals for centuries, upon the eve of a fresh struggle upon the new field of action. Acadia and Canada were wrested from the French in 1629, before the settlement of Boston, but were restored by the Treaty of St. Germain, March 29th, 1654. Acadia was again conquered under the commonwealth in 1632, but by the Treaty of Breda was subsequently restored in 1667. Under Charles II the conquest of Canada was a second time attempted, but the difficulties of the enterprise prevented its success. Again, under James II, in 1686, a third attempt for its conquest was made, but with a like want of success. The accession of William of Orange to the English throne, on May 7th, 1689, was the signal for a new war with France, growing out of a "root of enmity," which Marlborough described as "irreconcilable to the government and the religion" of Great Britain, and on the occurrence of this war a fourth expedition to Canada was projected, which was attended with important results.[c]

## THE BACKGROUND OF EUROPEAN WARS (1688–1763 A.D.)

The names of the "Palatinate War," the "War of the Spanish Succession," the "War of the Austrian Succession," and the "Seven Years' War" do not suggest American history, and many a reader, even though informed above the average, would say that these subjects have nothing American in them. Yet they are the true titles of great conflicts in which the New World

was vitally concerned, though it calls them by other names. To the European historian, the colonial branches of these wars were mere reverberations in the distance, and of only the faintest importance. He dismisses them in a few lines. And the American historian is likely to return the compliment, magnify the importance of the frontier colonial skirmishes, and dismiss in a few lines the great continental wars. This in spite of the fact that peace was always made and broken at the European capitals, and the colonists were not consulted in the division of spoil. On occasion, as in the case of Louisburg, the English government might even ignore the actual conquests of the colonists and restore them to the enemy.

The right balance of the events about to be described can be established only by a study of the history of Europe of this period. In the earlier volumes of this work, devoted to England, France, Spain, and Holland, the accounts of these struggles are more fully treated, and reference should be made to them, but a brief sketch of European politics in this place will avoid some confusion, and serve as a background in perspective. We shall, for simplicity's sake, group all these wars in one sketch, and then revert to their American details in new sequence.

In 1688 France was the chief power in the world. Louis XIV had at that date absorbed into his own hands an absolute control never equalled, save perhaps by Napoleon. Like Napoleon, he terrorised all Europe by his projects of aggrandisement and provoked coalition after coalition against him; like Napoleon, he carried his glory to the point of collapse, and at his death found a national decline noticeably under way. Louis XIV seems to have sincerely believed in that sublime egotism, the divine right of kings. He cried, "The state is myself" (*L'état, c'est moi*), and proceeded to act upon the outrageous assumption that his whims and his selfish schemes were not merely the welfare of his people, but the desires and plans of an all-wise Deity. His intense Catholicism encouraged him in this bigotry and in his backward step, the renewal of the persecutions from which the Huguenots had been relieved by Henry of Navarre's Edict of Nantes in 1598. Louis had gradually succeeded in making France a great naval power, and Duquesne had defeated the combined Spanish and Dutch fleets.

Now he found that William of Orange, doubly his enemy as an old warrior and as a Protestant, had been called to England by a presumptuous parliament as a substitute for the sacred and Catholic king James II, who was deposed. Three years before (1686) William had succeeded in forming the League of Augsburg against Louis, who now found that even the pope and Catholic Spain feared him still more than they feared Protestantism. Surrounded by the enemies he had accumulated, Louis decided on getting the advantage of beginning the inevitable war. For point of attack he chose not Holland, but that part of Germany called the Palatinate. It offered the feeblest resistance and suffered terrible devastation. But meanwhile this so-called "War of the Palatinate" gave William of Orange his chance to enter England, take up the sceptre, and bind Great Britain also into the League of Augsburg. As later, in the times of the Revolution and of Napoleon, France found herself encircled by enemies. Then, as later, she fought them all magnificently, though the final exhaustion of blood, money, and enthusiasm was unavoidable. France kept from four to six huge armies in the field, and a great fleet on the sea, a fleet which, under Tourville, defeated the English-Dutch fleet off Beachy Head, while Jean Bart preyed on English commerce. Louis set the fugitive James II down in Ireland, whence William drove him by his victory at the Boyne. Louis' general, Luxembourg, won a

victory at Fleurus in the Netherlands, and another general, Catinat, defeated the League at Staffarda, in Italy; Louis himself took Mons and Namur by siege. But in 1692, trusting that half the English fleet would desert to James II, Louis sent Admiral Tourville into a great defeat at Cape La Hogue. This gave England the naval power again. From this moment France began to tire and to count the cost. Occasional victories could not revive her *élan*. Louis, after making a secret and advantageous alliance, found himself ready to accept the two treaties of Ryswick in 1697, by which, though he lost nothing but his pains, he had to restore all his conquests.

While these colossal events were taking place, America was undergoing what is locally known as "King William's War" (1689–1697). The religious feuds between the French and English colonies were always bitter, and even in the times of 1776 many Americans were scandalised at taking the French as allies, preferring to risk independence rather than a heterodox combination. In King William's War, then, that bitterest of all enthusiasms, religious sectarianism, found a bloody vent. The Indians sided with the more friendly French, and the horrors of savagery were added to the evils of what we euphemistically call "civilised warfare." This conflict, which is described at length in the following pages, ended simultaneously with the continental war at the Treaty of Ryswick.

By this treaty Louis XIV acknowledged William of Orange lawful king of England. Five years later William died (March 8th, 1702). The deposed James II had died seven months before. The question of succession now arose. The English, to continue Protestantism on the throne, had settled the crown on James II's second daughter, Anne. But Louis declared for the eldest son, Prince James, "the Pretender," as the English called him. The friction on this point was increased by the act of Louis in placing his own grandson, Philip of Aragon, on the Spanish throne, in spite of his previous renunciations of all claim to that crown. Thus, upon Louis' death, France and Spain would probably be united under one monarch. In 1701 Louis had declared the Ryswick treaty void. The Germans and Dutch had formed with William of England a "Grand Alliance" to curb the presumptions of the "Grand Monarch." War broke out at once, and in the midst of it the death of William emphasised the breach.

This great war of eleven years' duration (1702–1713) was called "The War of the Spanish Succession." The Huguenots crippled Louis at home, and the duke of Marlborough built up fame by thunderous campaigns culminating in the Battle of Blenheim (1704), by which the French were driven out of Bavaria. Marlborough's success at Ramillies (1706) crushed French sway in the Netherlands. In 1704 the English fleet had taken Gibraltar, and in 1706 the allies took Italy. In 1708 the victory of Oudenarde and the taking of Lille by siege combined with famine to pluck down French pride. Louis asked for terms, but the allies tried to drive so hard a bargain that they woke the marvellous elasticity of the French spirit and the war raged anew; and while success was still with the allies, English politics and weariness began to weaken them. Marlborough lost favour at court and was withdrawn from command. Negotiations dragged along, and without England's aid the allies began, in 1712, to lose place after place. By 1713 all the allies, except the Austrian emperor, had signed the Treaty of Utrecht, and a year later he was coerced by defeats at French hands. By this treaty England gained her theory of succession, as well as Newfoundland, Acadia, and the Hudson Bay territory. France found herself about as she was before the war, though she squeezed out much better terms than those offered in 1706. In 1715

the Grand Monarch died, surrounded by evidences of toppling conquest, and with no nearer heir than a great-grandson.

During all these complicated years the American colonies were in the throes of what they called, not the "War of the Spanish Succession," which interested them little, but "Queen Anne's War," because the question of the possession of the English throne by a Catholic or a Protestant monarch was of the utmost importance to them. It was also called "Governor Dudley's War," from the activity of that man.

Louis XIV was succeeded by the dissolute Louis XV, who left the government to his ministers, the first of whom, Fleury, was unwillingly dragged into many international broils. In 1740 the Austrian emperor, Charles VI, died, leaving no male issue. His daughter, Maria Theresa, being left in control of the great realm, the land-hungry nations about her looked for easy prey. The only trouble to be feared was internal wrangling. This came speedily enough in a chaos of claims and counter-claims. England wished Maria Theresa's inheritance left intact; the French saw an opportunity to dismember the Austrian power. Frederick the Great of Prussia agreed to this, but was eager for his share of the loot. He took Silesia, then signed a treaty with Maria Theresa, and joined the English in saying that the division had gone far enough. The French, under Marshal Saxe, fought desultorily against England and Germany. In 1744 the war blazed up furiously. France sent the "Young Pretender," Charles Edward, into Scotland, where he failed miserably at Culloden. Marshal Saxe succeeded in the Netherlands, however, and defeated the English, Dutch, and Germans at Fontenoy. Success smiled on France also in Italy. But England ended her pretensions in the East Indies. At length, by 1748, the rivals were ready for the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. France and England returned each what each had taken, and Maria Theresa was firmly established.

This four years' strife, known to Europe as the "War of the Austrian Succession" or the "First and Second Silesian Wars" (1740–1744, 1744–1748), is sometimes called in America "King George's War," for no particular reason except that George II was then on the English throne. In this war the colonists played a more or less independent part. The colonies organised a land force and besieged the important port of Louisburg. English troops and ships joined later, and in 1745 the fort surrendered. New England troops garrisoned the fort till the treaty of peace in 1748, when to their disgust it was restored to France. The colonists were given no share of the prize money, £600,000, from the capture of the port and shipping, and it was not until 1749 that the expenses of the troops were reimbursed. The colonists had, however, acquired two important bits of knowledge: first, that England did not seriously respect their feelings; second, that they could fight regular European soldiers as well as Indians.

What Americans call the "French and Indian War" (1754–1763) was a genuine colonial struggle, with victory nodding now towards the Catholics and now towards the Protestants. The results were of final importance to American history, and continued the schooling that the colonies were to use for independence not many years later. In Europe the war did not break out till 1756. It was the time of Richelieu, and of that alliance of three empires, which the French called the "Alliance of the Three Petticoats," from Maria Theresa of Austria, Elizabeth of Russia, and the French king's potent mistress Madame de Pompadour. Richelieu had raised a French navy, and it brilliantly defeated the English navy, whose overbearing pride of power had stung France to war, as in 1812 it drove the United States to desperation. It was the time when

Frederick the Great of Prussia was humbled until his decisive stroke at Rossbach, in 1757, won him definite English support, leaving him free to fight Austria, while England, Hanover, and Brunswick assailed France. France now began to lose in all directions, and the combination of all the Bourbon monarchs of the Latin races into the "Family Compact" only involved them in the disaster.

The Treaty of Paris, in 1763, ended the war and left France to the mercy of English cupidity. As for France, her disasters were the disasters of the sovereign and of the incapable aristocracy. The great mass of the French people was so far from sympathy with either their aggressions or their defeats that laughter rang through France when certain of the heaviest disasters were announced. In this mockery was foreshadowed that sardonic hatred that flamed forth in the French Revolution, where several hundreds of aristocratic heads in the basket of La Guillotine paid a small tithe for the hundreds of thousands of French bodies scattered over Europe and the world at the whim of royal pride and family quarrel. England's shears clipped from France in 1763 Nova Scotia, Canada, Cape Breton, the territory to the Mississippi, and many islands here and there. It was the acme of England's glory. Small wonder that such spoils should have fed presumption. The successes of the English led them to sneer at the colonists and their claims with disastrous results. Having thus sketched in the background of the series of colonial wars, let us go back and take them up in detail.[a]

### THE FIRST INTERCOLONIAL CONFLICT; KING WILLIAM'S OR THE PALATINATE WAR (1689-1697 A.D.)

Whatever was the result of the accession of William of Orange in 1688 upon the metropolitan relations of the colonies, upon their relations with their neighbours of Canada, and, through that medium, upon their domestic condition, it exercised a most disastrous influence, involving them in cruel and barbarising wars, attended with immense individual suffering, vast expense, heavy debts, and all the impoverishing and demoralising consequences of the paper-money system. From a mixture of religious and political motives the king of France had, in 1685, revoked the Edict of Nantes. The cruelties to which the unhappy French Protestants were subjected and their flight and dispersion throughout Europe and America had kindled against the king of France, in all Protestant states, mingled feelings of detestation and horror, adding also new gall to religious hatreds, already sufficiently bitter. The Palatinate War, begun in Europe, as we have seen, by the ravage of the beautiful banks of the Rhine, in 1689, was destined to extend also to America, and soon carried death and desolation into the villages of New York and New England.

The total population of the English colonies at the commencement of this first intercolonial war might have amounted to two hundred thousand; but half at least of it, south of the Delaware, and far removed from the scene of hostilities, took no part in the struggle beyond voting some small sums for the aid of New York. Yet the northern colonies alone seemed quite an overmatch for New France, and King William promptly rejected that offer of colonial neutrality which a conscious weakness in that quarter had extorted from the French court. Nor was this rejection by any means disagreeable to the people of New England, who entered very eagerly into the war, nourishing dreams of conquest, destined, however, to repeated and disastrous disappointments.

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The French, weak[1] as they were, entertained also similar schemes. It was part of their plan to secure the western fur trade, and an uninterrupted passage through Lake Erie to the Mississippi, by effectually subduing those inveterate enemies, the Iroquois. They intended also to drive the English from Hudson Bay, of which the possession had for some time been disputed between the French fur traders and the English Hudson Bay Company chartered twenty years before by Charles II. The French also hoped, by occupying Newfoundland, to cut off the English from that cod fishery enjoyed in common by the nations of Europe since the discovery of America, and which now constituted a main source of the wealth and prosperity of New England, furnishing, indeed, her chief exportable product.

So soon as the declaration of war between France and England became known in America, the Baron Castin easily excited the eastern Indians to renew their depredations. In these hostilities the tribes of New Hampshire were induced also to join. The fort at Pemaquid, the extreme eastern frontier, was soon after obliged to surrender. All the settlements farther east were ravaged and broken up.

### *Frontenac's Men Invade the Colonies* (1690 A.D.)

Canada had received relief from the distress to which it had been reduced by the late inroads of the Iroquois by the arrival (October 15th) of Count Frontenac from France, recommissioned as governor, and bringing with him, along with such of the Indian prisoners as had survived the galleys, troops, supplies, and a scheme for the conquest and occupation of New York. As a part of this scheme, the chevalier de la Coffinière proceeded to cruise off the coast of New England, making many prizes, and designing to attack New York by sea while Frontenac assailed it on the land side. Frontenac, though sixty-eight years of age, had all the buoyancy and vigour of youth. Not able to prosecute his scheme of conquest, he presently detached three war parties, to visit on the English frontier those same miseries which Canada had so recently experienced at the hands of the Five Nations.

A number of converted Mohawks composed, with a number of Frenchmen, the first of Frontenac's war parties, amounting all told to two hundred and ten persons. Guided by the water-courses, whose frozen surface furnished them a path, they traversed a wooded wilderness covered with deep snows. After a twenty-two days' march, intent on their bloody purpose, they approached Schenectady, a Dutch village on the Mohawk, then the outpost of the settlements about Albany. The cluster of some forty houses was protected by a palisade, but the gates were open and unguarded, and at midnight the inhabitants slept profoundly. February 8th, 1690, the assailants entered in silence, divided themselves into several parties, and, giving the signal by the terrible war-whoop, commenced the attack. Sixty were slain on the spot; twenty-seven were taken prisoners; the rest fled, half naked, along the road to Albany through a driving snow-storm, a deep snow, and cold so bitter that many lost their limbs by frost. The assailants set off for Canada with their prisoners and their plunder, and effected their escape, though not without serious loss inflicted by some Mohawk warriors, who hastened to pursue them.

[1] Bradstreet *d* computes the population of New France in 1680 at 5,000 men. Haliburton *e* estimates it, in 1690, at 5,815 souls. But Bancroft *f* estimates it, in 1688, at 11,249 persons. A letter of Vaudreuil estimated the soldiers of New France, in 1714, at 4,480. See also Charlevoix.*g*

Frontenac's second war party, composed of only fifty-two persons, entered the valley of the upper Connecticut, and thence made their way across the mountains and forests of New Hampshire. March 27th they descended on Salmon Falls, a frontier village, killed most of the male inhabitants, and carried off fifty-four prisoners, chiefly women and children, whom they drove before them, laden with the spoils. While thus returning they fell in with the third war party from Quebec, and, joining forces, proceeded to attack Casco. A part of the garrison was lured into an ambuscade and destroyed. The rest, seeing their palisades about to be set on fire, surrendered on terms as prisoners of war, in May.

Such was the new and frightful sort of warfare to which the English colonists were exposed. The savage ferocity of the Indians, guided by the sagacity and civilised skill and enterprise of French officers, became ten times more terrible. The influence which the French missionaries had acquired by persevering self-sacrifice and the highest efforts of Christian devotedness was now availed of, as too often happens, by mere worldly policy, to stimulate their converts to hostile inroads and midnight murders. Religious zeal sharpened the edge of savage hate. The English were held up to the Indians not merely as enemies, but as heretics, upon whom it was a Christian duty to make war. If the chaplet of victory were missed, at least the crown of martyrdom was sure. Hatred of papacy received a new impetus. The few Catholics of Maryland, though their fathers had been the founders of that colony, were disfranchised, and subjected to all the disabilities by which, in Britain and Ireland, the suppression of Catholicism was vainly attempted. Probably also to this period we may refer the act of Rhode Island, of unknown date, which excluded Catholics from becoming freemen of that colony. Cruelties were not confined to one side. The inroads of the Mohawks into Canada, always encouraged and supported by the authorities of New York, were even sometimes directed by leaders from Albany. The French settlements along the coast of Acadia soon experienced all the miseries of partisan warfare.

### *Phips' Expedition Against Port Royal and Quebec; the First Paper Money*

Engrossed by the war in Ireland, where the partisans of James II were still powerful, William III left the colonies to take care of themselves. New York seems to have assumed the leadership. Leisler, as acting governor of that province, addressed a circular letter (April 2nd) to all the colonies as far south as Virginia, inviting them to send commissioners to New York, to agree upon some concerted plan of operations. In accordance with this invitation, delegates from Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New York met as proposed (April 24th) and formed a counter scheme of conquest. While a fleet and army sailed from Boston to attack Quebec, four hundred men were to be raised in New York, and as many more in the other colonies, to march against Montreal.[h]

Bancroft credits Massachusetts with the initiative: "Meantime, danger taught the colonies the necessity of union, and on the first day of May, 1690, New York beheld the momentous example of an American 'congress.' The idea originated with the government of Massachusetts, established by the people in the period that intervened between the overthrow of Andros and the arrival of the second charter, and the place of meeting was New York, where, likewise, the government had sprung directly from the action of the

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people. Thus, without exciting suspicion, were the forms of independence and union prepared. The invitations were given by letters from the general court of Massachusetts, and extended to all the colonies as far, at least, as Maryland. Massachusetts, the parent of so many states, is certainly the parent of the American Union. Thus did Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York, having at that time each a government constituted by itself, in the spirit of independence, not only provide for order and tranquillity at home, but, unaided by England, of themselves plan the invasion of Acadia and Canada."[f]

A fleet of eight or nine small vessels, with seven or eight hundred men on board, sailed under the command of Sir William Phips, a native of Pemaquid, one of twenty-six children by the same mother. An easy conquest was made of Port Royal (April 28th, 1690), and plunder enough was obtained, by the ravage of the neighbouring settlements, to pay the expenses of the expedition, though not without complaints, on the part of the French, that the articles of surrender were grossly violated. Phips departed in a few days to attack the other French posts in Acadia.

The success of this enterprise encouraged the prosecution of the expedition against Canada. Fitz-John Winthrop was appointed to command the troops destined against Montreal. A party of Mohawks, the van of the attack, led by Schuyler, pushed forward towards the St. Lawrence. At the first alarm, Frontenac roused the courage of his Indian allies by joining them in the war-song and the war-dance. He was able to muster twelve hundred men for the defence of Montreal. Schuyler and the Iroquois were repulsed. The rest of the colonial forces scarcely advanced beyond Wood Creek, where they were stopped short by the small-pox and deficiency of provisions. The expedition ended in mutual recriminations, which did but express and confirm the hereditary antipathy of Connecticut and New York. Leisler was so enraged at the retreat of the troops that he even arrested Winthrop at Albany.

Phips meanwhile sailed from Boston (August 12th), with thirty-two vessels and two thousand men, most of them pressed into the service. Three of the ships were from New York, with two hundred and forty soldiers. For want of pilots, Phips was nine weeks in finding his way up the St. Lawrence, of which no charts as yet existed. Frontenac hastened back to Quebec. He arrived three days before Phips, who found himself disappointed of that surprise which had been his main reliance. The fortifications were strong, the garrison was considerable, Frontenac was there, and winter was approaching. A party landed from the ships, and some skirmishing ensued.[h] Satisfied that the contest was hopeless, the English weighed anchor, and, with the receding tide, floated their crippled vessels out of the reach of the enemy's fire; but not without the loss of the flag of the rear-admiral, which was shot away, and, as it drifted toward the shore, was seized by a Canadian, who swam out into the stream and brought it in triumph to the castle, where for many years it was hung up as a trophy in the church of Quebec.[c]

Louis XIV commemorated this repulse by a medal with the legend "*Francia in novo orbe victrix*"—"France victorious in the New World." When Phips' troops landed at Boston, disgusted with failure and out of temper with hardships, there was no money to pay them. They even threatened a military riot. The general court, in this emergency, resolved upon an issue of bills of credit, or treasury notes, the first paper money ever seen in the English colonies. A similar expedient, in the issue of "card money," redeemable in bills on France, had been adopted in Canada five years before;

but this fact was probably unknown in Massachusetts. The Massachusetts notes, ranging from five shillings to five pounds, were receivable in payment of taxes, and redeemable out of any money in the treasury. Notwithstanding the patriotic example of Phips, who freely exchanged coin for notes, it was no easy matter to get this first government paper into circulation. The total amount of the issue was presently fixed at £40,000, but long before that limit was reached the bills sunk to a discount of one-half. To raise their credit, the general court in May, 1691, made them a legal tender in all payments, while at the treasury they were receivable at an advance of 5 per cent.

While Phips was employed against Quebec, Colonel Church led an expedition against the eastern Indians at the great falls, now Lewiston, where he destroyed a great quantity of corn, and, "for example," put a number of his prisoners to death, not sparing even women and children. Undeterred by such cruelties, which they knew too well how to retaliate, the eastern tribes kept up a frontier warfare, which occasioned much individual suffering, perpetual anxiety, and a heavy expense. The towns of Maine all suffered, and many were abandoned. Sometimes, in a fit of fury or revenge, the Indians killed all who fell into their hands. But their object in general was to make prisoners, especially of the women and children, for whom a market was found in Canada, where they were purchased as servants—a constant stimulus to new enterprises on the part of the Indians. These unhappy captives, in their long and dreary travels through the woods, frequently in midwinter, the women often with infants in their arms, suffered sometimes from the cruel insolence of their captors, and always from terror, hunger, and fatigue. Arrived in Canada, they often experienced at the hands of their French purchasers an unexpected kindness, prompted frequently, no doubt, by pure humanity, but sometimes also by zeal for their conversion to the Catholic faith, in which case it became a new source of suffering. Many of the returned captives related, among the sorest of their trials, temptations to change their religion. To these temptations some yielded. Of the captive children who remained long among the Indians, many became so habituated to that wild method of life as to be unwilling, when ransomed, to return to their parents.

As if this terrible Indian war were not scourge enough, New York and Massachusetts both at the same time were the scenes each of its own domestic tragedy. [We have already read of these—Leisler's rebellion in New York and the witchcraft delusion in Salem.] Villebon, arriving from France with an armed ship, retook Port Royal in November, 1691. New York had started the idea that the other provinces ought to be made to contribute to her defence, serving as she did as a barrier against Canada; and in conformity with this suggestion, a royal letter presently conveyed to all the colonies except Carolina an order to that effect, suggesting also a colonial congress for the assignment of quotas.

Massachusetts excused herself from the quota asked for New York, alleging the heavy expenses in which she was involved for the defence of her own frontier and that of New Hampshire. The Peace of Pemaquid with the Eastern tribes had not been of long duration. Those Indians, led by French officers, and stimulated by the missionary Thury, renewed the war in July, 1694, killing or carrying off near a hundred of the inhabitants of Oyster River, a village, now Durham. To prevent the Five Nations from making peace with the French, for which purpose they had sent messengers to Canada, a treaty was held with them at Albany, in August, 1694, at which deputies were present from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey. After much urging, Maryland voted a small sum towards the defence of

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New York. Virginia also voted £500, but, upon a representation of utter inability, was unwillingly excused by the king from further grants. The military establishment maintained by Virginia, consisting of a captain, lieutenant, eleven rangers, and two Indians at the head of each of the four rivers, was set forth as an intolerable burden, at a time when Massachusetts never had less than five hundred men on foot for the protection of her eastern frontier.

So far as the English were concerned, the concluding operations of the war in America were but feeble. Able with difficulty to hold his own in Europe, William could bestow but little attention on this distant quarter. The French were more active. Fort Frontenac was reoccupied, and regular communications, interrupted for several years, were re-established with the posts on the upper lakes. In July, 1696, with eight hundred soldiers and a large body of auxiliary Indians, the French governor made a destructive foray into the country of the Oneidas and Onondagas, burning their villages on the banks of the Oswego and destroying their corn. By these vigorous measures, those inveterate enemies were driven at last to sue for peace.

While Frontenac carried on these operations in the west, D'Iberville, a native of Canada, who had already distinguished himself by his exploits on Hudson Bay, arrived from France with two ships and a few troops. Being joined at St. John's and Penobscot by a party of eastern Indians under Villebon and the baron St. Castin, he laid siege to and took the Massachusetts fort at Pemaquid (August 17th, 1696). Proceeding to Newfoundland, he took the fort of St. John's, and several other English posts in that island. After wintering at Plaisance, he sailed the next spring for Hudson Bay, where he recovered a fort which the English had taken, and captured two English vessels. The capture of the Pemaquid fort resulted in the breaking up and complete ruin of the ancient settlements in that neighbourhood. The veteran Church retorted by a foray up the bay of Fundy; indeed, Iberville's vessels did but just escape his squadron. He burned the houses of the French settlers at Beau Bassin, the westernmost recess of that bay, and destroyed their cattle, which constituted their chief wealth; but his attempt to dislodge Villebon from St. John's proved a failure.

During February and March of 1697 parties of Indians attacked Andover and Haverhill, then frontier towns, though within twenty-five miles of Boston. The heroism of Hannah Dustin, one of those taken captive at Haverhill, made her famous throughout the colonies. Only a week before her capture she had become a mother; but the infant proving troublesome, the Indians soon dashed out its brains against a tree. In the division of the prisoners, Hannah Dustin, with her nurse, was assigned to an Indian family of two men, three women, and seven children, besides a white boy taken prisoner many months before. While still on their journey, and now upward of a hundred miles from Haverhill, stimulated by the terrible stories which the Indians amused themselves with telling her of the tortures she would be exposed to in running the gantlet—a ceremony which they represented as indispensable—this energetic woman, having first prevailed on the nurse and boy to join her, rose in the night, waked her confederates, and with their assistance killed all the Indians with their own hatchets except two of the youngest, took their scalps, and then, retracing the long journey through the woods, found the way back to Haverhill. In such scenes were the women of those times called on to act!

The last year of the war was particularly distressing. After suffering from a winter uncommonly severe, and a scarcity of provisions amounting almost

to a famine, New England was kept in great alarm for nearly six months in apprehension of an attack from Canada, to be aided by a fleet from France.[h]

The Peace of Ryswick, which followed in 1697, led to a temporary suspension of hostilities. France, anxious to secure as large a share of territory in America as possible, retained the whole coast and adjacent islands from Maine to Labrador and Hudson Bay, with Canada, and the valley of the Mississippi. The possessions of England were southward from the St. Croix. But the bounds between the nations were imperfectly defined, and were for a long time a subject of dispute and negotiation. Without doubt both parties would gladly have assumed jurisdiction over the whole North American continent, could they have done so with the prospect of maintaining their assumptions; nor did the French exhibit a greater desire to encroach upon the English than the English exhibited to encroach upon the French. Each accused the other of trespassing upon its dominions, and neither was content that the other should gain the least advantage, or secure to itself a monopoly of the fishery or the fur trade.

The suspension of hostilities in Europe was but temporary, for in 1702 war was again declared. In the mean time the French were secretly employed in encouraging the Indians bordering upon New England to violate the leagues which had been formed with them, and ravage the country.[c]

### THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION (QUEEN ANNE'S OR GOVERNOR DUDLEY'S WAR) (1702-1713 A.D.)

In North America the central colonies scarce knew the existence of war, except as they were invited to aid in defending the borders, or were sometimes alarmed at a privateer hovering off their coast. The Five Nations, at peace with both France and England, protected New York by a mutual compact of neutrality. South Carolina, bordering on Spanish Florida, and New England, which had so often conquered Acadia and coveted the fisheries, were alone involved in the direct evils of war. South Carolina began colonial hostilities. Its governor, James Moore, by the desire of the commons, placed himself at the head of an expedition for the reduction of St. Augustine in 1702. The town was easily ravaged, but the garrison retreated to the castle. When two Spanish vessels of war appeared near the mouth of the harbour, Moore abandoned his ships and stores and retreated by land. The colony, burdened with debt, issued bills of credit to the amount of £6,000. To Carolina the first-fruits of war were debt and paper money.

This ill success diminished the terror of the Indians. The Spaniards had long occupied the country on Appalachee Bay, had gathered the natives into towns, built for them churches, and instructed them by missions of Franciscan priests. The traders of Carolina beheld with alarm the continuous line of communication from St. Augustine to the incipient settlements in Louisiana; and in the last weeks of 1705, a company of fifty volunteers, under the command of Moore and assisted by a thousand savage allies, roamed through the woods by the trading path across the Ocmulgee, descended through the regions which none but De Soto had invaded, and came upon the Indian towns near the port of St. Mark's. At sunrise on the 14th of December, 1705, the bold adventurers reached the strong place of Ayavalla. Beaten back from the assault with loss, they succeeded in setting fire to the church, which adjoined the fort. A "barefoot friar," the only white man, came forward to beg mercy; more than a hundred women and children and

more than fifty warriors were taken and kept as prisoners for the slave market. Five other towns submitted without conditions. Most of their people abandoned their homes and were received as free emigrants into the jurisdiction of Carolina. Thus was St. Augustine insulated by the victory over its allies. The Creeks, that dwelt between Appalachee and Mobile, being friends to Carolina, interrupted the communication with the French. The English flag having been carried triumphantly through the wilderness to the gulf of Mexico, the savages were overawed, and Great Britain established a new claim to the central forests that were soon to be named Georgia.

In the next year (1706) a French squadron from Havana attempted revenge by an invasion of Charleston; but the brave William Rhett and the governor, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, inspired courage and prepared defence. The Huguenots also panted for action. One of the French ships was taken, and wherever a landing was effected, the enemy was attacked with such energy that, of eight hundred, three hundred were killed or taken prisoners. Unaided by the proprietaries, South Carolina defended her territory, and with very little loss repelled the invaders. The result of the war at the south was evidently an extension of the English boundary far into the territory that Spain had esteemed as a portion of Florida.

At the north, the province of Massachusetts alone was desolated; for her, the history of the war is but a catalogue of misery. The marquis de Vaudreuil, now governor of Canada, made haste to conciliate the Iroquois. A treaty of neutrality with the Senecas was commemorated by two strings of wampum; to prevent the rupture of this happy agreement, he resolved to send no war parties against the English on the side of New York. The English were less successful in their plans of neutrality with the Abenakis. Within six weeks the whole country from Casco to Wells was in a conflagration. On one and the same day (August 10th, 1703) the several parties of the Indians, with the French, burst upon every house or garrison in that region, sparing, says the faithful chronicler, "neither the milk-white brows of the ancient nor the mournful cries of tender infants."

Death hung on the frontier. The farmers, who had built their dwellings on the bank just above the beautiful meadows of Deerfield, had surrounded with pickets an enclosure of twenty acres—the village citadel. The snow lay four feet deep, when the war party of about two hundred French and one hundred and forty-two Indians, with the aid of snow-shoes, and led by Hertel de Rouville, walked on the crust all the way from Canada. When, at the approach of morning, the unfaithful sentinels retired, the war party entered within the palisades, which drifts of snow had made useless. The village was set on fire. Of the inhabitants but few escaped; forty-seven were killed; one hundred and twelve, including the minister and his family, were made captives. One hour after sunrise (March 1st) the party began its return to Canada. Two men starved to death. Eunice Williams, the wife of the minister, had not forgotten her Bible; and when they rested by the wayside, or, at night, made their couch of branches of evergreen strewn on the snow, the savages allowed her to read it. Having but recently recovered from confinement, her strength soon failed. To her husband, who reminded her of the "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens," "she justified God in what had happened." The mother's heart rose to her lips as she commended her five captive children, under God, to their father's care, and then one blow from a tomahawk ended her sorrows. "She rests in peace," said her husband, "and joy unspeakable and full of glory." In Canada, no entreaties, no offers of ransom, could rescue his youngest daughter, then a girl

of but seven years old. Adopted into the village of the praying Indians near Montreal, she became a proselyte to the Catholic faith and the wife of a Caughnawaga chief; and when, after long years, she visited her friends at Deerfield, she appeared in an Indian dress, and after a short sojourn, in spite of a day of fast of a whole village which assembled to pray for her deliverance, she returned to the fires of her own wigwam and to the love of her own Mohawk children.

There is no tale to tell of battles like those of Blenheim or of Ramillies, but only one sad narrative of rural dangers and sorrows. In the following years the Indians stealthily approached towns in the heart of Massachusetts, as well as along the coast, and on the southern and western frontiers. Children, as they gambolled on the beach; reapers, as they gathered the harvest; mowers, as they rested from using the scythe; mothers, as they busied themselves about the household—were victims to an enemy who disappeared the moment a blow was struck, and who was ever present where a garrison or a family ceased its vigilance.

In 1708, at a war-council at Montreal, a grand expedition was resolved on by the French Indians against New England, to be led by French officers, and assisted by a hundred picked Canadians. The party of the French Mohawks and the Hurons failed; but the French under Des Chaillons and Hertel de Rouville, the destroyer of Deerfield, with Algonquin Indians as allies, ascended the St. Francis, and, passing by the White Mountains—having travelled nearly one hundred and fifty leagues through almost impracticable paths—made their rendezvous at Winnipiseogee. There they failed to meet the expected aid from the Abenakis, and in consequence were too feeble for an attack on Portsmouth; they therefore descended the Merrimac to the town of Haverhill, resolving to sack a remote village rather than return without striking a blow.

On the night of the 29th of August the band of invaders slept quietly in the near forest. At daybreak they assumed the order of battle; Rouville addressed the soldiers, who, after their orisons, marched against the fort, raised the shrill yell, and dispersed themselves through the village to their work of blood.

Such fruitless cruelties inspired the colonists with a deep hatred of the French missionaries; they compelled the employment of a large part of the inhabitants as soldiers, so that there was one year during this war when even a fifth part of all who were capable of bearing arms were in active service. They gave birth also to a willingness to exterminate the natives. The Indians vanished when their homes were invaded. They could not be reduced by usual methods of warfare, hence a bounty was offered for every Indian scalp; to regular forces under pay, the grant was £10; to volunteers in actual service, twice that sum; but if men would of themselves, without pay, make up parties and patrol the forests in search of Indians, as of old the woods were scoured for wild beasts, the chase was invigorated by the promised "encouragement of fifty pounds per scalp."

Meantime, the English had repeatedly made efforts to gain the French fortress on Newfoundland, and New England had desired the reduction of Acadia as essential to the security of its trade and fishery. In 1704 a fleet from Boston harbour had defied Port Royal, and three years afterwards, under the influence of Dudley, Massachusetts attempted its conquest. The failure of that costly expedition, which was thwarted by the activity of Castin, created discontent in the colony by increasing its paper money and its debts. But England was resolved on colonial acquisitions; in 1709 a

[1709-1711 A.D.]

fleet and an army were to be sent from Europe; from Massachusetts and Rhode Island, twelve hundred men were to aid in the conquest of Quebec; from the central provinces, fifteen hundred were to assail Montreal; and, in one season, Acadia, Canada, and Newfoundland were to be reduced under British sovereignty. The colonies kindled at the prospect; to defray the expenses of preparation, Connecticut and New York and New Jersey then first issued bills of credit; stores were collected; the troops levied from the hardy agriculturists. But no English fleet arrived, and the energies that had been roused were wasted in inactive expectation.

At last, in 1710, the final successful expedition against Acadia took place. At the instance of Nicholson, who had been in England for that purpose, and under his command, six English vessels, joined by thirty of New England, and four New England regiments, sailed in September from Boston. In six days the fleet anchored before the fortress of Port Royal. The garrison of Subercase, the French governor, was weak and disheartened, and could not be rallied; murmurs and desertions multiplied. The terms of capitulation were easily concerted; on October 16th the tattered garrison, one hundred and fifty-six in number, marched out with the honours of war, to beg food as alms. Famine would have soon compelled a surrender at discretion. In honour of the queen, the place was called Annapolis.

Flushed with victory, Nicholson repaired to England to urge the conquest of Canada. The legislature of New York had unanimously appealed to the queen on the dangerous progress of French dominion in the west. "It is well known," said their address, "that the French can go by water from Quebec to Montreal. From thence they can do the like, through rivers and lakes, at the back of all your majesty's plantations on this continent as far as Carolina. At that time the secretary of state was St. John, afterwards raised to the peerage as Viscount Bolingbroke. He was the statesman who planned the conquest of Canada. "As that whole design," wrote St. John, in June, 1711, "was formed by me, and the management of it singly carried on by me, I have a sort of paternal concern for the success of it."

The fleet, consisting of fifteen ships of war and forty transports, was placed under the command of Sir Hovenden Walker; the seven veteran regiments from Marlborough's army, with a battalion of marines, were intrusted to Mrs. Masham's second brother, whom the queen had pensioned and made a brigadier-general—whom his bottle companions called honest Jack Hill. In the preparations, the public treasury was defrauded for the benefit of favourites. Yet the fleet did sail at last. From June 25th to the 30th of July the fleet lay at Boston, taking in supplies and the colonial forces. At the same time, an army of men from Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York, Palatine emigrants, and about six hundred Iroquois, assembling at Albany, prepared to burst upon Montreal; while in the west, in Wisconsin, the English had, through the Iroquois, obtained allies in the Foxes, ever wishing to expel the French from Michigan.

The news of the intended expedition was seasonably received in Quebec, and the measures of defence began by a renewal of friendship with the Indians. The English squadron, leaving Boston on the 30th of July, after loitering near the bay of Gaspé, at last began to ascend the St. Lawrence, while Sir Hovenden Walker puzzled himself with contriving how he should secure his vessels during the winter at Quebec. On the evening of the 22nd of August a thick fog came on, with an easterly breeze; morning showed that eight ships had been wrecked and eight hundred and eighty-four men drowned. A council of war voted unanimously that it was impossible

to proceed. "Had we arrived safe at Quebec," wrote the admiral, "ten or twelve thousand men must have been left to perish of cold and hunger; by the loss of a part, providence saved all the rest!" and he expected public honours for his successful retreat, which to him seemed as glorious as a victory.[f] The British officers concerned in the expedition attempted to shift off on the colonists the blame of this failure. They alleged "the interestedness, the ill nature, and sourness of these people, whose hypocrisy and canting are insupportable." The indignant colonists, suspicious of the tory ministry, believed that the whole enterprise was a scheme meant to fail, and specially designed for their disgrace and impoverishment. Harley, having quarrelled with his colleagues, denounced it to the house of commons as a job intended to put £20,000 into the pockets of St. John and Harcourt.[h]

Such was the issue of hostilities in the northeast. The failure of the attack on Quebec left Nicholson no option but to retreat, and Montreal also was unmolested. In the mean time the preliminaries of a treaty had been signed between France and England, and the war, which had grown out of European changes and convulsions, was suspended by negotiations that were soon followed (April 11th, 1713) by the uncertain Peace of Utrecht.[f]

### SOUTHERN WARS WITH INDIANS AND PIRATES (1711–1715 A.D.)

While the northern colonies were busy with the expedition against Canada, North Carolina suffered from the rebellion of Deputy-Governor Cary, who turned out the administration and was in turn captured by Governor Spotswood of Virginia and sent to England for trial in 1710. A body of German immigrants had settled on the Neuse, and a Swiss colony had founded New Berne. These infringements provoked the Tuscaroras to war in 1711. They were forced to agree to peace after some devastation, but the South Carolina militia violated the truce by attacking several defenceless Indian villages and selling the inhabitants as slaves, a treachery which the Indians speedily revenged, only to be crushed again and sold into bondage. Those who escaped fled north as far as Lake Oneida, where their kinsmen accepted them as allies in 1713, and the Five Nations became henceforth the Six. In 1715 South Carolina herself was the scene of a war with the Yamassee and allied Indians, who were at length driven into Florida.[a]

In the quarter of a century from the English revolution to the accession of the house of Hanover, the population of the English colonies had doubled. The following table, compiled for the use of the Board of Trade in 1715, though probably somewhat short of the truth, will serve to exhibit its distribution:

| | Whites. | Negroes. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| New Hampshire | 9,500 | 150 | 9,650 |
| Massachusetts | 94,000 | 2,000 | 96,000 |
| Rhode Island | 8,500 | 500 | 9,000 |
| Connecticut | 46,000 | 1,500 | 47,500 |
| New York | 27,000 | 4,000 | 31,000 |
| New Jersey | 21,000 | 1,500 | 22,500 |
| Pennsylvania and Delaware | 43,300 | 2,500 | 45,800 |
| Maryland | 40,700 | 9,500 | 50,200 |
| Virginia | 72,000 | 23,000 | 95,000 |
| North Carolina | 7,500 | 3,700 | 11,200 |
| South Carolina | 6,250 | 10,500 | 16,750 |
| | 375,750 | 58,850 | 434,600 |

[1715-1724 A.D.]

Massachusetts, in addition to the numbers above stated, also contained twelve hundred subject Indians. The immigration into the colonies during these twenty-five years had been inconsiderable, consisting principally of negro slaves and of Irish and German indented servants. The great majority of the present inhabitants were natives of America.

The late war, like its predecessor, had left a disagreeable residuum behind it in the numerous privateersmen, who sought to supply the occupation of which the peace had deprived them by the equally honest but less lawful trade of piracy. The American seas again swarmed with freebooters, who made their headquarters among the Bahama Islands, or lurked along the unfrequented coast of the Carolinas. Bellamy, one of the most noted of their number, was wrecked on Cape Cod, where he perished with a hundred of his men.[h] Robert Thatch, or Theach, known as "Blackbeard," actually insulted the harbour of Charleston, and when eight or ten ships manned by prominent citizens went out to punish him, took them captives and promised to send their heads to Governor Johnson, if they were not ransomed in forty-eight hours. The governor was forced to yield.

It was said in 1717 by the secretary of Pennsylvania that there were fifteen hundred pirates active on the coast. But an organized effort to crush them was now made, chiefly by Governor Johnson; they were caught and hanged by the score, and in 1718 the death of "Blackbeard" gave him the distinction of being "the Last of the Pirates."

## "KING GEORGE'S WAR" AND THE TAKING OF LOUISBURG

Efforts had been constantly noted in England to deprive the presumptuous colonists of their chief pride, their charters. In 1701, 1704, and 1714 bills were introduced in parliament to that end, but fought successfully, Jeremiah Dummer, agent of Massachusetts in England, being prominent in the last battle. From 1715 on Massachusetts was kept uneasy by the contests between the governor, who wished a permanent fixed salary, and the assembly, who would vote only such annual sums as they approved to keep him from independence. Governor Dudley failed to coerce the assembly; his successors, Shute and Burnet, found it even more restive. In 1731 Governor Belcher was compelled to ask the crown to allow him to make a final concession, and the assembly thus won its independence after a contest of twenty-six years. Belcher's unpopularity was so great that he was finally recalled after colonial intrigues in English politics which were disgraceful to both sides. He was succeeded by Shirley.

In 1724 Fort Dummer marked the first English settlement in Vermont; it was near the present Brattleboro. Previously there had been collisions with the Abenakis, who claimed that Massachusetts had infringed their territory between the Kennebec and the St. Croix. Father Rasles, the Jesuit missionary, held the affections of the Indians, and the government of Massachusetts tried twice in vain to capture him. They took prisoner the young baron de St. Castin, and finally, in 1724, a party from New England surprised Rasles' village of Norridgewock. Bancroft[i] thus describes his death in this contest, which is known as "Captain Lovewell's" or "Governor Dummer's War:"[a]

Rasles went forward to save his flock by drawing down upon himself the attention of the assailants, and his hope was not vain. The English pillaged the cabins and the church, and then, heedless of sacrilege, set them

on fire. After the retreat of the invaders, the savages returned to nurse their wounded and bury their dead. They found Rasles mangled by many blows, scalped, his skull broken in several places, his mouth and eyes filled with dirt; and they buried him beneath the spot where he used to stand before the altar. Thus died Sebastian Rasles, the last of the Catholic missionaries in New England; thus perished the Jesuit missions and their fruits—the villages of the semi-civilised Abenakis and their priests.

The overthrow of the Jesuits was the end of French influence. At last the eastern Indians concluded a peace (August 6th, 1726), which was solemnly ratified by the Indian chiefs as far as the St. John, and was long and faithfully maintained. English trading-houses supplanted French missions. The eastern boundary of New England was established.[f] In Shirley's administration war broke out again with Canada. This was locally known as "King George's," "Shirley's," or the "Five Years' War"; it was preceded and precipitated by the conflict with Spain which we have already described in an earlier chapter, as it chiefly concerned Georgia. It was in this contest that Oglethorpe distinguished himself by his knowledge of the arts of strategy, as he had distinguished himself earlier by his peaceful victories.[a]

Louisburg, on which the French had spent much, was by far the strongest fort north of the gulf of Mexico. But the prisoners of Canso, carried thither, and afterwards dismissed on parole, reported the garrison to be weak and the works out of repair. So long as the French held this fortress it was sure to be a source of annoyance to New England; but to wait for British aid to capture it would be tedious and uncertain, public attention in Great Britain being much engrossed by a threatened invasion. Under these circumstances, Shirley proposed to the general court of Massachusetts the bold enterprise of a colonial expedition, of which Louisburg should be the object. After six days' deliberation and two additional messages from the governor, this proposal was adopted by a majority of one vote (January 25th, 1745). A circular letter, asking aid and co-operation, was sent to all the colonies as far south as Pennsylvania. In answer to this application, urged by a special messenger from Massachusetts, the Pennsylvania assembly, though engaged in a warm controversy with Governor Thomas, voted £4,000 of their currency to purchase provisions. The New Jersey assembly, engaged, like that of Pennsylvania, in a violent quarrel with their governor, had refused to organise the militia or to vote supplies unless Morris would first consent to all their measures, including a new issue of paper money. They furnished, however, £2,000 towards the Louisburg expedition, but declined to raise any men. The New York assembly, after a long debate, voted £3,000 of their currency; but this seemed to Governor Clinton a niggardly grant, and he sent, besides, a quantity of provisions purchased by private subscription, and ten eighteen-pounders from the king's magazine. Connecticut voted five hundred men, led by Roger Wolcott, afterwards governor, and appointed, by stipulation of the Connecticut assembly, second in command of the expedition. Rhode Island and New Hampshire each raised a regiment of three hundred men; but the Rhode Island troops did not arrive till after Louisburg was taken.

The chief burden of the enterprise, as was to be expected, fell on Massachusetts. In seven weeks an army of three thousand two hundred and fifty men was enlisted, transports were pressed, and bills of credit were profusely issued to pay the expense. Ten armed vessels were provided by Massachusetts, and one by each of the other New England colonies. The command-in-chief was given to William Pepperell, a native of Maine, a wealthy merchant, who had inherited and augmented a large fortune acquired by his

[1745 A.D.]

father in the fisheries. Whitefield, then preaching on his third tour throughout the colonies, gave his influence in favour of the expedition by suggesting, as a motto for the flag of the New Hampshire regiment, "*Nil desperandum Christo duce*"—"Nothing is to be despaired of with Christ for a leader." The enterprise, under such auspices, assumed something of the character of an anti-Catholic crusade. One of the chaplains, a disciple of Whitefield, carried a hatchet, specially provided to hew down the images in the French churches.

Notice having been sent to England and the West Indies of the intended expedition, Captain Warren presently arrived with four ships of war, and, cruising before Louisburg, captured several vessels bound thither with supplies. Already, before his arrival, the New England cruisers had prevented the entry of a French thirty-gun ship. As soon as the ice permitted, the troops landed (April 30th, 1745) and commenced the siege, but not with much skill, for they had no engineers. The artillery was commanded by Gridley, who served thirty years after in the same capacity in the first Massachusetts revolutionary army. Cannon and provisions had to be drawn on sledges by human strength over morasses and rocky hills. Five unsuccessful attacks were made, one after another, upon an island battery, which protected the harbour. In that cold, foggy climate, the troops, very imperfectly provided with tents, suffered severely from sickness, and more than a third were unfit for duty. But the French garrison was feeble and mutinous, and when the commander found that his supplies had been captured, he relieved the embarrassment of the besiegers by offering to capitulate (June 17th). The capitulation included six hundred and fifty regular soldiers, and nearly thirteen hundred effective inhabitants of the town, all of whom were to be shipped to France. The island of St. John's presently submitted on the same terms. The loss during the siege was less than a hundred and fifty, but among those reluctantly detained to garrison the conquered fortress ten times as many expired afterwards by sickness. In the unsuccessful expedition of Vernon against Cuba in 1741, and this against Louisburg, perished a large number of the remaining Indians of New England, persuaded to enlist as soldiers in the colonial regiments.

Pepperell was made a baronet, and both he and Shirley were commissioned as colonels in the British army. Warren was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral. The capture of this strong fortress, effected in the face of many obstacles, shed, indeed, a momentary lustre over one of the most unsuccessful wars in which Britain was ever engaged. It attracted, also, special attention to the growing strength and enterprise of the people of New England, represented by Warren, in his communications to the ministry, as having "the highest notions of the rights and liberties of Englishmen, and, indeed, as almost Levellers." The French, on their side, were not idle. The garrison of Crown Point sent out a detachment, which took the Massachusetts fort at Hoosick, now Williamstown (August 20th), and presently surprised and ravaged the settlement recently established at Saratoga.

The easy conquest of Louisburg revived the often disappointed hope of the conquest of Canada. Shirley submitted to Newcastle a plan for a colonial army to undertake this enterprise. But the duke of Bedford, then at the head of the British marine, took alarm at the idea of "the independence it might create in those provinces when they shall see within themselves so great an army, possessed of so great a country by right of conquest." The old plan was therefore preferred of sending a fleet and army from England to capture Quebec, to be joined at Louisburg by the New

England levies, while the forces of the other colonies operated in the rear against Montreal. Orders were accordingly sent to the colonies, in April, 1746, to raise troops, which the king would pay. Hardly were these orders across the Atlantic when the ministers changed their mind; but before the countermand arrived the colonial levies were already on foot. Instead of the expected English squadron, a French fleet of forty ships of war, with three thousand veteran troops on board, had sailed for the American coast, exciting a greater alarm throughout New England than had been felt since the threatened invasion of 1697. This alarm, the non-appearance of the British fleet, and the various difficulties encountered on the march, put a stop to the advance on Montreal. The French fleet, shattered by storms and decimated by a pestilential fever, effected nothing beyond alarm. The admiral, D'Anville, died; the vice-admiral committed suicide. The command then devolved on La Jonquière, appointed governor-general of New France as successor to Beauharnais, who had held that office for the last twenty years. A second storm dispersed the ships, which returned singly to France. After the capture of Jonquière in a second attempt to reach Canada, the office of governor-general devolved on La Galissonnière.

Parliament subsequently reimbursed to the colonies the expenses of their futile preparations against Canada, amounting to £235,000, or upwards of a million of dollars. Indian parties from Canada severely harassed the frontier of New England. Even the presence of a British squadron on the coast was not without embarrassments. Commodore Knowles, while lying in Boston harbour, finding himself short of men, sent a press-gang one morning in November, 1747, into the town, which seized and carried off several of the inhabitants. As soon as this violence became known, an infuriated mob assembled, and, finding several officers of the squadron on shore, seized them as hostages for their imprisoned fellow-townsmen. Surrounding the town-house, where the general court was in session, they demanded redress. After a vain attempt to appease the tumult, Shirley called out the militia; but they were very slow to obey. Doubtful of his own safety, he retired to the castle, whence he wrote to Knowles, representing the confusion he had caused, and urging the discharge of the persons impressed. Knowles offered a body of marines to sustain the governor's authority, and threatened to bombard the town unless his officers were released. The mob, on the other hand, began to question whether the governor's retirement to the castle did not amount to an abdication. Matters assumed a very serious aspect, and those influential persons who had countenanced the tumult, now thought it time to interfere for its suppression. The inhabitants of Boston, at a town-meeting, shifted off the credit of the riot upon "negroes and persons of vile condition." The governor was escorted back by the militia; Knowles discharged the greater part of the impressed men, and presently departed with his squadron. Shirley, in his letters to the Board of Trade on the subject of this "rebellious insurrection," ascribes "the mobbish turn of a town of twenty thousand persons" to its constitution, which devolved the management of its affairs on "the populace, assembled in town-meetings."

The war so inconsiderately begun, through the resolution of the British merchants to force a trade with Spanish America, after spreading first to Europe and then to India, and adding $144,000,000 (£30,000,000) to the British national debt, was at last brought to a close by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (October 8th, 1748). Notwithstanding a former emphatic declaration of the British government that peace never should be made unless the right to navigate the Spanish-American seas free from search were conceded, that

claim, the original pretence for the war, was not even alluded to in the treaty. The St. Mary's was fixed as the boundary of Florida. Much to the mortification of the people of New England, Cape Breton and the conquered fortress of Louisburg were restored to the French, who obtained, in addition, the little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, on the south coast of Newfoundland, as stations for their fishermen. A new commission was also agreed to for the settlement of French and English boundaries in America—a matter left unsettled since the Treaty of Ryswick.

### SPECIE CURRENCY IN MASSACHUSETTS; THE FIRST THEATRICALS

Massachusetts was somewhat consoled for the retrocession of Louisburg by an indemnity towards the expense of its capture, obtained through the diligence of Bollan, Shirley's son-in-law, sent as agent to solicit it. The sum allowed amounted to £183,000, nearly the whole of which belonged to Massachusetts. The paper money of that province, increased by repeated issues during the war, amounted now to £2,200,000, equivalent, when issued, to about as many dollars, but depreciated since the issue full one-half, the whole depreciation being at the rate of seven or eight for one. This great and rapid fall had contributed to open people's eyes to the true character of the paper money. All debts, rents, salaries, and fixed sums payable at a future period had experienced an enormous and most unjust curtailment. The paper bills, a legal tender at their nominal amount, had been made the instruments of cruel frauds upon widows, orphans, and all the more helpless members of society. The ministers, though partially indemnified by a special act in their favour, had suffered a great falling off in their salaries, and they gave their decided and weighty influence against the bills. It was proposed to import the Cape Breton indemnity in silver, to redeem at once at its current value all the outstanding paper, and to adhere in future to a currency of coin.

This project, which had the support of Governor Shirley, was warmly advocated by Thomas Hutchinson, for nine years past representative of Boston, and now speaker of the house. Already influential, for the next quarter of a century he played a very conspicuous part. The withdrawal of the paper money encountered warm opposition from many interested and many ignorant persons, who strove to impress the people with the idea that, if there were no other money than silver, it would all be engrossed and hoarded by the rich, while the poor could expect no share in so precious a commodity! It was said, also, that the bills ought to be redeemed at their nominal and not at their actual value. In spite of this and other similar arguments, the proposition, after having been once lost in the house, was sanctioned by the general court.

The indemnity money having arrived in specie, the paper, amid much public gloom and doubt, was redeemed at a rate about one-fifth less than the current value. Future debts were to be paid in silver, at the rate of 6s. 8d. the ounce, and for the next quarter of a century Massachusetts enjoyed the blessing of a sound currency. Resolved to drive the other New England colonies into the same measures, she prohibited the circulation of their paper within her limits. Connecticut called in her bills, but Rhode Island proved obstinate; and, forgetting her former constitutional scruples, Massachusetts applied for and obtained an act of parliament prohibiting the New England assemblies, except in case of war or invasion, to issue any bills of credit for the redemption of which, within the year, provision was not made at the time

of the issue; nor in any case could the bills be made a legal tender. It is a great proof of the progress of sound notions on the subject of finance that the use of a specie currency, ineffectually forced on the reluctant colonists by orders in council and acts of parliament, has become, in our days, a universal favourite.[h]

It was just at this time when a great inroad was attempted on the rigidity of the Puritan manners by the attempt of some young Englishmen at Boston to introduce theatrical entertainments. The play first announced was Otway's *Orphan*, but it proceeded no further than announcement, such exhibitions being at once prohibited "as tending to discourage industry and frugality, and greatly to the increase of impiety and contempt for religion." Connecticut immediately followed the example; neither would she suffer such Babylonish pursuits. Two years afterwards a London company of actors came over and acted the *Beau's Stratagem* and *Merchant of Venice* at Annapolis and Williamsburg in Virginia. Connecticut and Massachusetts being closed against them, they confined their labours to Annapolis, Williamsburg, Philadelphia, Perth Amboy, New York, and Newport.

### THE OHIO COMPANY

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle left the great causes of difference, the undefined limits of the French and English claims in America, still unsettled. The French, by virtue of the discoveries of La Salle, Marquette, Champlain, and others, claimed all the lands occupied by the waters flowing into the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, and the Lakes, and all watered by the Mississippi and its branches. In fact, they claimed the whole of America, except that portion which lies east of the Alleghany chain, the rivers of which flow into the Atlantic, and even of this they claimed the basin of the Kennebec and all Maine to the east of that valley. The British had lately purchased from the chiefs of the confederated Six Nations, acknowledged by the treaties of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle as being under British protection, their claim to the country of the Mississippi, which, it was stated, had at some former period been conquered by them.

The French had in part carried out their plan of a chain of forts, to connect their more recent settlements on the Mississippi with their earlier ones on the St. Lawrence, when in 1750 a number of gentlemen of Virginia, among whom was Lawrence Washington, the grandfather of the celebrated George, applied to the British parliament for an act for incorporating "the Ohio Company," and granting them six hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio river. This was done; the tract was surveyed, and trade commenced with the Indians. The jealousy of the French was roused; and the Marquis Duquesne, governor of Canada, complained to the authorities of New York and Pennsylvania, threatening to seize their traders if they did not quit this territory. The trade went on as before, and the French carried out their threat, burning the village of an Indian tribe which refused submission, and seizing the English traders and their merchandise; and the following year the number and importance of the French forts was increased.

### GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE WEST; DID HE ASSASSINATE JUMONVILLE?

Robert Dinwiddie, at that time royal governor of Virginia, alarmed at those violent proceedings, purchased permission of the Indians on the Monongahela to build a fort on the junction of that river with the Alleghany, and

determined to send a trusty messenger to the French commandant at Venango, to require explanation and the release of the captured traders. It was late in the season, and the embassy demanded both courage and wisdom. A young man of two-and-twenty, a major in the militia and by profession a land-surveyor, and who when only sixteen had been employed as such by Lord Fairfax on his property in the Northern Neck, was selected for this service. This young man was George Washington.

The journey, about four hundred miles through the untracked forest, and at the commencement of winter, though full of peril and wild adventure, was performed successfully. Washington was well received by the commandant, St. Pierre, who promised, after two days' deliberation, to transmit his message to his superiors in Canada; and all unconscious of the present or future importance of their guest, who was making accurate observations as to the strength of the fort, the French officers revealed to him, over their wine, the intentions of France to occupy the whole country.

The reply of St. Pierre, the contents of which were not known till opened at Williamsburg, leaving no doubt of the hostile intentions of the French, Dinwiddie began immediately to prepare for resistance, promising to the officers and soldiers of the Virginian army two hundred thousand acres of land to be divided amongst them as an encouragement to enlist. A regiment of six hundred men, of which Washington was appointed lieutenant-colonel, marched in the month of April, 1754, into the disputed territory, and, encamping at the Great Meadows, were met by alarming intelligence; the French had driven the Virginians from a fort which, owing to his own recommendation, they were building at "the Fork," the place where Pittsburg now stands, between the junction of the Monongahela and the Alleghany, the importance of which position he had become aware of on his journey to Venango. This fort the French had now finished, and had called Duquesne, in honour of the governor-general; besides which, a detachment sent against him were encamped at a few miles' distance. Washington proceeded, surprised the enemy, and killed the commander, Jumonville—the first blood shed in this war.[j]

French writers claimed that, on catching sight of the English, Jumonville's interpreter at once called out that he had something to say to them; but Washington,[k] who was at the head of his column, declared this absolutely false. The French claimed also that Jumonville was killed in the act of reading the summons. "There was every reason," says Parkman, "for believing that the designs of the French were hostile; and though by passively waiting the event he would have thrown upon them the responsibility of striking the first blow, Washington would have exposed his small party to capture or destruction. It was inevitable that the killing of Jumonville should be greeted in France by an outcry of real or assumed horror; but the chevalier de Lévis, second in command to Montcalm, probably expressed the true opinion of Frenchmen best fitted to judge when he calls it 'a pretended assassination.' Judge it as we may, this obscure skirmish began the war that set the world on fire."[l]

On his return to the Great Meadows, Washington was joined by the troops from New York and South Carolina, and here erected a fort, which he called Fort Necessity. Frye, the colonel, being now dead, the chief command devolved upon Washington, who very shortly set out towards Duquesne, when he was compelled to return and intrench himself within Fort Necessity, owing to the approach of a very superior force under De Villiers, the brother of Jumonville. After a day of hard fighting, the fort itself was surrendered,

on condition of the garrison being permitted to retire unmolested. A singular circumstance occurred in this capitulation: Washington, who did not understand French, employed a Dutchman as his interpreter, and he, either from ignorance or treachery, rendered the terms of the capitulation incorrectly; thus Washington signed an acknowledgment of having "assassinated" Jumonville, and engaged not again to appear in arms against the French within twelve months.*j*

Villiers*l* claimed to have made Washington sign this virtual admission that he had assassinated Jumonville. Some time after, Washington wrote to a correspondent who had questioned him on the subject: "That we were wilfully or ignorantly deceived by our interpreter in regard to the word assassination I do aver, and will to my dying moment; so will every officer that was present. The interpreter was a Dutchman little acquainted with the English tongue, therefore might not advert to the tone and meaning of the word in English; but, whatever his motives for so doing, certain it is that he called it the 'death' or the 'loss' of the sieur Jumonville. So we received and so we understood it, until, to our great surprise and mortification, we found it otherwise in a literal translation."*k*

### BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S SCHEME OF UNION (1754 A.D.)

Hitherto the intercolonial wars had originated in European quarrels; now, the causes of dispute existed in the colonies themselves, and were derivable from the growing importance of these American possessions to the mother-countries; the approaching war, in consequence, assumed an interest to the colonies which no former war had possessed. It was now, therefore, proposed by the British cabinet that a union should be formed among the colonies for their mutual protection and support, and that the friendship of the Six Nations should be immediately secured. Accordingly a congress was convened at Albany, in June, 1754, at which delegates appeared from New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut; Delancy, governor of New York, being the president. A treaty of peace was signed with the Six Nations, and the convention entered upon the subject of the great union, a plan for which had been drawn up by Benjamin Franklin, the delegate from Pennsylvania, and which was carefully discussed, clause by clause, in the assembly. Both William Penn, in 1697, and Coxe, in his "Carolana," had proposed a similar annual congress of all the colonies for the regulation of trade, and these were the bases of Franklin's plan of union.

This plan proposed the establishment of a general government in the colonies, the administration of which should be placed in the hands of a governor-general appointed by the crown, and a council of forty-eight members, representatives of the several provinces, "having the power to levy troops, declare war, raise money, make peace, regulate the Indian trade, and concert all other measures necessary for the general safety; the governor-general being allowed a negative on the proceedings of the council, and all laws to be ratified by the king." This plan was signed by all the delegates excepting the one from Connecticut, who objected to a negative being allowed to the governor-general, on the 4th of July, the day on which Fort Necessity was surrendered, and the very day twenty-two years before the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

This scheme of union was, however, rejected by all the colonial assemblies, on the plea of giving too much power to the crown; and, strange to say, was

rejected likewise by the crown, because it gave too much power to the people. The colonial union, therefore, being at an end for the present, it was proposed by the British ministry that money should be furnished for the carrying on of the war by England, to be reimbursed by a tax on the colonies. This scheme, however, the colonies strongly opposed, being averse, argued Massachusetts, to everything that shall have the remotest tendency to raise a revenue in America for any public use or purpose of government. It was therefore finally agreed to carry on the war with British troops, aided by such auxiliaries as the colonial assemblies would voluntarily furnish. These pending territorial disputes led to the publication of more complete maps, whereby the position and danger of the British colonies were more clearly understood. The British colonies occupied about a thousand miles of the Atlantic coast, but their extent inland was limited; the population amounted to about one million five hundred thousand. New France, on the contrary, contained a population not exceeding one hundred thousand, scattered over a vast expanse of territory from Cape Breton to the mouth of the Mississippi, though principally collected on the St. Lawrence. The very remoteness of the French settlements, separated from the English by unexplored forests and mountains, placed them in comparative security, while the whole western frontier of the English, from Maine to Georgia, was exposed to attacks of the Indians, disgusted by constant encroachments and ever ready for war.

### THE "OLD FRENCH WAR," (1755 A.D.)

While negotiations were being carried on with France for the adjustment of the territorial quarrel, the establishment of French posts on the Ohio and the attack on Washington being regarded as the commencement of hostilities, General Braddock was selected as the American major-general, under the duke of Cumberland, commander-in-chief of the British army. Braddock was a man of despotic temper, intrepid in action, and severe as a disciplinarian; and as the duke had no confidence in any but regular troops, it was ordered that the general and field officers of the colonial forces should be of subordinate rank when serving with the commissioned officers of the king. Washington, on his return from the Great Meadows, found Dinwiddie reorganising the Virginia militia, and that, according to the late orders, he himself was lowered to the rank of captain, on which he indignantly retired from the service.

In February, 1755, Braddock, with two British regiments, arrived in Chesapeake Bay, the colonies having levied forces in preparation, and a tax being already imposed on wine and spirituous liquors, spite of the general opposition to such imposts, and which excited a very general discontent, each family being required on oath to state the quantity consumed by themselves each year, and thus either to perjure or to tax themselves. This unpopular tax gave rise to several newspapers, the first newspaper of Connecticut dating from this time.

Braddock having arrived, a convention of colonial governors met at Alexandria, in Virginia, to concert the plan of action, when four expeditions were determined upon. Lawrence, the lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, was to reduce that province; General Johnson, from his long acquaintance with the Six Nations, was selected to enroll the Mohawk warriors in British pay, and conduct an army of Indians and provincial militia against Crown Point; Governor Shirley was to do the same against Niagara; while Braddock was

to attack Fort Duquesne, and thus recover the Ohio valley and take possession of the Northwest.

Soon after Braddock sailed, the French sent out a fleet with a large body of troops under the veteran Baron Dieskau to reinforce the army in Canada. Although England at this time had avowed only the design of resisting encroachment on her territory, Boscawen was sent out to cruise on the banks of Newfoundland, where he took two of the French ships; of the remainder, some aided by fog and others by altering their course, arrived safely at Quebec and Louisburg; at the same time, De Vaudreuil, a Canadian by birth, and formerly governor of Louisiana, arrived and superseded Duquesne as governor of Canada.

### THE DEPORTATION OF THE ACADIANS, 1755

Three thousand men sailed from Boston under Lieutenant-Colonel Winslow, on the 29th of May, for the expedition against Nova Scotia. This Winslow was the great-grandson of the Plymouth patriarch, and grandson of the commander of the New England forces in King Philip's War; he was a major-general in the Massachusetts militia, and now, under the British commander-in-chief, was reduced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. No sooner did the English fleet appear in the St. John, than the French, setting fire to their fort at the mouth of that river, evacuated the country. The English thus, with the loss of about twenty men, found themselves in possession of the whole of Nova Scotia. When great difficulty arose, what was to be done with the people?

Acadia was the oldest French colony in America, having been settled by Bretons sixteen years before the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. Thirty years before the commencement of the present war the Treaty of Utrecht had ceded Acadia to Great Britain, yet the settlement remained French in spirit, character, and religion. By the terms granted to them when the British took possession, they were excused from bearing arms against France, and were thence known as "French Neutrals." From the time of the Peace of Utrecht they appear, however, almost to have been forgotten, until the present war brought them, to their great misfortune, back to remembrance. Their life had been one of Arcadian peace and simplicity; neither tax-gatherer nor magistrate was seen among them; their parish priests, sent over from Canada, were their supreme head. By unwearied labour they had secured the rich alluvial marshes from the rivers and sea, and their wealth consisted in flocks and herds. Their population, which had doubled within the last thirty years, amounted at this time to about eight thousand.

Unfortunately, these good Acadians had not strictly adhered to their character of neutrals;[1] three hundred of their young men had been taken in arms at Beauséjour, and one of their priests was detected as an active French agent. It was resolved, therefore, to remove them from their present position, in which they had every opportunity of aiding the French. Lawrence, lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, Boscawen, and Mostyn, commanders of the British fleet, consulted with Belcher, chief justice of the province, and the result was a scheme of kidnapping and conveying them to the various British provinces, although at the capitulation of Beauséjour it had been strictly provided that the neighbouring inhabitants should not be disturbed.

[1 So Parkman *i* says "the Acadians while calling themselves neutrals were in fact an enemy encamped in the heart of a province."]

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A sadder incident of wholesale outrage hardly occurs in history than this. The design was kept strictly secret, lest the people, excited by despair, should rise *en masse* against their oppressors. Obeying the command, therefore, to assemble at their parish churches, they were surrounded by soldiers, taken prisoners, and marched off, without ceremony, to the ships, for transportation. At Grandpré, for example, four hundred and eighteen unarmed men came together, when Winslow,[m] the American commander, addressed them as follows: "Your lands and tenements, cattle of all kinds, and live stock of all sorts are forfeited to the crown, and you yourselves are to be removed from this province. I am, through his majesty's goodness, directed to allow you to carry off your money and your household goods, as many as you can without discommoding the vessels you go in." They were the king's prisoners; their wives and families shared their lot; their sons, five hundred and twenty-seven in number, their daughters, five hundred and seventy-six; the whole, including women and babes, old men and children, amounting to about two thousand souls. They had left home in the morning; they were never to return. The 10th of September was the day of transportation. They were marched down to the vessels six abreast, the young men first, driven forward by the bayonet. It was a scene of heart-breaking misery, and in the confusion of embarkation wives were separated from their husbands, parents from their children, never to meet again. It was two months before the last of the unhappy people were conveyed away, and in the mean time many fled to the woods. But even this availed nothing; the pitiless conquerors had already destroyed the harvests, to compel their surrender, and burned their former homes to the ground.

A quota of these unhappy people were sent to every British North American colony, where, broken-hearted and disconsolate, they became burdens on the public charity, and failed not to excite pity by their misery, spite of the hatred to them as Catholics and the exasperation produced by the protracted war. Some few made their way to France; others to Canada, St. Domingo, and Louisiana; and to those who reached the latter country lands were assigned above New Orleans, still known as the Acadian coast. A number of those sent to Georgia constructed rude boats, and endeavoured to return to their beloved homes in the bay of Fundy. Generally speaking, they died in exile, the victims of dejection and despair. It will be remembered that one of the finest poems which America has produced, "Evangeline," by Longfellow, is founded on this cruel, unjustifiable outrage on humanity.[i]

The total number deported is a subject of controversy, estimates ranging between three and eight thousand. Governor Lawrence himself placed the number at about seven thousand, and this seems right, though Hannay[n] and some others, by overlooking certain of the later deportations, set it far lower. Rameau de Saint Père[o] and Parkman[i] agree on six thousand.

As to the virtue of the Acadians it is natural that the historian should find Longfellow's idyllic view somewhat irksome, based as it is on the views of the abbé Raynal,[p] who never saw the Acadians. Hannay has been especially severe in his criticisms of them; but the most idyllic life is subject to human frailties, and, as Burke said, indictments may not be drawn against nations.

The Acadians were certainly as good as the average of mankind and had as good a right to their homes. But it was inevitable that an effort should be made to justify the English action. Every crime and criminal in history must find critical defence, yet there have been surprisingly few to say a good word for the treatment of the Acadians. Among them, curiously, is Parkman, who says:

"New England humanitarianism, melting into sentimentality at a tale of woe, has been unjust to its own. Whatever judgment may be passed on the cruel measure of wholesale expatriation, it was not put in execution till every resource of patience and persuasion had been tried in vain. The agents of the French court, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, had made some act of force a necessity. We have seen by what vile practices they produced in Acadia a state of things intolerable and impossible of continuance. They conjured up the tempest, and when it burst on the heads of the unhappy people they gave no help. The government of Louis XV began with making the Acadians its tools and ended with making them its victims."

He somewhat modified his view in his *Half Century of Conflict*. But a later historian, himself an Acadian, Edouard Richard,[q] who has made a fuller study of the documents, claims that Parkman was so biassed as to close his eyes deliberately to evidence at hand. Richard calls him a "cheat" and a "literary malefactor," and accuses him of having "reduced historical trickery to a fine art." Such criticism of so revered a name is futile, but it is undoubtedly true that much has been left unsaid in favour of the Acadians by those who have tried to modify the popular view of the cruelty inflicted on them. It must be remembered that even Winslow was revolted at the task of deportation which he was commanded to carry out.[a]

### BRADDOCK'S PROJECT

The English in the mean time, as if their arms were not to be blessed, had met with a severe repulse in their attempt to drive the French from the Ohio. Braddock's troops landed at Alexandria, a small town at the mouth of the Potomac, early in June; and Colonel Washington, being permitted to retain his rank in consequence of the reputation he had already attained, joined the expedition soon after. Braddock made very light of the whole campaign; being stopped at the commencement of his march, for want of horses and wagons, he told Benjamin Franklin that after having taken Fort Duquesne, whither he was hastening, he should proceed to Niagara, and, having taken that, to Frontenac. Franklin calmly replied that the Indians were dexterous in laying and executing ambuscades. "The savages," replied Braddock, "may be formidable to your raw American militia; upon the king's regulars it is impossible that they should make any impression."

Among the wagoners whom the energy[1] of Franklin obtained was Daniel Morgan, famous as a village wrestler, who had emigrated as a day-labourer from New Jersey to Virginia, and who, having saved his wages, was now the owner of a team, all unconscious of his future greatness. By the advice of Washington, owing to the difficulty of obtaining horses and wagons, the heavy baggage was left under the care of Colonel Dunbar, with an escort of six hundred men, and Braddock, at the head of thirteen hundred picked men, proceeded forward more rapidly. Fort Duquesne, in the mean time, was receiving reinforcements. Braddock was by no means deficient in courage or military skill, but he was wholly ignorant of the mode of conducting warfare amid American woods and morasses, and to make this deficiency the greater, he undervalued the American troops, nor would profit by the opinions and experience of American officers. Washington urged the expediency of

[[1] Braddock, in a letter dated June 5th, 1755, said of Franklin that he was "almost the only instance of ability and honesty I have known in these provinces." Washington[k] also complained of Braddock, "He looks upon the country, I believe, as void of honour or honesty."]

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employing the Indians, who, under the well-known chief Half-king, had already offered their services as scouts and advance parties; but Braddock rejected both the advice and this offered aid, and that so rudely that Half-king himself and his Indians were seriously offended.

### PARKMAN'S ACCOUNT OF BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT

To Braddock was assigned the chief command of all the British forces in America, and a person worse fitted for the office could scarcely have been found. His experience had been ample, and none could doubt his courage, but he was profligate, arrogant, perverse, and a bigot to military rules. On his first arrival in Virginia he called together the governors of the several provinces in order to explain his instructions and adjust the details of the projected operations. These arrangements complete, Braddock advanced to the borders of Virginia, and formed his camp at Fort Cumberland, where he spent several weeks in training the raw backwoodsmen, who joined him, into such discipline as they seemed capable of; in collecting horses and wagons, which could only be had with the utmost difficulty; in railing at the contractors, who scandalously cheated him, and in venting his spleen by copious abuse of the country and the people. All at length was ready, and early in June, 1755, the army [of about twenty-two hundred] left civilisation behind, and struck into the broad wilderness as a squadron puts out to sea.

It was no easy task to force their way over that rugged ground, covered with an unbroken growth of forest; and the difficulty was increased by the needless load of baggage which encumbered their march. The crash of falling trees resounded in the front, where a hundred axemen laboured with ceaseless toil to hew a passage for the army. The horses strained their utmost strength to drag the ponderous wagons over roots and stumps, through gullies and quagmires; and the regular troops were daunted by the depth and gloom of the forest, which hedged them in on either hand and closed its leafy arches above their heads. So tedious was their progress that, by the advice of Washington, twelve hundred chosen men moved on in advance with the lighter baggage and artillery, leaving the rest of the army to follow, by slower stages, with the heavy wagons. On the 8th of July the advanced body reached the Monongahela, at a point not far distant from Fort Duquesne. Scouts and Indian runners had brought the tidings of Braddock's approach to the French at Fort Duquesne. Their dismay was great, and Contrecœur, the commander, thought only of retreat, when Beaujeu, a captain in the garrison, made the bold proposal of leading out a party of French and Indians to waylay the English in the woods, and harass or interrupt their march. The offer was accepted, and Beaujeu hastened to the Indian camps.

Around the fort and beneath the adjacent forest were the bark lodges of savage hordes, whom the French had mustered from far and near; Ojibwas and Ottawas, Hurons and Caughnawagas, Abenakis and Delawares. Beaujeu called the warriors together, flung a hatchet on the ground before them, and invited them to follow him out to battle; but the boldest stood aghast at the peril, and none would accept the challenge. A second interview took place with no better success; but the Frenchman was resolved to carry his point. "I am determined to go," he exclaimed. "What, will you suffer your father to go alone?" His daring spirit proved contagious. The warriors hesitated no longer, and when, on the morning of the 9th of July, a scout ran in with the news that the English army was but a few miles distant, the

Indian camps were at once astir with the turmoil of preparation. Chiefs harangued their yelling followers, braves bedaubed themselves with war-paint, smeared themselves with grease, hung feathers in their scalp-locks, and whooped and stamped till they had wrought themselves into a delirium of valour.

Then band after band hastened away towards the forest, followed and supported by nearly two hundred and fifty French and Canadians, commanded by Beaujeu. There were the Ottawas, led on, it is said, by the remarkable man Pontiac; there were the Hurons of Lorette under their chief, whom the French called Athanase, and many more, all keen as hounds on the scent of blood. At about nine miles from the fort they reached a spot where the narrow road descended to the river through deep and gloomy woods, and where two ravines, concealed by trees and bushes, seemed formed by nature for an ambuscade. Here the warriors ensconced themselves, and, levelling their guns over the edge, lay in fierce expectation, listening to the advancing drums of the English army.

It was past noon of a day brightened with the clear sunlight of an American midsummer when the forces of Braddock began to cross the Monongahela, at the fording-place which to this day bears the name of their ill-fated leader. The scarlet columns of the British regulars, complete in martial appointment, the rude backwoodsmen with shouldered rifles, the trains of artillery and the white-topped wagons, moved on in long procession through the shallow current, and slowly mounted the opposing bank. Men were there whose names have become historic. Gage, who twenty years later saw his routed battalions recoil in disorder from before the breastwork on Bunker Hill; Gates, the future conqueror of Burgoyne; and one destined to far loftier fame, George Washington, a boy in years, a man in calm thought and self-ruling wisdom. With steady and well-ordered march, the troops advanced into the great labyrinth of woods which shadowed the eastern borders of the river. Rank after rank vanished from sight. The forest swallowed them up, and the silence of the wilderness sank down once more on the shores and waters of the Monongahela.

Several guides and six light horsemen led the way; a body of grenadiers was close behind, and the army followed in such order as the rough ground would permit. Their road was tunnelled through the dense forest. Leaving behind the low grounds which bordered on the river, the van of the army was now ascending a gently sloping hill, and here, well hidden by the thick standing columns of the forest, by mouldering prostrate trunks, by matted undergrowth and long rank grasses, lay on either flank the two fatal ravines where the Indian allies of the French were crouched. Suddenly a discordant cry arose in front, and a murderous fire blazed in the teeth of the astonished grenadiers. Instinctively as it were the survivors returned the volley, and returned it with good effect; for a random shot struck down the brave Beaujeu, and the courage of the assailants was staggered by his fall. Dumas, second in command, rallied them to the attack, and while he, with the French and Canadians, made good the pass in front, the Indians from their lurking-places opened a deadly fire on the right and left of the British columns. In a few moments all was confusion. The advanced guard fell back on the main body, and every trace of subordination vanished. The fire soon extended along the whole length of the army, from front to rear. Scarce an enemy could be seen, though the forest resounded with their yells; though every bush and tree was alive with incessant flashes; though the lead flew like a hail-storm, and with every moment the men went down by scores. The regular

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troops seemed bereft of their senses. They huddled together in the road like flocks of sheep, and happy did he think himself who could wedge his way into the midst of the crowd, and place a barrier of human flesh between his life and the shot of the ambushed marksmen. Many were seen eagerly loading their muskets and then firing them into the air, or shooting their own comrades in the insanity of their terror. The officers, for the most part, displayed a conspicuous gallantry; but threats and commands were wasted alike on the panic-stricken multitude. It is said that at the outset Braddock showed signs of fear, but he soon recovered his wonted intrepidity.[1] Four horses were shot under him, and four times he mounted afresh. He stormed and shouted, and while the Virginians were fighting to good purpose, each man behind a tree, like the Indians themselves, he ordered them with furious menace to form in platoons, where the fire of the enemy mowed them down like grass. At length a mortal shot silenced him, and two provincials bore him off the field.[2] Washington rode through the tumult calm and undaunted. Two horses were killed under him, and four bullets pierced his clothes; but his hour was not come, and he escaped without a wound. Gates was shot through the body, and Gage also was severely wounded. Of eighty-six officers, only twenty-three remained unhurt; and of fourteen hundred and sixty soldiers who crossed the Monongahela, more than nine hundred were killed and wounded. None suffered more severely than the Virginians, who had displayed throughout a degree of courage and steadiness which put the cowardice of the regulars to shame. The havoc among them was terrible, for of their whole number scarcely one-fifth left the field alive.[3]

The slaughter lasted three hours, when at length the survivors, as if impelled by a general impulse, rushed tumultuously from the place of carnage, and with dastardly precipitation fled across the Monongahela. The enemy did not pursue beyond the river, flocking back to the field to collect the plunder and gather a rich harvest of scalps. The routed troops pursued their flight until they met the rear division of the army, under Colonel Dunbar; and even then their senseless terrors did not abate. Dunbar's soldiers caught the infection. Cannon, baggage, provisions, and wagons were destroyed [to the value of £100,000], and all fled together, eager to escape from the shadows of those awful woods, whose horrors haunted their imagination. They passed the defenceless settlements of the border, and hurried on to Philadelphia, leaving the unhappy people to defend themselves as they might against the tomahawk and scalping-knife.

[1 Parkman *i* elsewhere says: "Braddock has been charged with marching blindly into an ambuscade; but it was not so. There was no ambuscade; and had there been one, he would have found it. It is true that he did not reconnoitre the woods very far in advance of the head of the column; yet, with this exception, he made elaborate dispositions to prevent surprise."]

[2 Braddock, suffering from fatal wounds, was carried along by the retreating troops. All the first day he was silent; at night he simply said, "Who would have thought it?" The second day he was silent till just before his death, when he murmured, "We shall better know how to deal with them another time." Bolling, one of his colonial troops, said that Braddock in his last hours "could not bear the sight of a redcoat," but praised the Virginian "blues," whom he hoped to live to reward. His last hours must have been tragic with remembered mistakes, none of them greater than his using his sword to beat the troops from behind the trees and other cover they wisely sought. He died on the 13th, and men, horses, and wagons were led over his grave to conceal it from the Indians.]

[3 "The Virginia troops showed a good deal of bravery, and were nearly all killed; for I believe, out of three companies that were there, scarcely thirty men are left alive. Captain Peyrouny and all his officers, down to a corporal, were killed. Captain Polson had nearly as hard a fate, for only one of his was left. In short, the dastardly behaviour of those they call regulars exposed all others that were inclined to do their duty to almost certain death; and at last, in despite of all the efforts of the officers to the contrary, they ran, as sheep pursued by dogs, and it was impossible to rally them."—WASHINGTON.*k*

The calamities of this disgraceful rout did not cease with the loss of a few hundred soldiers on the field of battle, for it entailed upon the provinces all the miseries of an Indian war. Those among the tribes who had thus far stood neutral, wavering between the French and English, now hesitated no longer. Many of them had been disgusted by the contemptuous behaviour of Braddock. All had learned to despise the courage of the English, and to regard their own prowess with unbounded complacency. It is not in Indian nature to stand quiet in the midst of war; and the defeat of Braddock was a signal for the western savages to snatch their tomahawks and assail the English settlements with one accord, to murder and pillage with ruthless fury, and turn the whole frontier of Pennsylvania and Virginia into one wide scene of woe and desolation.[b]

### AN ACCOUNT OF BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT BY AN INDIAN CAPTIVE[1]

I asked him what news from Braddock's army. He said the Indians spied them every day, and he showed me, by making marks on the ground with a stick, that Braddock's army was advancing in very close order, and that the Indians would surround them, take trees, and (as he expressed it) "shoot um down of one pigeon." Shortly after this, on the ninth day of July, 1755, in the morning, I heard a great stir in the fort. As I could then walk with a staff in my hand, I went out of the door which was just by the wall of the fort, and stood upon the wall and viewed the Indians; in a huddle before the gate were more barrels of powder, bullets, etc., and everyone taking what suited. I saw the Indians also march off in rank, entire—likewise the French Canadians and some regulars. After viewing the Indians and French in different positions, I computed them by about four hundred, and wondered that they attempted to go out against Braddock with so small a party. I saw them in high hopes that I would soon see them fly before the British troops, and that General Braddock would take the fort and rescue me.

I remained anxious to know the event of this day; but in the afternoon I again observed a great noise and commotion in the fort; and though at that time I could not understand French, yet I found that it was the voice of joy and triumph, and feared that they had received what I called bad news.

I had observed some of the old country soldiers speak Dutch; as I spoke Dutch I went to one of them and asked him what was the news. He told me that a runner had just arrived, who said that Braddock would certainly be defeated; that the Indians and French had surrounded him, and were concealed behind trees and in gullies and kept a constant fire upon the English, and that they saw the English falling in heaps, and if they did not take the river, which was the only gap, and make their escape, there would not be one now left alive before sundown.

Some time after this I heard a number of scalp halloos, and saw a company of Indians and French coming in. I observed they had a great many bloody scalps, grenadiers' caps, British canteens, bayonets, etc., with them.

[1 There exists a very picturesque side-light on Braddock's defeat in the words of Colonel James Smith, who was a captive among the Indians at the time, and from whose narrative we shall quote. It is included in Archibald Loudon's "Selection of Some of the Most Interesting Narratives of Outrages Committed by the Indians in their Wars with the White People," from which we quote by permission of the Harrisburg (Pa.) Publishing Company. Colonel Smith had been badly wounded in running the gantlet, but his life had been spared.]

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They brought the news that Braddock was defeated. After that another company came in, and appeared to be about one hundred and chiefly Indians, and it seemed to me that almost every one of this company was carrying scalps. After this came another company with a number of wagon horses, and also a great many scalps. Those that were coming in and those that had arrived kept a constant firing of small arms, and also the great guns in the fort, which were accompanied with the most hideous shouts and yells from all quarters; so that it appeared to me as if the infernal regions had broken loose.

About sundown I beheld a small party coming in with about a dozen prisoners, stripped naked, with their hands tied behind their backs, and their faces and part of their bodies blacked; these prisoners they burned to death on the bank of Alleghany river opposite to the fort. I stood on the fort wall until I beheld them begin to burn one of these men; they had him tied to a stake and kept touching him with firebrands, red-hot irons, etc., and he screaming in a most doleful manner—the Indians in the mean time yelling like infernal spirits. As this scene appeared too shocking for me to behold, I retired to my lodgings both sore and sorry.

When I came into my lodgings I saw Russell's *Seven Sermons*, which they had brought from the field of battle, which a Frenchman made a present of to me. From the best information I could receive, there were only seven Indians and four French killed in this battle, and five hundred British lay dead in the field, besides what were killed in the river on their retreat. The morning after the battle I saw Braddock's artillery brought into the fort; the same day I also saw several Indians in British officers' dress, with sash, half-moon, laced hats, etc., which the British then wore.[r]

### THE BATTLE OF LAKE GEORGE

The three remaining expeditions which the British ministry had planned for that year's campaign were attended with various results. Acadia, as we have seen, was quickly reduced by the forces of Colonel Monkton; but the glories of this easy victory were tarnished by an act of high-handed oppression. The expedition against Niagara was a total failure, for the troops did not even reach their destination. The movement against Crown Point met with no better success, as regards the main object of the enterprise. Owing to the lateness of the season, and other causes, the troops proceeded no farther than Lake George; but the attempt was marked by a feat of arms which, in that day of failure, was greeted both in England and America as a signal victory.[b]

The troops destined for the expedition against Crown Point, consisting principally of the militia of Connecticut and Massachusetts, were intrusted to General (afterwards Sir William) Johnson. In June and July about six thousand New England men, having Phineas Lyman as their major-general, were joined by General Johnson, with about thirty-four hundred irregulars and Indians, towards the end of August, and advanced towards Lake George. Dieskau, in the mean time, having ascended Lake Champlain with two thousand men from Montreal, suddenly attacked the camp of Johnson. Johnson had sent out a thousand Massachusetts men, under Ephraim Williams, and a body of Mohawk warriors, under a famous chief called Hendrick, for the purpose of intercepting their return. This detachment fell in with the whole force of Dieskau's army in a narrow defile, and were driven back with great

slaughter, Williams and Hendrick being soon slain. It was this Williams who, when passing through Albany, made his will, leaving his property, in case of his death, to found a free school for western Massachusetts, which is now the Williams College; a better monument, as Hildreth [h] justly observes, than any victory would have been.

The firing being heard in the camp of Johnson, a breastwork of felled trees was therefore hastily constructed, and a few cannon mounted; and scarcely had the fugitives reached the camp, when the enemy appeared, who met with so warm a reception from the newly planted cannon that the Canadian troops and the Indians soon fled, greatly to the chagrin of Dieskau. Johnson, being early wounded, retired from the fight, and the New Englanders, under their own officers, fought bravely for five hours. It was a terrible day for the French; nearly all their regulars perished, and Dieskau was mortally wounded. Instead of pursuing his advantage, Johnson spent the autumn in erecting a fort on the site of his encampment, called Fort William Henry, and, the season being late, dispersed his army to their respective provinces. In the mean time the French were strengthening their position at Crown Point, and fortifying Ticonderoga. These actions are known as the battle of Lake George.[1] [Johnson was made a baronet and voted £5,000.]

Benjamin Franklin having about this time published an account of the rapid increase of population in the United States, the attention of England was turned to the immensely growing power of her colonies. Let us hear the reasoning of the two parties on this subject. "I have found," said the royal governor, Shirley, who had been appealed to, "that the calculations are right. The number of the inhabitants is doubled every twenty years." He admitted that the demand for British manufactures and the employment of shipping increased in an equal ratio; also that the sagacity which had been displayed in the plan of union proposed at the late congress at Albany might justly excite the fear of England lest the colonists should throw off their dependence on the mother country and set up a government of their own. But, added he, let it be considered how various are the present constitutions of their respective governments; how much their interests clash, and how opposed their tempers are, and any coalition among them will be found to be impossible. "At all events," said he, "they could not maintain such an independency without a strong naval force, which it must be ever in the power of Great Britain to prevent. Besides, the seven thousand troops which his majesty has in America, and the Indians at command, provided the provincial governors do their duty, and are maintained independent of the assemblies, may easily prevent any such step being taken."

The royal governor of Virginia, Dinwiddie, urged upon parliament his plan of a general land and poll tax, begging, however, that the plan might come entirely as from them; he urged also the subversion of charter-governments, arguing that all would remain in a distracted condition until his majesty took the proprietary government into his own hands. Another advised that Duke William of Cumberland should be sent out as sovereign of the united provinces of British America, on the plea that in a few years the colonies of America would be independent of Britain.

These fears were prophetic of the future, and indeed were but an echo of the popular sentiment. Franklin was thinking, and acting, and scattering abroad words which were winged seeds of liberty; Washington was already doing great deeds; and John Adams, then the young teacher of a New Eng-

[1 Parkman says "the Crown Point expedition was a failure disguised under an incidental success."]

land free-school, was giving words to ideas which thousands besides himself were prepared to turn into deeds. "All creation," said he, "is liable to change; mighty states are not exempted. Soon after the Reformation, a few people came out here for conscience sake. This apparently trivial incident may transfer the great seat of empire into America. If we can remove these turbulent Gallics, our people, according to the exactest calculation, will in another century become more numerous than England itself. All Europe will not be able to subdue us. The only way to keep us from setting up for ourselves is to disunite us." They had learned already that union was strength.

### THE DISASTROUS CAMPAIGN OF 1756–1757

The plan of the campaign for 1756, arranged by a convention of provincial governors at New York, was similar to that of the preceding year: the reduction of Crown Point, Niagara, and Fort Duquesne. The enrolling of volunteer militia went on; Benjamin Franklin being active for this purpose in Pennsylvania, and he himself now assuming military command as a colonel on the frontier from the Delaware to the Maryland line. The frontiers of Virginia continued to suffer severely, though Washington, with fifteen hundred volunteers, did his utmost for their protection. It was difficult to obtain a larger volunteer force, on account, said Dinwiddie, writing to the board of trade on this subject, "of our not daring to part with any of our white men to a distance, as we must have a watch over our negro slaves."

The war had now continued two years without any formal declaration of hostilities between Great Britain and France. In May, however, of this year it was made. In June General Abercrombie, who superseded Shirley, arrived and proceeded to Albany. Abercrombie, deeming his forces insufficient for the proposed campaign, determined to wait for the arrival of Lord Loudon, now appointed commander-in-chief. This occasioned a delay until the end of July. In the mean time the French, under the marquis of Montcalm, successor to the baron Dieskau, taking advantage of the tardiness of the English, had made an attack on Fort Oswego. The Forts Oswego and Ontario were taken. Upwards of one thousand men and one hundred and thirty-five pieces of artillery, a great amount of stores, and a fleet of boats and small vessels built the year before for the Niagara expedition, fell into the hands of Montcalm.

To gratify the Six Nations and induce them to assume a position of neutrality, Montcalm destroyed the forts, after which he returned to Canada. These disasters were as discouraging as the defeat of Braddock had been in the former year. Feebleness and incapacity characterised the campaign. The Indians, incited by the French, renewed their border depredations; and the Quakers incurred no inconsiderable ignominy by persisting to advocate the cause of the Indians, holding conferences with them and forming treaties of peace. But though these measures were against the spirit of the time, they persevered, and succeeded in thus defending the frontiers of Pennsylvania as well as some of the other colonies by force of arms.

On July 9th, 1757, Loudon sailed with six thousand regulars against Louisburg, and on the 13th reached Halifax, where he was reinforced by eleven sail of the line, under Admiral Holbourn, with six thousand additional troops. Nothing, however, was done; for on learning that Louisburg was garrisoned by six thousand men, and that a large French fleet lay in her harbour, the expedition was abandoned, and Loudon returned to New York.

In the mean time, Montcalm, combining his forces from Ticonderoga and Crown Point, amounting to nine thousand, with two thousand Indians, ascended Lake George and laid siege to Fort William Henry, which was at that time commanded by Colonel Munro, with upwards of two thousand men, while Colonel Webb was stationed at Fort Edward, only fifteen miles distant, with five thousand. For six days the garrison made a brave resistance, until the ammunition being exhausted, and no relief coming from Fort Edward, Munro capitulated; honourable terms being granted, "on account," said the capitulation, "of their honourable defence." But the terms were not kept. The Indians attached to Montcalm's army fell upon the retiring British, plundering their baggage and murdering them in cold blood. Munro and a part of his men retreated for protection to the French camp; great numbers fled to the woods, where they suffered extremely; many were never more heard of.[1]

The unfortunate results of the campaigns of 1756–1757 were extremely humiliating to England, and so strong was the feeling against the ministry and their measures that a change was necessary. A new administration was formed, at the head of which was William Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham; Lord Loudon was recalled; additional forces was raised in America, and a large naval armament and twelve thousand additional troops were promised. After this great expenditure of money and of blood on the part of the English, the French still held all the disputed territory. The English were still in possessions of the Bay of Fundy, it is true; but Louisburg, commanding the entrance of the St. Lawrence, Crown Point and Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, Frontenac and Niagara on Lake Ontario, Presque Island on Lake Erie, and the chain of posts thence to the Ohio, were still in the hands of the French. They had driven the English from Fort Oswego and Lake George, and had compelled the Six Nations to neutrality. A devastating war was raging along the whole northwestern frontier; scalping parties advanced to the very centre of Massachusetts, to within a short distance of Philadelphia, and kept Maryland and Virginia in perpetual alarm.

### THE SUCCESSES OF 1758–1759

The campaign of 1758 began in earnest. Pitt addressed a circular to the colonies, demanding at least twenty thousand men; the crown undertook to provide arms, ammunition, tents, and provisions; the colonies were to raise, clothe, and pay the levies, but were to be reimbursed by parliament. This energetic impulse was cheerfully responded to. Massachusetts voted seven thousand men, besides such as were needed for frontier defence. The advances of Massachusetts during the year amounted to about £250,000. The tax on real estate amounted to 13s. 4d. in the pound. Connecticut voted five thousand men; New Hampshire and Rhode Island a regiment of five hundred men each; New Jersey one thousand; Pennsylvania appropriated £100,000 for bringing two thousand seven hundred men into the field; Virginia raised two thousand. To co-operate with these colonial levies, the Royal Americans were recalled from Canada, and large reinforcements were sent from

[1 The French have been bitterly blamed for permitting this massacre, and it seems that their precautions were insufficient; but once the Indians attacked the prisoners, the French officers used every effort to calm the savages, even at the risk of their lives, Montcalm begging the Indians to take his life instead. The Canadian militia, however, says Parkman, "failed atrociously to do their duty."]

[1759 A.D.]

England. Abercrombie, the new commander-in-chief, found fifty thousand men at his disposal—a greater number than the whole male population of New France. The total number of Canadians able to bear arms was twenty thousand; the regular troops amounted to about five thousand; besides which the constant occupation of war had caused agriculture to be neglected. Canada was at this time almost in a state of famine. "I shudder," wrote Montcalm to the French government in February, 1758, "when I think of provisions. The famine is very great; New France needs peace, or sooner or later it must fall; so great is the number of the English; so great our difficulty in obtaining supplies." The French army, and the whole of Canada, were put on restricted allowance of food.

The campaign, as we have said, began in earnest; there was no trifling, no delay. Three simultaneous expeditions were decided upon: against Louisburg, Ticonderoga, and Fort Duquesne. In June, Boscawen appeared before Louisburg with thirty-eight ships of war, convoying an army of fourteen thousand men, chiefly regulars, under General Amherst, but including a considerable body of New England troops. The siege commenced. It was here that General Wolfe first distinguished himself in America; his amiable disposition and calm, clear judgment early won the esteem and admiration of the colonists. The siege was conducted with great skill and energy, and on the 27th of July this celebrated fortress was in the hands of the English, and with it the islands of Cape Breton, Prince Edward's Island, and their dependencies. The garrison became prisoners of war; the inhabitants were shipped off to France. Such was the end of the French power on the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

While the siege of Louisburg was going forward, General Abercrombie, with sixteen thousand men and a great force of artillery, advanced against Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Landing near the northern extremity of Lake George, the march commenced through a thick wood towards the fort, which Montcalm held with about four thousand men. The vanguard—headed by the young and gallant Lord Howe, who, like Wolfe, had already gained the enthusiastic affection of the Americans—ignorant of the ground, lost their way and fell in with a French scouting party, when a skirmish took place, and, though the enemy was driven back, Lord Howe fell. The grief of the provincial troops, and indeed of the whole northern colonies, was very great for the loss of this brave young man, to whose memory Massachusetts afterwards erected a monument in Westminster Abbey.

The death of Lord Howe is said to have considerably abated the ardour of the troops; nevertheless, Abercrombie, without waiting for the coming up of his artillery, hastened on the attack of Ticonderoga, having been assured that the works were unfinished, and that it might easily be taken. The result, however, proved the contrary. With the loss of about two thousand killed and wounded, Abercrombie was repulsed, and the next day made a disorderly retreat to Fort William Henry. [The French lost only three hundred and thirty-seven.]

Colonel Bradstreet obtained from Abercrombie, after this defeat, a detachment of three thousand men, and with these, having marched to Oswego, he crossed Lake Ontario, and on the 25th of August attacked Fort Frontenac, which in two days' time surrendered.

The expedition against Fort Duquesne was intrusted to General John[1] Forbes, who early in July commenced his march with seven thousand men,

[1 Not Joseph Forbes, as Bancroft and others write it.]

including the Pennsylvanian and Virginian levies, the Royal Americans, recalled from South Carolina, and a body of Cherokee Indians. Washington, who headed the Virginian troops, and was then at Cumberland ready to join the main army, advised that the military road cut by Braddock's army should be made use of; instead of which, Forbes, induced by some Pennsylvanian land-speculators, commenced making a new road from Ray's Town, where the Pennsylvanian forces were stationed, to the Ohio. Whilst a needless delay was thus caused, Major Grant, who with eight hundred men had been sent forward to reconnoitre, was repulsed with the loss of three hundred men, and himself taken prisoner. A number of French prisoners accidentally brought in revealed the feeble state of the garrison, and it was resolved to push forward immediately. They succeeded in arriving at the fort on the 25th of November, when it was found to be a pile of ruins, the garrison having set fire to it the day before and retired down the Ohio. The possession of this post caused great joy. New works were erected on the site of Duquesne, the name of which was now changed to Fort Pitt, afterwards Pittsburg. The consequence of this success was immediately seen by the disposition which the Indians showed for peace. The frontiers of Virginia and Maryland were relieved from their incursions; and at a grand council held at Easton, in Pennsylvania, not only deputies of the Six Nations, but from their dependent tribes, the Delawares and others, met Sir William Johnson and the governors of New York and New Jersey, and solemn treaties of peace were entered into.

The great object of the campaign of 1759 was the so long desired conquest of Canada. The intention of the British minister was communicated to the various colonial assemblies under an oath of secrecy; and this, together with the faithful reimbursement of their last year's expenses, induced such a general activity and zeal that early in the spring twenty thousand colonial troops were ready to take the field. In consequence of his disaster at Ticonderoga, Abercrombie was superseded, and General Amherst became commander-in-chief. The plan for the campaign was as follows: Wolfe, who after the taking of Louisburg had gone to England, and was now returning with a powerful fleet, was to make a direct attack on Quebec; Amherst was directed to take Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and so proceed northerly; while General Prideaux, who commanded the provincial troops and Indians, was to descend the St. Lawrence after taking Fort Niagara, and join Amherst in an attack on Montreal. Such was the proposed plan. The three divisions were intended to enter Canada by three different routes of conquest, all to merge finally in the conquest of Quebec, the great heart of the French power and dominion in America.

According to arrangement, Amherst arrived before Ticonderoga in July with eleven thousand men, when, the garrison of the fort having been weakened by the withdrawal of forces for the defence of Quebec, both this and Crown Point surrendered without difficulty; the want of vessels, however, prevented him for some time either proceeding to join Wolfe at Quebec or attacking Montreal. General Prideaux on the 6th of July effected a landing near Fort Niagara without opposition. The bursting of a gun, however, killed him, when the command devolved on Sir William Johnson. Twelve hundred French and an equal number of Indian auxiliaries, advancing to the relief of the garrison, gave battle to the English, and were routed with great loss, leaving a considerable number prisoners; on which the dispirited garrison capitulated. The surrender of this post cut off all communication between Canada and the southwest.

Disappointed in receiving important reinforcements, Wolfe was compelled

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to commence the siege of Quebec alone. The presence of Wolfe had already inspired the most unbounded confidence. His army consisted of eight thousand men; his fleet, commanded by Admirals Saunders and Holmes, consisted of twenty-two ships of the line and the same number of frigates and armed vessels. The brigades were commanded by Robert Monckton, afterwards governor of New York, and the conqueror of Martinique. Wolfe selected as his adjutant-general Isaac Barre, his old associate at Louisburg, an Irishman of humble birth, but brave, eloquent, and ambitious.*j*

### PARKMAN'S ACCOUNT OF WOLFE AND MONTCALM AT QUEBEC

General Wolfe formed his camp immediately below Quebec, on the island of Orleans. From thence he could discern at a single glance how arduous was the task before him. Piles of lofty cliffs rose with sheer ascent on the northern border of the river, and from their summits the boasted citadel of Canada looked down in proud security, with its churches and convents of stone, its ramparts, bastions, and batteries, while over them all, from the very brink of the precipice, towered the massive walls of the castle of St. Louis. Above, for many a league, the bank was guarded by an unbroken range of steep acclivities. Below, the river St. Charles, flowing into the St. Lawrence, washed the base of the rocky promontory on which the city stood. Lower yet lay an army of fourteen thousand men, under an able and renowned commander, the marquis of Montcalm. His front was covered by intrenchments and batteries, which lined the bank of the St. Lawrence; his right wing rested on the city and the St. Charles; his left, on the cascade and deep gulf of Montmorenci; and thick forests extended along his rear. Opposite Quebec rose the high promontory of Point Levi; and the St. Lawrence, contracted to less than a mile in width, flowed between, with deep and powerful current. To a chief of less resolute temper it might well have seemed that art and nature were in league to thwart his enterprise; but a mind like that of Wolfe could only have seen in this majestic combination of forest and cataract, mountain and river, a fitting theatre for the great drama about to be enacted there.

Yet nature did not seem to have formed the young English general for the conduct of a doubtful and almost desperate enterprise. His person was slight, and his features by no means of a martial cast. His feeble constitution had been undermined by years of protracted and painful disease.[1] His kind and genial disposition seemed better fitted for the quiet of domestic life than for the stern duties of military command; but to these gentler traits he joined a high enthusiasm and an unconquerable spirit of daring and endurance which made him the idol of his soldiers, and bore his slender frame through every hardship and exposure. The work before him demanded all his courage. How to invest the city, or even bring the army of Montcalm to action, was a problem which might have perplexed a Hannibal. A French fleet lay in the river above, and the precipices along the northern bank were guarded

[1] "I have this day signified to Mr. Pitt that he may dispose of my slight carcass as he pleases; and that I am ready for any undertaking within the reach and compass of my skill and cunning. I am in a very bad condition, both with the gravel and rheumatism; but I had much rather die than decline any kind of service that offers. If I followed my own taste, it would lead me into Germany; and if my poor talent was consulted, they should place me to the cavalry, because nature has given me good eyes, and a warmth of temper to follow the first impressions. However, it is not our part to choose, but to obey."—*Letter of Wolfe to William Rickson Salisbury, December 1st, 1758.*

at every accessible point by sentinels and outposts. Wolfe would have crossed the Montmorenci by its upper ford, and attacked the French army on its left and rear; but the plan was thwarted by the nature of the ground and the sleepless vigilance of his adversaries. Thus baffled at every other point, he formed the bold design of storming Montcalm's position in front, and on the afternoon of July 31st a strong body of troops was embarked in boats, and, covered by a furious cannonade from the English ships and batteries, landed on the beach just above the mouth of the Montmorenci. The grenadiers and Royal Americans were the first on shore, and their ill-timed impetuosity proved the ruin of the plan. Without waiting to receive their orders or form their ranks, they ran pell-mell across the level ground, and with loud shouts began, each man for himself, to scale the heights which rose in front, crested with intrenchments and bristling with hostile arms. The French at the top threw volley after volley among the hot-headed assailants. The slopes were soon covered with the fallen, and at that instant a storm, which had long been threatening, burst with sudden fury, drenched the combatants on both sides with a deluge of rain, extinguished for a moment the fire of the French, and at the same time made the steeps so slippery that the grenadiers fell repeatedly in their vain attempts to climb. Night was coming on with double darkness. The retreat was sounded, and as the English re-embarked, troops of Indians came whooping down the heights and hovered about their rear, to murder the stragglers and the wounded; while exulting cries of *Vive le roi* from the crowded summits proclaimed the triumph of the enemy.

With bitter agony of mind Wolfe beheld the headlong folly of his men, and saw more than four hundred of the flower of his army fall a useless sacrifice. The anxieties of the siege had told severely upon his slender constitution, and not long after this disaster he felt the first symptoms of a fever, which soon confined him to his couch. Still his mind never wavered from its purpose, and it was while lying helpless in the chamber of a Canadian house, where he had fixed his headquarters, that he embraced the plan of that heroic enterprise which robbed him of life and gave him immortal fame. It was resolved to divide the little army, and while one portion remained before Quebec to alarm the enemy by false attacks and distract their attention from the scene of actual operation, the other was to pass above the town, land under cover of darkness on the northern shore, climb the guarded heights, gain the plains above, and force Montcalm to quit his vantage-ground, and perhaps to offer battle. The scheme was daring even to rashness, but its singular audacity was the secret of its success.

Early in September a crowd of ships and transports, under Admiral Holmes, passed the city amidst the hot firing of its batteries, while the troops designed for the expedition, amounting to scarcely five thousand, marched upward along the southern bank, beyond reach of the cannonade. All were then embarked, and on the evening of the 12th, Holmes's fleet, with the troops on board, lay safe at anchor in the river, several leagues above the town. These operations had not failed to awaken the suspicions of Montcalm, and he had detached M. Bougainville to watch the movements of the English and prevent their landing on the northern shore.

The eventful night of the 12th was clear and calm, with no light but that of the stars. Within two hours before daybreak thirty boats, crowded with sixteen hundred soldiers, cast off from the vessels and floated downward, in perfect order, with the current of the ebb tide. To the boundless joy of the army, Wolfe's malady had abated, and he was able to command in person.

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He sat in the stern of one of the boats, pale and weak, but borne up to a calm height of resolution. Every order had been given, every arrangement made, and it only remained to face the issue. The ebbing tide sufficed to bear the boats along, and nothing broke the silence of the night but the gurgling of the river and the low voice of Wolfe, as he repeated to the officers about him the stanzas of Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, which had recently appeared and which he had just received from England. Perhaps, as he uttered those strangely appropriate words,

"The paths of glory lead but to the grave,"

the shadows of his own approaching fate stole with mournful prophecy across his mind. "Gentlemen," he said, as he closed his recital, "I would rather have written those lines than take Quebec to-morrow."

As they approached the landing-place the boats edged closer in towards the northern shore, and the woody precipices rose high on their left, like a wall of undistinguished blackness.

"*Qui vive?*" shouted a French sentinel from out the impervious gloom.

"*La France!*" answered a captain of Fraser's Highlanders, from the foremost boat.

"*A quel régiment?*" demanded the soldier.

"*De la Reine!*" promptly replied the Highland captain, who chanced to know that the regiment so designated formed part of Bougainville's command. As boats were frequently passing down the river with supplies for the garrison, and as a convoy from Bougainville was expected that very night, the sentinel was deceived, and allowed the English to proceed. They reached the landing-place in safety—an indentation in the shore, about a league above the city, and now bearing the name of Wolfe's Cove. Here a narrow path led up the face of the heights, and a French guard was posted at the top to defend the pass. The general was one of the first on shore.

At the point where the Highlanders landed, one of their captains, Donald Macdonald, apparently the same whose presence of mind had just saved the enterprise from ruin, was climbing in advance of his men, when he was challenged by a sentinel. He replied in French, by declaring that he had been sent to relieve the guard and ordering the soldier to withdraw. Before the latter was undeceived, a crowd of Highlanders were close at hand, while the steeps below were thronged with eager climbers, dragging themselves up by trees, roots, and bushes. The guard turned out and made a brief though brave resistance. In a moment they were cut to pieces, dispersed, or made prisoners, while men after men came swarming up the height and quickly formed upon the plains above. Meanwhile the vessels had dropped downward with the current and anchored opposite the landing-place. The remaining troops were disembarked, and, with the dawn of day, the whole were brought in safety to the shore.

The sun rose, and from the ramparts of Quebec the astonished people saw the Plains of Abraham glittering with arms, and the dark-red lines of the English forming in array of battle. Breathless messengers had borne the evil tidings to Montcalm, and far and near his wide-extended camp resounded with the rolling of alarm drums and the din of startled preparation. He, too, had had his struggles and his sorrows. The civil power had thwarted him; famine, discontent, and disaffection were rife among his soldiers, and no small portion of the Canadian militia had dispersed from sheer starvation. In spite of all, he had trusted to hold out till the winter frosts should drive

the invaders from before the town, when, on that disastrous morning, the news of their successful temerity fell like a cannon-shot upon his ear. Still he assumed a tone of confidence. "They have got to the weak side of us at last," he is reported to have said, "and we must crush them with our numbers." With headlong haste his troops were pouring over the bridge of the St. Charles and gathering in heavy masses under the western ramparts of the town.[1]

Full in sight before them stretched the long, thin lines of the British forces—the half-wild Highlanders, the steady soldiery of England, and the hardy levies of the provinces—less than five thousand in number, but all inured to battle, and strong in the full assurance of success. Yet, could the chiefs of that gallant army have pierced the secrets of the future, could they have foreseen that the victory which they burned to achieve would have robbed England of her proudest boast, that the conquest of Canada would pave the way for the independence of America, their swords would have dropped from their hands, and the heroic fire have gone out within their hearts.

It was nine o'clock, and the adverse armies stood motionless, each gazing on the other. The clouds hung low, and at intervals warm, light showers descended, besprinkling both alike. The coppice and corn-fields in front of the British troops were filled with French sharpshooters, who kept up a distant, spattering fire. Here and there a soldier fell in the ranks, and the gap was filled in silence. At a little before ten the British could see that Montcalm was preparing to advance, and in a few moments all his troops appeared in rapid motion. They came on in three divisions, shouting after the manner of their nation, and firing heavily as soon as they came within range. In the British ranks not a trigger was pulled, not a soldier stirred, and their ominous composure seemed to damp the spirits of the assailants. It was not till the French were within forty yards that the fatal word was given; at once, from end to end of the British line, the muskets rose to the level, as if with the sway of some great machine, and the whole blazed forth at once in one crashing explosion. Like a ship at full career, arrested with sudden ruin on a sunken rock, the ranks of Montcalm staggered, shivered, and broke before that wasting storm of lead. The smoke rolling along the field for a moment shut out the view, but when the white wreaths were scattered on the wind a wretched spectacle was disclosed—men and officers tumbled in heaps, battalions resolved into a mob, order and obedience gone, and when the British muskets were levelled for a second volley, the masses of the militia were seen to cower and shrink with uncontrollable panic. For a few minutes the French regulars stood their ground, returning a sharp and not ineffectual fire. But now, echoing cheer on cheer, redoubling volley on volley, trampling the dying and the dead and driving the fugitives in crowds, the British troops advanced and swept the field before them. The ardour of the men burst all restraint. They broke into a run, and with unsparing slaughter chased the flying multitude to the very gates of Quebec. Foremost of all, the light-footed Highlanders dashed along in furious pursuit, hewing down the Frenchmen with their broadswords, and slaying many in the very ditch of the fortifications. Never was victory more quick or more decisive.

In the short action and pursuit the French lost fifteen hundred men, killed, wounded, and taken. Of the remainder, some escaped within the city,

[1 There is dispute as to the numbers engaged, Knox's setting the number of the English at 4,828, and that of the French at 7,500; but other accounts reckon the French troops at hardly more than half this number, and Parkman's thinks that, allowing for the French detained in garrisoning other posts, the forces on the Plains of Abraham "seem to have been about equal."]

[1759 A.D.]

and others fled across the St. Charles to rejoin their comrades who had been left to guard the camp. The pursuers were recalled by sound of trumpet, the broken ranks were formed afresh, and the English troops withdrawn beyond reach of the cannon of Quebec. Bougainville, with his corps, arrived from the upper country, and hovering about their rear, threatened an attack; but when he saw what greeting was prepared for him, he abandoned his purpose and withdrew. Townsend and Murray, the only general officers who remained unhurt, passed to the head of every regiment in turn and thanked the soldiers for the bravery they had shown; yet the triumph of the victors was mingled with sadness as the tidings went from rank to rank that Wolfe had fallen.

In the heat of the action, as he advanced at the head of the grenadiers of Louisburg, a bullet shattered his wrist; but he wrapped his handkerchief about the wound, and showed no sign of pain. A moment more and a ball pierced his side. Still he pressed forward, waving his sword and cheering his soldiers to the attack, when a third shot lodged deep within his breast. He paused, reeled, and, staggering to one side, fell to the earth. Brown, a lieutenant of the grenadiers, Henderson, a volunteer, an officer of artillery, and a private soldier raised him together in their arms, and, bearing him to the rear, laid him softly on the grass. They asked if he would have a surgeon, but he shook his head, and answered that all was over with him. His eyes closed with the torpor of approaching death, and those around sustained his fainting form. Yet they could not withhold their gaze from the wild turmoil before them and the charging ranks of their companions rushing through fire and smoke. "See how they run!" one of the officers exclaimed, as the French fled in confusion before the levelled bayonets. "Who run?" demanded Wolfe, opening his eyes like a man aroused from sleep. "The enemy, sir," was the reply; "they give way everywhere." "Then," said the dying general, "tell Colonel Burton to march Webb's regiment down to Charles river, to cut off their retreat from the bridge. Now, God be praised, I will die in peace," he murmured, and turning on his side, he calmly breathed his last.

Almost at the same moment fell his great adversary, Montcalm, as he strove, with vain bravery, to rally his shattered ranks. Struck down with a mortal wound, he was placed upon a litter and borne to the General Hospital on the banks of the St. Charles. The surgeons told him that he could not recover. "I am glad of it," was his calm reply. He then asked how long he might survive, and was told that he had not many hours remaining. "So much the better," he said; "I am happy that I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." Officers from the garrison came to his bedside to ask his orders and instructions. "I will give no more orders," replied the defeated soldier; "I have much business that must be attended to, of greater moment than your ruined garrison and this wretched country. My time is very short; therefore, pray leave me." The officers withdrew, and none remained in the chamber but his confessor and the bishop of Quebec. To the last, he expressed his contempt for his own mutinous and half-famished troops, and his admiration for the disciplined valour of his opponents.[1] He died before midnight, and was buried at his own desire in a cavity of the earth formed by the bursting of a bombshell.

[1 In his dying hours Montcalm sent the following message to the victorious General Townsend: "Monsieur, the humanity of the English sets my mind at peace concerning the fate of the French prisoners and the Canadians. Feel towards them as they have caused me to feel. Do not let them perceive that they have changed masters. Be their protector, as I have been their father."]

The victorious army encamped before Quebec and pushed their preparations for the siege with zealous energy; but before a single gun was brought to bear, the white flag was hung out and the garrison surrendered. On the 18th of September, 1759, the rock-built citadel of Canada passed forever from the hands of its ancient masters.

The victory on the plains of Abraham and the downfall of Quebec filled all England with pride and exultation. Canada, crippled and dismembered by the disasters of this year's campaign, lay waiting, as it were, the final stroke which was to extinguish her last remains of life and close the eventful story of French dominion in America.[b]

### END OF THE WAR

General Townsend returning to England, General Murray was left in command at Quebec with a garrison of five thousand men. The French army retired to Montreal, and Lévis, who had succeeded Montcalm, being reinforced by Canadians and Indians, returned the following spring, 1760, with six thousand men to Quebec. General Murray left the fortress, and a second still more bloody battle was fought on the Heights of Abraham. Each army lost about a thousand men, but the French maintained their ground, and the English took refuge within the fortress. Here they were closely invested, until, having received reinforcements, Lévis abandoned all hope of regaining possesson of Quebec, and returned to Montreal, where Vaudreuil, the governor, assembled all the force of Canada.

Desirous of completing this great conquest, the northern colonies joyfully contributed their aid, and towards the close of the summer three armies were on their way to Montreal—Amherst at the head of ten thousand men, together with one thousand Indians of the Six Nations, headed by Sir William Johnson; Murray with four thousand men from Quebec, and Haviland at the head of thirty-five hundred men, by way of Lake Champlain. The force which was thus brought against Montreal was irresistible, but it was not needed; Vaudreuil, the governor, surrendered without a struggle, September 8th, 1760. The British flag floated on the city, and not alone was possession given of Montreal, but of Presque Isle, Detroit, Mackinaw, and all the other posts of western Canada. About four thousand regular troops were to be sent to France, and to the Canadians were guaranteed their property and liberty of worship.

Great was the joy of New York and the New England states in the conquest of Canada, as their frontiers were now finally delivered from the terrible scourge of Indian warfare. But while they rejoiced from this cause, the Carolinian frontiers were suffering from incursions of the Cherokees, who had been instigated to these measures by the French, who, retiring from Fort Duquesne, had passed through their country on their way to Louisiana. General Amherst therefore despatched Colonel Montgomery against them, who, aided by the Carolinian troops, marched into their country, burned their villages, and was on his way to the interior, when they in their turn besieged Fort Loudon, which, after great suffering, the garrison were compelled to surrender, under promise of a safe conduct to the British settlements. This promise, however, was broken; great numbers were killed on the way and others taken prisoners, and again the war raged on the frontier. The next year Colonel Grant marched with increased force into their country; a terrible battle was fought, in which the Cherokees were defeated, their

villages burned, and their crops destroyed. Finally they were driven to the mountains, and now, subdued and humbled, besought for peace.

The war between England and France, though at an end on the continent of America, was still continued among the West India Islands, France in this case also being the loser. Martinique, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent's—every island, in fact, which France possessed among the Caribbees—passed into the hands of the English. Besides which, being at the same time at war with Spain, England took possession of Havana, the key to the whole trade of the gulf of Mexico.

In November, 1763, a treaty of peace was signed at Paris, which led to further changes, all being favourable to Britain; whilst Martinique, Guadalope, and St. Lucia were restored to France, England took possession of St. Vincent's, Dominica, and Tobago islands, which had hitherto been considered neutral. By the same treaty all the vast territory east of the Mississippi, from its source to the gulf of Mexico, with the exception of the island of New Orleans, was yielded up to the British, and Spain, in return for Havana, ceded her possession of Florida. Thus, says Hildreth,[h] was vested in the British crown, as far as the consent of rival European claimants could give it, the sovereignty of the whole eastern half of North America, from the gulf of Mexico to Hudson's Bay and the Polar ocean. By the same treaty the navigation of the Mississippi was free to both nations. France at the same time gave to Spain, as a compensation for her losses in the war, all Louisiana west of the Mississippi, which contained at that time about ten thousand inhabitants, to whom this transfer was very unsatisfactory.

Three new British provinces were now erected in America: Quebec and East and West Florida. East Florida included all the country embraced by the present Florida, bounded on the north by the St. Mary's. West Florida extended from the Apalachicola river to the Mississippi; from the 31st degree of latitude on the north to the gulf of Mexico on the south, thus including portions of the present states of Alabama and Mississippi. The boundary of Quebec corresponded with the claims of New York and Massachusetts, being a line from the southern end of Lake Nipissing, striking the St. Lawrence at the 45th degree of latitude, and following that parallel across the foot of Lake Champlain to the sources of the Connecticut, and thence along the highlands which separate the waters flowing into the St. Lawrence from those which fall into the sea.[i]

### PARKMAN'S ACCOUNT OF PONTIAC'S CONSPIRACY, 1763 A.D.

When, early in 1763, it was announced to the tribes that the king of France had ceded all their country to the king of England, without even asking their leave, a ferment of indignation at once became apparent among them, and within a few weeks a plot was matured, such as was never before or since conceived or executed by a North American Indian. It was determined to attack all the English forts upon the same day; then, having destroyed their garrisons, to turn upon the defenceless frontier, and ravage and lay waste the settlements until, as many of the Indians fondly believed, the English should all be driven into the sea and the country restored to its primitive owners.

It is difficult to determine which tribe was first to raise the cry of war. There were many who might have done so, for all the savages in the backwoods were ripe for an outbreak, and the movement seemed almost simul-

taneous. But for Pontiac, the whole might have ended in a few troublesome inroads upon the frontier and a little whooping and yelling under the walls of Fort Pitt. Pontiac was principal chief of the Ottawas. The Ottawas, Ojibwas, and Pottawattamies had long been united in a loose kind of confederacy, of which he was the virtual head. Though capable of acts of magnanimity, he was a thorough savage, with a wider range of intellect than those around him, but sharing all their passions and prejudices, their fierceness and treachery. His faults were the faults of his race, and they cannot eclipse his nobler qualities, the great powers and heroic virtues of his mind. His memory is still cherished among the remnants of many Algonquin tribes, and the celebrated Tecumseh adopted him for his model, proving himself no unworthy imitator.

Pontiac was now about fifty years old. During the war he had fought on the side of France. It is said that he commanded the Ottawas at the memorable defeat of Braddock, and it is certain that he was treated with much honour by the French officers, and received especial marks of esteem from the marquis of Montcalm. When the tide of affairs changed, the subtle and ambitious chief trimmed his bark to the current, and gave the hand of friendship to the English. That he was disappointed in their treatment of him, and in all the hopes that he had formed from their alliance, is sufficiently evident from one of his speeches. A new light soon began to dawn upon his untaught but powerful mind, and he saw the altered posture of affairs under its true aspect.

It was a momentous and gloomy crisis for the Indian race, for never before had they been exposed to such pressing and imminent danger. With the downfall of Canada, the tribes had sunk at once from their position of importance. Hitherto the two rival European nations had kept each other in check upon the American continent, and the Indians had, in some measure, held the balance of power between them. To conciliate their goodwill and gain their alliance, to avoid offending them by injustice and encroachment, was the policy both of the French and English. But now the face of affairs was changed. The English had gained an undisputed ascendency, and the Indians, no longer important as allies, were treated as mere barbarians, who might be trampled upon with impunity. Abandoned to their own feeble resources and divided strength, they must fast recede and dwindle away before the steady progress of the colonial power. Already their best hunting-grounds were invaded, and from the eastern ridges of the Alleghanies they might see, from far and near, the smoke of the settlers' clearings rising in tall columns from the dark-green bosom of the forest. The doom of the race was sealed, and no human power could avert it; but they, in their ignorance, believed otherwise, and vainly thought that, by a desperate effort, they might yet uproot and overthrow the growing strength of their destroyers.

It would be idle to suppose that the great mass of the Indians understood, in its full extent, the danger which threatened their race. With them, the war was a mere outbreak of fury, and they turned against their enemies with as little reason or forecast as a panther when he leaps at the throat of the hunter. Goaded by wrongs and indignities, they struck for revenge and for relief from the evil of the moment. But the mind of Pontiac could embrace a wider and deeper view. The peril of the times was unfolded in its full extent before him, and he resolved to unite the tribes in one grand effort to avert it. He did not, like many of his people, entertain the absurd idea that the Indians, by their unaided strength, could drive the English into the sea. He adopted the only plan consistent with reason, that of restoring the French

[1763 A.D.]

ascendency in the west, and once more opposing a check to British encroachment. With views like these, he lent a greedy ear to the plausible falsehoods of the Canadians, who assured him that the armies of King Louis were already advancing to recover Canada, and that the French and their red brethren, fighting side by side, would drive the English dogs back within their own narrow limits.

Revolving these thoughts, and remembering that his own ambitious views might be advanced by the hostilities he meditated, Pontiac no longer hesitated. Revenge, ambition, and patriotism wrought upon him alike, and he resolved on war. At the close of the year 1762 he sent out ambassadors to the different nations. They visited the country of the Ohio and its tributaries, passed northward to the region of the upper lakes and the borders of the river Ottawa, and far southward towards the mouth of the Mississippi. Bearing with them the war-belt of wampum, broad and long, as the importance of the message demanded, and the tomahawk stained red, in token of war, they went from camp to camp and village to village. Wherever they appeared the sachems and old men assembled to hear the words of the great Pontiac. Then the chief of the embassy flung down the tomahawk on the ground before them, and, holding the war-belt in his hand, delivered with vehement gesture, word for word, the speech with which he was charged. It was heard everywhere with approval; the belt was accepted, the hatchet snatched up, and the assembled chiefs stood pledged to take part in the war. The blow was to be struck at a certain time in the month of May following, to be indicated by the changes of the moon. The tribes were to rise together, each destroying the English garrison in its neighbourhood, and then, with a general rush, the whole were to turn against the settlements of the frontier.[b]

### THE INDIAN WAR AND THE PAXTON BOYS

A simultaneous attack was unexpectedly made in May, 1763, along the whole frontier of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The English traders scattered through the region beyond the mountains were plundered and slain. The posts between the Ohio and Lake Erie were surprised and taken—indeed, all the posts in the western country, except Niagara, Detroit, Fort Pitt, and Ligonier. The three latter were closely blockaded, and the troops which Amherst hastily sent forward to relieve them did not reach their destination without some very hard fighting. This sudden onslaught, falling heaviest on Pennsylvania, excited the ferocity of the back settlers, chiefly Presbyterians of Scotch and Irish descent, having very little in common with the mild spirit of the Quakers. Well versed in the Old Testament, the same notion had obtained among them current in the early times of New England and Virginia, that as the Israelites exterminated the Canaanites, so they ought to exterminate the bloody heathen Indians, stigmatised as the children of Ham. Under this impression, and imagining them to be in correspondence with the hostile Indians, some settlers of Paxton township attacked the remnant of a friendly tribe who were living quietly under the guidance of Moravian missionaries at Conestoga, on the Susquehanna. All who fell into their hands, men, women, and children, were ruthlessly murdered. Those who escaped by being absent fled for refuge to Lancaster, and were placed for security in the workhouse there. The "Paxton Boys," as they called themselves, rushed into Lancaster, broke open the doors of the workhouse, and perpetrated a new

massacre.[1] It was in vain that Franklin, lately returned from Europe in December, denounced these murders in an eloquent and indignant pamphlet. Such was the fury of the mob, including many persons of respectable character and standing, that they even marched in arms to Philadelphia in January, 1764, for the destruction of some other friendly Indians who had taken refuge in that city. Thus beset, these unhappy fugitives attempted to escape to New York, to put themselves under the protection of Sir William Johnson, the Indian agent; but Lieutenant-Governor Colden refused to allow them to enter that province.

Owing to the royal veto on the late act for a volunteer militia, and the repeated refusals of the assembly to establish a compulsive one, there was no organised military force in the province except a few regular troops in the barracks at Philadelphia. By Franklin's aid, a strong body of volunteers for the defence of the city was speedily enrolled. When the insurgents approached, Franklin went out to meet them, and after a long negotiation, and agreeing to allow them to appoint two delegates to lay their grievances before the assembly, they were persuaded to disperse without further bloodshed. So ended this most disgraceful affair. There was no power in the province adequate to punish these outrages. The Christian Indians presently re-established themselves high up the eastern branch of the Susquehanna. Five or six years after, destined yet to suffer further outrages, they migrated to the country northwest of the Ohio, and settled, with their missionaries, in three villages on the Muskingum.

General Gage, successor of Amherst as commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, had called upon the colonies for troops to assist in subduing the Indians. So extensive was the combination that Major Loftus, while attempting to ascend the Mississippi in March, with four hundred men, to take possession of the Illinois country, was attacked near the present site of Fort Adams, and obliged to give over the enterprise. New England, remote from the seat of danger, answered Gage's call scantily and reluctantly. Virginia furnished seven hundred men, and Pennsylvania one thousand. A pack of bloodhounds was sent out from England. Two expeditions were presently organised and sent into the Indian country, one under Bouquet by way of Pittsburg, the other under Bradstreet along the lakes. The Indians, finding themselves thus vigorously attacked, consented to a treaty, by which they agreed to give up all prisoners, and to relinquish all claims to lands within gunshot of any fort, of which the British were authorised to build as many as they chose. Indians committing murders on white men were to be given up, to be tried by a jury half Indians and half colonists.[h]

### PARKMAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF PONTIAC AND THE END OF INDIAN POWER

At the end of September, after protracted conferences with Pontiac and other chiefs, Sir William Johnson's deputy, George Croghan, left Detroit and departed for Niagara, whence, after a short delay, he passed eastward, to report the results of his mission to the commander-in-chief. But before

[1 So fierce and active were the war-parties on the borders that the English governor of Pennsylvania had recourse to a measure which the frontier inhabitants had long demanded, and issued a proclamation offering a high bounty for Indian scalps, whether of men or women; a barbarous expedient, fruitful of butcheries and murders, but incapable of producing any decisive result.—PARKMAN.*b*]

[1764 A.D.]

leaving the Indian country he exacted from Pontiac a promise that in the spring he would descend to Oswego and, in behalf of the tribes lately banded in his league, conclude a treaty of peace and amity with Sir William Johnson.

Croghan's efforts had been attended with signal success. The tribes of the west, of late bristling in defiance and hot for fight, had craved forgiveness, and proffered the peaceful calumet. The war was over; the last flickerings of that wide conflagration had died away; but the embers still glowed beneath the ashes, and fuel and a breath alone were wanting to rekindle those desolating fires.

In the mean time a hundred Highlanders of the Forty-second Regiment, those veterans whose battle-cry had echoed over the bloodiest fields of America, had left Fort Pitt under command of Captain Sterling, and, descending the Ohio, undeterred by the rigour of the season, arrived at Fort Chartres just as the snows of early winter began to whiten the naked forests. The flag of France descended from the rampart, and, with the stern courtesies of war, St. Ange yielded up his post, the citadel of the Illinois, to its new masters. In that act was consummated the double triumph of British power in America. England had crushed her hereditary foe, and France, in her fall, had left to irretrievable ruin the savage tribes to whom her policy and self-interest had lent a transient support.

Spring returned, and Pontiac remembered the promise he had made to visit Sir William Johnson at Oswego.

We may well imagine with what bitterness of mood the defeated war-chief urged his canoe along the margin of Lake Erie and gazed upon the horizon-bounded waters and the lofty shores, green with primeval verdure. Little could he have dreamed, and little could the wisest of that day have imagined, that, within the space of a single human life, that lonely lake would be studded with the sails of commerce, that cities and villages would rise upon the ruins of the forest, and that the poor mementoes of his lost race—the wampum beads, the rusty tomahawk, and the arrowhead of stone, turned up by the ploughshare—would become the wonder of schoolboys and the prized relics of the antiquary's cabinet. Yet it needed no prophetic eye to foresee that, sooner or later, the doom must come. The star of his people's destiny was fading from the sky, and, to a mind like his, the black and withering future must have stood revealed in all its desolation.

The chiefs passed the portage, and, once more embarking, pushed out upon Lake Ontario. Soon their goal was reached, and the cannon boomed hollow salutation from the batteries of Oswego.

Here they found Sir William Johnson waiting to receive them, attended by the chief sachems of the Iroquois, whom he had invited to the spot, that their presence might give additional weight and solemnity to the meeting. Johnson opened the meeting with the usual formalities, presenting his auditors with a belt of wampum to wipe the tears from their eyes, with another to cover the bones of their relatives, another to open their ears that they might hear, and another to clear their throats that they might speak with ease. Then, amid solemn silence, Pontiac's great peace-pipe was lighted and passed around the assembly, each man present inhaling a whiff of the sacred smoke. These tedious forms, together with a few speeches of compliment, consumed the whole morning; for this savage people, on whose supposed simplicity poets and rhetoricians have lavished their praises, may challenge the world to outmatch their bigoted adherence to usage and ceremonial.

The councils closed on the 31st, with a bountiful distribution of presents to Pontiac and his followers. Thus ended this memorable meeting, in

which Pontiac sealed his submission to the English, and renounced forever the bold design by which he had trusted to avert or retard the ruin of his race. His hope of seeing the empire of France restored in America was scattered to the winds, and with it vanished every rational scheme of resistance to English encroachment. Nothing now remained but to stand an idle spectator, while, in the north and in the south, the tide of British power rolled westward in resistless might; while the fragments of the rival empire, which he would fain have set up as a barrier against the flood, lay scattered a miserable wreck, and while the remnant of his people melted away or fled for refuge to remoter deserts. For them the prospects of the future were as clear as they were calamitous. Destruction or civilisation—between these lay their choice, and few who knew them could doubt which alternative they would embrace.

In 1769 Pontiac was at St. Louis for two or three days, when, hearing that a large number of Indians were assembled at Cahokia, on the opposite side of the river, and that some drinking bout or other social gathering was in progress, he told St. Ange that he would cross over to see what was going forward. St. Ange tried to dissuade him, and urged the risk to which he would expose himself; but Pontiac persisted, boasting that he was a match for the English and had no fear for his life.

An English trader named Williamson was then in the village. He had looked on the movements of Pontiac with a jealousy probably not diminished by the visit of the chief to the French at St. Louis, and he now resolved not to lose so favourable an opportunity to despatch him. With this view, he gained the ear of a strolling Indian belonging to the Kaskaskia tribe of the Illinois, bribed him with a barrel of liquor, and promised him a further reward if he would kill the chief. The bargain was quickly made. When Pontiac entered the forest, the assassin stole close upon his track, and, watching his moment, glided behind him and buried a tomahawk in his brain.

The dead body was soon discovered, and startled cries and wild howlings announced the event. The word was caught up from mouth to mouth, and the place resounded with infernal yells. The warriors snatched their weapons. The Illinois took part with their guilty countryman, and the few followers of Pontiac, driven from the village, fled to spread the tidings and call the nations to revenge. Meanwhile the murdered chief lay on the spot where he had fallen, until St. Ange, mindful of former friendship, sent to claim the body, and buried it with warlike honours near his fort of St. Louis.

Thus basely perished this champion of a ruined race. But could his shade have revisited the scene of murder, his savage spirit would have exulted in the vengeance which overwhelmed the abettors of the crime. Whole tribes were rooted out to expiate it. Chiefs and sachems whose veins had thrilled with his eloquence, young warriors whose aspiring hearts had caught the inspiration of his greatness, mustered to revenge his fate, and from the north and the east their united bands descended on the villages of the Illinois. Tradition has but faintly preserved the memory of the event, and its only annalists, men who held the intestine feuds of the savage tribes in no more account than the quarrels of panthers or wildcats, have left but a meagre record. Yet enough remains to tell us that over the grave of Pontiac more blood was poured out in atonement than flowed from the veins of the slaughtered heroes on the corpse of Patroclus, and the remnant of the Illinois who survived the carnage remained forever after sunk in utter insignificance.

Neither mound nor tablet marked the burial-place of Pontiac. For a mausoleum, a city has risen above the forest hero, and the race whom he

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hated with such burning rancour trample with unceasing footsteps over his forgotten grave.[b]

As an epilogue to the story of French and Indian dominion in the United States we may quote from another work of Parkman, who has linked his name indissolubly with their history:[a]

"The French dominion is a memory of the past, and when we evoke its departed shades they rise upon us from their graves in strange, romantic guise. Again their ghostly camp-fires seem to burn, and the fitful light is cast around on lord and vassal and black-robed priest, mingled with wild forms of savage warriors, knit in close fellowship on the same stern errand. A boundless vision grows upon us: an untamed continent; vast wastes of forest verdure; mountains silent in primeval sleep; river, lake, and glimmering pool; wilderness oceans mingling with the sky. Such was the domain which France conquered for civilisation. Plumed helmets gleamed in the shade of its forests, priestly vestments in its dens and fastnesses of ancient barbarism. Men steeped in antique learning, pale with the close breath of the cloister, here spent the noon and evening of their lives, ruled savage hordes with a mild, parental sway, and stood serene before the direst shapes of death."[t]

# CHAPTER VII

## THE REVOLUTION OF THE COLONIES

[1763–1783 A.D.]

THE American Revolution was no unrelated event, but formed a part of the history of the British race on both continents, and was not without influence on the history of mankind. As an event in British history, it wrought with other forces in effecting that change in the constitution of the mother country which transferred the prerogatives of the crown to the parliament. It was not a quarrel between two peoples, but, like all those events which mark the progress of the British race, it was a strife between two parties, the conservatives in both countries and the liberals in both countries; and some of its fiercest battles were fought in the British parliament. There was a contemporaneous British revolution. But the British revolution was to regain liberty; the American Revolution was to preserve liberty.—MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN.[b]

THAT war with the French by which the possession of North America had been confirmed to the English crown had not been carried on without great efforts and sacrifices on the part of the colonists. By disease or the sword, thirty thousand colonial soldiers had fallen in the struggle. An expense had been incurred of upward of sixteen millions of dollars, of which only about five millions had been reimbursed by parliament. The royal and proprietary governors, to obtain the necessary supplies, had been obliged to yield to perpetual encroachments. The expenditure of the great sums voted by the assemblies had been kept, for the most part, in their own hands, or those of their specially appointed agents; and, contrary to what usually happens, executive influence had been weakened instead of strengthened by the war, or, rather, had been transferred from the governors to the colonial assemblies. In the prosecution of hostilities, much of the hardest and most dangerous service had fallen to the share of the colonial levies, employed especially as scouts and light troops.

With colonies thus taught their strength and their resources, full of trained soldiers accustomed to extraordinary efforts and partial co-operation, the British ministry now entered on a new struggle—one of which all like former contests were but as faint types and forerunners. Four great wars within seventy years had overwhelmed Great Britain with heavy debts and excessive taxation. Her recent conquests, so far from relieving her embarrassments, had greatly increased that debt, which amounted now to £140,000,000. It seemed necessary, therefore, by some exertion of metropolitan authority, to extract from the colonies, for this purpose, a regular and certain revenue.[c]

The authorities in England cast about for the means of accomplishing their purpose. There was but one, and this taxation. Now taxation of a certain sort was nothing new to the colonies. They had long borne with taxes for the so-called regulation of trade. But the ministry and their supporters, not content with the old taxes, were for raising new ones—taxes for revenue as well as for regulation of trade. Taxes were taxes, whether laid upon imports or upon anything else; but the colonies were persuaded at the time, and for some time after, that there was a difference, and a vital one. When, therefore, parliament voted, in the beginning of the year (1764), that it had "a right to tax the colonies," the colonies took alarm. The Massachusetts house of representatives ordered a committee of correspondence with the other colonies. James Otis, in a pamphlet, *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted*, exclaimed that "by this [the British] constitution every man in the dominions is a free man; that no part of his majesty's dominions can be taxed without their consent." "The book," said Lord Mansfield, chief justice of the king's bench, "is full of wildness." But it did not satisfy many of the colonists, and wilder still, as the chief justice would have said, became their assertions of independence. It was not long before the right of parliament to lay any taxes whatsoever was discussed and denied.[d] The opposition of Massachusetts was speedily re-echoed from Pennsylvania, and strong instructions to oppose the whole scheme of taxation were given to Franklin, about to depart for England as the agent for the colony to solicit the overthrow of the proprietary government.

### THE STAMP ACT PASSED

These faint protestations produced no effect on the made-up minds of the British ministers. In spite of remonstrances addressed in February, 1765, to Grenville by Franklin, and other gentlemen interested in the colonies, resolutions for an American stamp tax were brought into parliament. The London merchants concerned in the American trade petitioned against it; but a convenient rule not to receive petitions against money bills excluded this as well as those from the colonial assemblies. In reply to Colonel Barre, who had served in America and who made a speech against the tax, Townshend, one of the ministers, spoke of the colonists as "children planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence, and protected by our arms." Barre's indignant retort produced a great sensation in the house. "They planted by your care? No; your oppression planted them in America. They nourished by your indulgence? They grew up by your neglect of them. They protected by your arms? Those sons of liberty have nobly taken up arms in your defence. The people, I believe, are as truly loyal subjects as the king has, but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them should they ever be violated." The bill passed, however, in the commons five to one (February

27th); in the lords there was no division nor the slightest opposition. A clause inserted into the annual Mutiny Act carried out another part of the ministerial scheme, by authorising as many troops to be sent to America as the ministers saw fit. For these troops, by a special enactment known as the Quartering Act, the colonies in which they might be stationed were required to find quarters, fire-wood, bedding, drink, soap, and candles.

News of the passage of these acts reached Virginia while the assembly was sitting. Patrick Henry assumed the responsibility of introducing a series of resolutions which claimed for the inhabitants of Virginia all the rights of born British subjects; denied any authority anywhere, except in the provincial assembly, to impose taxes upon them; and denounced the attempt to vest that authority elsewhere as inconsistent with the ancient constitution, and subversive of British as well as of American liberty. Upon the introduction of these resolutions a hot debate ensued. "Cæsar had his Brutus," said Henry, "Charles I his Cromwell, and George III——" "Treason! treason!" shouted the speaker, and the cry was re-echoed from the house. "George III," said Henry, firmly, "may profit by their example. If that be treason, make the most of it!" In spite of the opposition of all the old leaders, the resolutions passed, the fifth and most emphatic by a majority of only one vote.

Before these Virginia resolutions reached Massachusetts the general court had met at its annual session. The house of representatives appointed a committee of nine to consider what steps the emergency demanded. That committee recommended a convention or congress, to be composed of "committees from the houses of representatives or burgesses in the several colonies," to meet at New York on the first Tuesday of October following. South Carolina was the first to respond by the appointment of delegates[1] (July 25th).

Before the stamps reached America symptoms of a violent ferment appeared. A great elm in Boston, at the corner of the present Washington and Essex streets, under which the opponents of the Stamp Act were accustomed to assemble, soon became famous as "liberty tree." Those persons supposed to favour the ministry were hung in effigy on the branches of this elm (August 15th). A mob attacked the house of Oliver, secretary of the colony, who had been appointed stamp distributer for Massachusetts, pulled down a small building supposed to be intended for a stamp office, and frightened Oliver into a resignation. Later, maddened with liquor and excitement, they proceeded to the mansion of Hutchinson in North square. The lieutenant-governor and his family fled for their lives. The house was completely gutted, and the contents burned in bonfires kindled in the square. The inhabitants of Boston, at a town meeting, unanimously expressed their "abhorrence" of these proceedings, and a "civic guard" was organised to prevent their repetition. Yet the rioters, though well known, went unpunished—a sure sign of the secret concurrence and goodwill of the mass of the community.

Throughout the northern colonies associations on the basis of forcible resistance to the Stamp Act, under the name of "Sons of Liberty"—a title borrowed from Barre's famous speech—sprung suddenly into existence. They

[1 The subject, by the deliberate resolve of a small majority, was referred to a committee, of which Christopher Gadsden was the chairman. After two legislatures had held back, South Carolina, by "his achievement," pronounced for union. "Our state," he used to say, "particularly attentive to the interest and feelings of America, was the first, though at the extreme end, and one of the weakest, as well internally as externally, to listen to the call of our northern brethren in their distresses. Massachusetts sounded the trumpet, but to Carolina is it owing that it was attended to. Had it not been for South Carolina, no congress would then have happened."—BANCROFT.e]

[1765 A.D.]

spread rapidly from Connecticut and New York into Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, and took up as their special business the intimidation of the stamp officers.[1] In all the colonies those officers were persuaded or compelled to resign, and such stamps as arrived either remained unpacked, or else were seized and burned. The assembly of Pennsylvania on September 21st unanimously adopted a series of resolutions denouncing the Stamp Act as "unconstitutional and subversive of their dearest rights." Public meetings to protest against it were held throughout the colonies. The holding of such meetings was quite a new incident, and formed a new era in colonial history.

### MEETING OF THE "STAMP TAX CONGRESS" (1765 A.D.)

In the midst of this universal excitement, at the day appointed by Massachusetts (October 7th, 1765), committees from nine colonies met in New York. The assemblies of Virginia and North Carolina not having been in session since the issue of the Massachusetts circular, no opportunity had occurred of appointing committees. New York was in the same predicament; but a committee of correspondence, appointed at a previous session, saw fit to attend. [Georgia sent a messenger nearly a thousand miles overland to ask for a copy of the proceedings.] The congress was organised by the appointment of Ruggles as president. A rule was adopted, giving to each colony represented one vote.

In the course of a three weeks' session a Declaration of the Rights and Grievances of the Colonies was agreed to. All the privileges of Englishmen were claimed by this declaration as the birthright of the colonists—among the rest, the right of being taxed only by their own consent. Since distance and local circumstances made a representation in the British parliament impossible; these representatives, it was maintained, could be no other than the several colonial legislatures. Thus was given a flat negative to a scheme lately broached in England by Pownall and others for allowing to the colonies a representation in parliament, a project to which both Otis and Franklin seem at first to have leaned.

The several colonial assemblies, at their earliest sessions, gave to the proceedings a cordial approval. The first day of November, appointed for the Stamp Act to go into operation, came and went, but not a stamp was anywhere to be seen. Two companies of rioters paraded that evening the streets of New York, demanding the delivery of the stamps, which Colden, on the resignation of the stamp distributer, and his refusal to receive them, had taken into the fort. Colden was hung in effigy. His carriage was seized, and made a bonfire of under the muzzles of the guns.[c]

The merchants of New York set the example of the non-importation of British goods by directing their correspondents in England to ship no more goods to them until the repeal of the Stamp Act, and in Philadelphia it was resolved in town-meeting that till the repeal of that act no lawyer should support the suit of an English creditor against an American debtor, nor any American make remittances to England in payment for debt. Instead of wearing British cloth, which was formerly a mark of fashion and gentility,

[1 The life of the collector of the stamp tax was not an easy one. There is an amusing description of a certain publican who went out on a white horse into the rural districts, and came back hotly pursued by a mob of farmers. As a witness quaintly worded it, he looked like "Death on a pale horse with all hell after him."]

the wealthiest colonists now clothed themselves in homespun habiliments. [Stamped papers were required in judicial proceedings, but the judges openly omitted their use.] The custom-house officers granted clearances to every vessel that sailed, notwithstanding the want of stamped paper.*f*

### REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT (1766) AND NEW DISCONTENTS

The outbreak in New York led to one result of value. An agreement to suspend importations from Great Britain was fortified by the resolution to encourage manufactures at home, even by such means as eating no lamb or mutton, so that there might be wool enough for the country. All this being communicated by a "committee of correspondence" to the other colonies, there ensued a general though not a universal abstinence from British goods.

Meanwhile the want of stamp officers, and the indisposition of the colonial authorities to enforce the Stamp Act by themselves, had left it in a lifeless condition. Demands that it should be put out of existence altogether came, not from the colonies alone, but from a large number of merchants in England. Conway, Pitt,[1] and Burke, the greatest of English statesmen at the time, took up the opposition. The act had but augmented the expenditures of the kingdom without increasing its revenues. It had cost the treasury £12,000, of which but little more than a twelfth part was returned from duties levied in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Quebec, Florida, and the West Indies. The ministry, then professing to be a liberal one, listened to the general clamour for repeal. Amidst the throngs of tradesmen and merchants, politicians and statesmen, discussing the question, we see the colonial agents all alive to the interests with which they were charged. Foremost stood Benjamin Franklin, for several years the agent of Pennsylvania, and now called before the house of commons, where he assured his questioners that the colonies would never submit to the Stamp Act, nor to any similar statute, however much they might yield upon the point of duties to regulate commerce. The repeal was carried (March 18th, 1766), accompanied, however, by a Declaratory Act, "for the better securing the dependency of his majesty's dominions in America upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain in all cases whatsoever." This was the answer of England to the congress of America; the Stamp Act was laid aside, but "the power of taxation in all cases whatsoever" was more tightly grasped than ever.

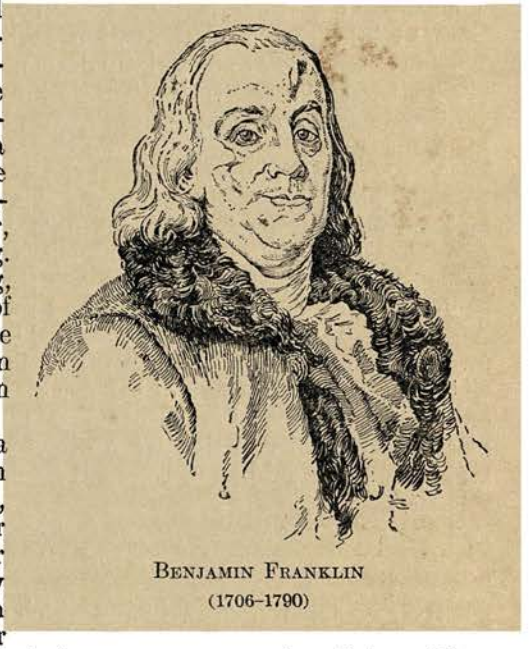
The fact that the rejoicings over the repeal of the Stamp Act were unmingled with any apparent misgivings as to the purpose of the Declaratory Act shows the warmth of the attachment to the mother country. Statues to Pitt and to the king [portraits to Camden, Barre, and Conway], with indemnities to those who had suffered from the riots of the preceding year, were voted amidst a turbulence of congratulations such as no event had ever occasioned in America. Forebodings returned with the following year. The parliament of 1767 created a board of revenue commissioners for America; passed a Tea Act, by which duties were imposed upon tea and other imports into the colonies, for the purpose not only of providing for troops as before, but of securing fixed salaries for the royal governors and the royal judges; then pronounced the New York assembly incapable of legislation until the Quartering Act of 1765 was obeyed by that body, hitherto resisting its execution. Here were

[1 In our history of England we have already recounted the contests in that country over the colonial policy, and have quoted from Pitt's immortal address.]

[1768-1769 A.D.]

three measures more comprehensive and more oppressive than any parliamentary legislation had as yet been.

The beginning of the next year (1768) brought out the stern voice of Massachusetts through her representatives, inveighing against all the enactments of parliament, and calling upon the colonies to join in one firm front of resistance. The same spirit showed itself in all classes. The revenue commissioners were soon flying from a riot occasioned by the seizure of John Hancock's sloop *Liberty* for a fraudulent entry at the custom house. Such was the prevailing confusion that British troops were ordered to the town (1768). This was too much for Boston. A town-meeting called upon the governor (Bernard) to convene the general court. On his refusal, the meeting advised the people to get their arms ready, on account, it was said, "of an approaching war with France"; then summoned a convention from all Massachusetts. This gathered, and again requested the governor to summon the legislature. He again refused, and hinted at treason in the convention, with reason, indeed, considering the entire novelty of such a body to him and to the colony. The convention, not very full of fire, deprecated the displeasure of the governor, and addressed a petition to the king. Just as the convention was separating, the troops arrived under command of General Gage, but without finding the quarters that were demanded for them from Boston, sturdier as a town than Massachusetts as a colony.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
(1706–1790)

The new year (1769) began with a new provocation, in the shape of an act directing that all cases of treason, whether occurring in the colonies or not, should be tried in the mother country. This was worse than any taxation, worse than any extension of admiralty courts, any demand for quarters, any creation of revenue commissioners, any suspension of assemblies; it struck a blow at the safety of the person as well as the freedom of the subject. The planter at Mount Vernon, hitherto calm, exclaims with indignation that "our lordly masters in Great Britain will be satisfied with nothing less than the deprivation of American freedom." "That no man," he writes, "should scruple or hesitate a moment to use arms in defence of so valuable a blessing, is clearly my opinion. Yet arms, I would beg leave to add, should be the last resource." The Virginia assembly, of which Washington was still a member, passed resolutions of kindred spirit. Massachusetts was more than ready to follow. The Suffolk grand jury indicted the governor of Massachusetts, the commander-in-chief of the colonies in general, with the revenue commissioners and officers of the customs, for libelling the province to the ministry. For every fresh provocation was there a fresh resistance, denying more and more of the power that was more and more oppressive.[d]

The house of representatives of Massachusetts, at their first coming together (May 31st), resolved that it was inconsistent with their dignity and

freedom to deliberate in the midst of an armed force. They refused to enter upon the business of supplies, or anything else but redress of grievances. They denounced a standing army in time of peace, without the consent of the general court, as an invasion of natural rights and their rights as Englishmen, highly dangerous to the people, without precedent, and unconstitutional. When called upon to refund the expenses already incurred in finding quarters for the troops, and to make provision also for the future, they rose to a still more indignant strain.

The same spirit evinced in Virginia pervaded almost the whole continent. The assembly of South Carolina refused to find quarters for the troops sent to that province, and they adopted the Virginia resolutions, as did also the assemblies of Maryland and Delaware. The North Carolina assembly did the same thing, and was dissolved in consequence; but the members immediately reassembled in their private capacity, as had been done in Virginia, and entered into the non-importation agreement. Party lines throughout the colonies began now to be strictly drawn. The partisans of the mother country were stigmatised as "tories," while the opponents of parliamentary taxation took the name of "whigs"—old names lately applied in England as designations for the "king's friends" and their opponents.

The struggle, indeed, between the two parties in the mother country had reached a high pitch. Towards the close of the session of parliament Pownall had moved the repeal of Townshend's Act, and had supported the motion in an elaborate speech, in which he showed that the total produce of the new taxes for the first year had been less than £16,000; that the expenses of the new custom-house arrangements had reduced the net proceeds of the crown revenue in the colonies to only £295, while the extraordinary military expenses in America amounted for the same period to £170,000; the merchants, meanwhile, loudly complaining of the decline of trade, an evil which the extension of the non-importation agreements threatened to aggravate. Instead of meeting Pownall's motion by a direct negative, the ministers proposed the reference of the subject to the next session.

### THE "BOSTON MASSACRE" (1770 A.D.)

The seventeen months during which the British troops had been stationed in Boston, even the agreement of the commanding officer to use only a single drum and fife on Sundays, had by no means reconciled the townspeople to their presence. A mob of men and boys, encouraged by the sympathy of the mass of the inhabitants, made it a constant practice to insult and provoke them. After numerous fights with straggling soldiers, a serious collision at length took place. A picket guard of eight men, provoked beyond endurance by words and blows, fired into a crowd, killed three persons, and dangerously wounded five others. The bells were rung; a cry spread through the town, "The soldiers are rising!" It was late at night; but the population poured into the streets; nor was it without difficulty that a general combat was prevented. The next morning, at an early hour, Faneuil Hall was filled with an excited and indignant assembly.

Finally, upon the unanimous advice of the council, it was agreed that all the troops should be removed. The funeral of the slain, attended by a vast concourse of people, was celebrated with all possible pomp. The story of the "Boston massacre," for so it was called, exaggerated into a ferocious and unprovoked assault by brutal soldiers on a defenceless people, produced every-

where intense excitement. The officer and soldiers of the picket guard were indicted and tried for murder. They were defended, however, by John Adams and Josiah Quincy, two young lawyers, among the most zealous of the popular leaders, and so clear a case was made out in their behalf that they were all acquitted except two, who were found guilty of manslaughter and slightly punished.

The British cabinet meanwhile had undergone great changes. Townshend was dead, the Chatham influence was quite extinct, "the king's friends" were predominant, and Frederick North, eldest son of the earl of Guildford, by courtesy Lord North, had risen, as the leader of that section, to the head of the ministry. As it happened, on the very day of the Boston massacre Lord North brought forward the promised motion to repeal the whole of Townshend's act except the duty on tea. He could have wished to repeal the whole act, could that have been done without giving up the right of taxing the colonies—a right he would contend for to the last hour of his life. Lord North's bill of repeal became law in April, 1770. The obnoxious Quartering Act, limited by its terms to three years, was suffered silently to expire. But the Sugar Act, and especially the tax on tea, as they involved the whole principle of parliamentary taxation, were quite sufficient to keep up the discontent of the colonies.

### THE BURNING OF THE GASPEE

The *Gaspee*, an armed schooner in the revenue service, had given great and often unnecessary annoyance to the shipping employed in Narragansett Bay. A plan, in consequence, had been formed for her destruction. Enticed into shoal water by a schooner, to which she had been induced to give chase, she grounded (June 10th), and was boarded and burned by a party from Providence. In consequence of this daring outrage, an act of parliament had passed for sending to England for trial all persons concerned in the colonies in burning or destroying his majesty's ships, dock-yards, or military stores. A reward of £600 and a free pardon to any accomplice was offered for the discovery of the destroyers of the *Gaspee*. But though the perpetrators were well known, no legal evidence could be obtained against them.[c]

It has already appeared how small a part of the provocations to the colonies consisted in mere measures of taxation. A signal instance of the comprehensive inflictions from the mother country came up in the midst of the transactions lately occurred. The repugnance of the colonies to the slave-trade, reviving in these times of struggle, brought out renewed expressions of opposition and abhorrence. Virginia attempted by her assembly [on motion by Thomas Jefferson] to lay restrictions on the traffic; but the royal governor was at once directed by the authorities at home to consent to no laws affecting the interests of the slave dealers (1770). The efforts of other colonies met with similar obstacles. Bills of assemblies, petitions to the king, called forth by the startling development of the trade,[1] were alike ineffectual. "It is the opinion of this meeting"—thus ran the resolves of the county of Fairfax, George Washington chairman—"that during our present difficulties and distress no slaves ought to be imported into any of the British colonies on this continent, and we take this opportunity of declaring our most earnest wishes to see an entire stop forever put to such a wicked, cruel, and unnatural trade" (1774). Provocations were gathering heavily and rapidly.[d]

[1] In less than nine months 6,431 slaves were imported into the single colony of South Carolina from Africa and the West Indies.

### THE BOSTON TEA-PARTY

The British government, determined to carry into execution the duty on tea, now attempted to effect by policy what was found to be impracticable by constraint. The measures of the colonies had already produced such diminution of exports from Great Britain that the warehouses of the East India Company contained about seventeen million pounds of tea, for which a market could not readily be procured. The unwillingness of the company to lose their commercial profits, and of the ministry to lose the revenue from the sale of tea in America, led to a compromise for the security of both. The East India Company were authorised to export their tea, duty free, to any place whatever, by which regulation tea would come cheaper to the American consumer than before it had been made a source of revenue. It was now to be seen whether the colonies would practically support their own principles and meet the consequences, or submit to taxation. The colonies were united as one man. The new ministerial plan was universally considered as a direct attack on the liberties of the people, which it was the duty of all to oppose. Cargoes were sent to New York, Philadelphia, Charleston (South Carolina), and Boston. The inhabitants of the cities of New York and Philadelphia sent the ships back to London, and, said John Adams, "they sailed up the Thames to proclaim to all the nation that New York and Pennsylvania would not be enslaved." The inhabitants of Charleston unloaded the tea and stored it in damp cellars, where it could not be used, and where it finally was all spoiled.

The vessels containing the tea for Boston lay for some days in the harbour, watched by a strong guard of citizens, who, from a numerous town-meeting, despatched the most peremptory commands to the shipmasters not to land their cargoes. At length the popular rage could be restrained no longer, and the consignees, apprehending violence, took refuge in Castle William, while, on the 16th of December, an assemblage of men dressed and painted like Mohawk Indians, boarded the vessels and threw the tea into the dock. In the space of about two hours the contents of three hundred and forty-two chests of tea, valued at £18,000, were thus destroyed.[f]

Concerning this much-discussed event John Fiske[i] writes with his accustomed vividness and with perhaps something more than his usual enthusiasm. He declares that few even among American historians have fully understood or properly interpreted the meaning of the Boston Tea-party. In his view it was an event of supreme importance, an assertion of the most fundamental principle of political freedom which had had its origin at a New England town-meeting. The tenor of its peculiar implications has been curiously misunderstood by British writers. He quotes the "tory historian" Lecky[g] as characterising the event as an "outrage," and the "liberal historian" Green[h] as alluding to it as a "trivial riot." In his view such expressions betray a profound misapprehension of the significance of the event, which, to the New England mind, seems to be one far enough from trivial. Fiske himself, indeed, characterises it as "colossal." He thinks that sound reason guided the actors in the momentous episode; that there was no intrusion of mere prejudice or oppression. He cites with approval the comment of the contemporary historian Gordon,[i] who declared that "had the tea been landed, the union of the colonies in opposing the ministerial scheme would have been dissolved, and it would have been extremely difficult ever after to have restored it"; and he thinks that the men of Boston showed monumental patience in delaying action so long as they did. He does not

hesitate to compare the "dauntless moral purpose" of these men with the spirit that actuated the noblest heroes of Greece and Rome. If this interpretation fails somewhat to carry conviction, it at least is interesting as coming from one of the most candid and circumspect of American historians. Nor need we doubt that some at least of the men who conducted the famous Tea-party were actuated by motives such as are here ascribed to them.[a]

THE FIVE ACTS; THE BLOCKADE OF BOSTON AND THE FIRST CONGRESS (1774 A.D.)

When, presently, the fate of the tea became known in England, ministerial indignation rose to a high pitch. Leave was asked by Lord North to introduce into parliament, then in session, the so-called "Five Acts," including a measure, soon famous as the Boston Port Bill, shutting up the harbour of that town, and removing the seat of government to Salem. The audacity of the Bostonians had silenced the friends of the colonists, and this motion encountered but slight opposition.

Another bill soon followed, "for better regulating the government of Massachusetts Bay," amounting, in fact, to an abrogation of the charter. This bill gave to the crown the appointment of councillors and judges of the superior court. The appointment of all other officers, military, executive, and judicial, was bestowed on the governor, independently of any approval by the council. All town-meetings, except for elections, were prohibited. A third bill, intended to meet cases like that of the Boston massacre, and to protect the servants of the crown against the verdicts of colonial juries, provided for the trial in England of all persons charged in the colonies with murders committed in support of government. These bills were carried in both houses by a majority of more than four to one. A fourth bill, for quartering troops in America, a new edition of the former act, was also brought in by the ministers. A fifth act, known as the Quebec Act, designed to prevent that newly acquired province from joining with the other colonies, restored in civil matters the old French law and guaranteed to the Catholic church the possession of its ample property, amounting to a fourth part or more of the old French grants, with full freedom of worship. The calling of an assembly was indefinitely postponed, the legislative authority, except for taxation, being committed to a council nominated by the crown. The boundaries of the province were also extended to the Mississippi on the west and the Ohio on the south, so as to include, besides the present Canada, the territory now the five states northwest of the Ohio. In the commons Burke brought forward a motion to repeal the tax on tea. In his speech on this occasion, the earliest of the splendid series of his published parliamentary orations, he reviewed the history of the attempt to tax the colonies, and proposed to go back to the state of things before the passage of the Stamp Act. But the ministers were resolved, by making an example, to terrify the colonies into submission.[c]

Four ships of war were ordered to sail for the proscribed town. General Gage, commander-in-chief in America, was appointed governor of Massachusetts Bay, in the room of Mr. Hutchinson, and he was authorised to remit forfeitures and grant pardons. The Port Bill arriving in different parts of the colonies excited universal indignation. In Philadelphia and other places collections were taken up in aid of the sufferers in Boston. The Virginia assembly, moved by the eloquence of Patrick Henry, espoused the cause of Massachusetts, and resolved to observe the first day of the operation of the

bill as a fast; for which act Governor Dunmore, who had succeeded Lord Botetourt as governor, dissolved them. Previous to their separation, however, they proposed a general congress to deliberate on those measures which the common interest of America might require. On the 1st of June, the day designated by the Port Bill, business was suspended in Boston at noon, and the harbour shut against all vessels. Before that time the people of Massachusetts had received assurances of sympathy and aid from nearly all the other colonies. Emboldened by such support, they determined to act with unabated vigour, and when they met at Salem they resolved on a general congress, to meet on the 1st of September at Philadelphia, nominated five of their members to attend it, voted the sum of £500 for defraying their expenses, and recommended to the several towns and districts of the province to raise this sum, according to their proportion of the last provincial tax; which requisition was readily complied with. On being informed of these proceedings, the governor dissolved the assembly.

The cause of the people of Boston gained ground everywhere, and at length the Boston committee of correspondence, satisfied that they enjoyed the good opinion and confidence of the public, ventured to frame and publish an agreement, entitled a "Solemn League and Covenant." This was couched in such very strong terms that it met with but little favour, and soon sank into oblivion. It was succeeded by a compact of a less exceptionable nature, which was efficacious in preventing commercial intercourse with Great Britain. The necessity of a general congress was soon universally perceived, and the measure was gradually adopted by every colony, from New Hampshire to South Carolina. On the 4th of September delegates appeared at Philadelphia, and the next day the first continental congress was organised at Carpenter's Hall, in Chestnut street. It was resolved that each colony should have one vote, whatever might be the number of its representatives. They made a Declaration of Rights; resolved on an address to the king, a memorial to the people of British America, and an address to the people of Great Britain. These papers had a great effect both in America and England. They inspired the people with confidence in their delegates, and their decency, firmness, and wisdom caused a universal feeling of respect for the congress, which extended even to England. Lord Chatham, speaking of them in the house of lords, said that "for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such complication of circumstances, no nation, or body of men, can stand in preference to the general congress at Philadelphia."

The appearance of things in Massachusetts was far from being auspicious. Soon after General Gage's arrival several regiments arrived from Ireland, New York, Halifax, and Quebec. General Gage excited the jealousy of the townsmen by employing some of the troops in repairing and manning the fortifications on Boston Neck—a measure which the people understood as intended to cut off communication between the town and the country.

Gage had issued writs for the assembling of a convention at Salem on the 5th of October; but, alarmed by the symptoms of increased discontent, he judged it expedient to countermand the writs, by a proclamation suspending the meeting. This proclamation was declared illegal, and ninety representatives assembling, and neither the governor nor his substitute attending, they formed themselves into a provincial congress and adjourned to Concord. Here they appointed a committee to request General Gage to desist from fortifying the entrance into Boston, and to restore that place to its neutral state, as before. The governor expressed the warmest displeasure at the supposition of danger from English troops, to any but enemies of England,

and warned the congress to desist from their illegal proceedings. The provincial congress then adjourned to Cambridge, where they appointed a committee to prepare a plan for the immediate defence of the province, gave orders for the enlistment of a number of the inhabitants to be in readiness, "at a minute's warning,"[1] to appear in arms, elected three general officers, Preble, Ward, and Pomeroy, to command these minute-men, and adjourned to the 23rd of November. On their second assembling they passed an ordinance for the equipment of twelve thousand men, to act on any emergency, and the enlistment of one-fourth part of the militia as minute-men, and appointed two more officers, Prescott and Heath. They also secured the co-operation of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut in raising an army of twenty thousand men.

The new parliament met on the 30th of November, 1774, and were addressed by the king, who referred in strong terms to the rebellious conduct of the people in Massachusetts and the other colonies. Addresses, echoing the royal sentiments, were made by both houses, though not without much opposition. Massachusetts was soon after declared to be in a state of rebellion, and a bill for the restriction of the colonial commerce and fisheries was also passed by parliament.

That portion of the revolution which could be accomplished in the council-halls may here be considered to have been brought to a close. The colonists had taken their position. They had repeatedly declared their grievances. They had peaceably petitioned for redress, and had met new acts of aggression by unavailing remonstrance. The purpose of resistance had acquired consistency and firmness, and only awaited the resort of tyranny to physical force in order to display its strength. The occasion was soon to arrive when the pen was to be laid aside and the sword unsheathed.

A considerable quantity of military stores having been deposited at Concord, an inland town, about eighteen miles from Boston, General Gage resolved to destroy them [also to capture Samuel Adams and John Hancock, who had been warned to escape from Boston]. For the execution of this design, he, on the night preceding the 19th of April, detached Lieutenant-Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, with eight hundred grenadiers and light infantry, who, at eleven o'clock, commenced a silent and expeditious march for Concord. Messengers,[2] who had been sent from town for that purpose by Dr. Joseph Warren, who had happily received timely notice of the expedition, eluded the British patrols and gave the alarm, which was rapidly spread by church-bells, signal-guns, and volleys. On the arrival of the British troops at Lexington, six miles below Concord, they found about seventy men, belonging to the minute-company of that town, on the parade, under arms. Major Pitcairn, who led the van, galloping up to them, called out, "Disperse, disperse, ye rebels! damn you! why don't you disperse?" The sturdy yeomanry not instantly obeying his order, he advanced nearer, fired his pistol, flourished his sword, and ordered his soldiers to fire. The troops cheered, and immediately fired;[3] several of the provincials fell, and the rest dispersed. The British con-

[1] The militia organised in this manner received the appellation of "minute-men."

[2] These were Paul Revere and William Dawes, the former of whom is immortal for his "midnight ride." Certain details of the tradition are under dispute.]

[3] The question of firing the first shot at Lexington was studiously examined at the time, each side claiming exemption from the charge of being the aggressor, and Frothingham[k] and Hudson[l] collate the evidence. It seems probable that the British fired first, though by design or accident a musket on the provincial side flashed in the pan before the regulars fired. Stedman,[m] who was not present, and most British writers, say the Americans fired first, as did Pitcairn.—JUSTIN WINSOR.[n]]

tinuing to discharge their muskets after the dispersion, a part of the fugitives stopped and returned the fire. Eight Americans were killed, three or four of them by the first discharge of the British, the rest after they had left the parade. Several also were wounded.

The British detachment now pressed forward to Concord. A party of light infantry took possession of the bridge, while the main body entered the town and proceeded to execute their commission. They spiked two twenty-four-pounders, threw five hundred pounds of ball into the river and wells, and broke in pieces sixty barrels of flour. Meanwhile the provincial militia were reinforced, and Major Buttrick of Concord assuming the command, they advanced towards the bridge. Not being aware of the transaction at Lexington, and anxious that the British should be the aggressors, he ordered his followers to refrain from giving the first fire. As he advanced, the light infantry retired to the Concord side of the river and commenced pulling up the bridge, and on his nearer approach they fired, and killed a captain and one of the privates. The provincials returned the fire;[1] a severe contest ensued, and the regulars were forced to give ground with some loss. They were soon joined by the main body, and the whole detachment retreated with precipitancy. All the inhabitants of the adjoining country were by this time in arms, and they attacked the retreating troops in every direction. Stone walls and other coverts served the provincial soldiers for lines and redoubts, whilst their superior knowledge of the country enabled them to head off the British troops at every turn of the road. Thus harassed, they reached Lexington, where they were joined by Lord Percy, who, most opportunely for them, had arrived with nine hundred men and two pieces of cannon.[2] The close firing, by good marksmen, from behind their accidental coverts, threw the British into great confusion, but they kept up a retreating fire on the militia and minute-men. If the Salem and Marblehead regiments had arrived in season to cut off their retreat, in all probability but few of the detachment would ever have reached Boston. Of the Americans engaged throughout the day, fifty were killed and thirty-four wounded. The British loss was sixty-five killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-eight prisoners. To their wounded prisoners the Americans behaved with the utmost tenderness and humanity, and apprised Gage that he was at liberty to send the surgeons of his own army to minister to them. The affair of Lexington was the signal for war. The provincial congress of Massachusetts met the next day after the battle, and determined the number of men to be raised; fixed on the payment of the troops; voted an issue of paper money; drew up rules and regulations for an army: and all was done in a business-like manner.*l*

BANCROFT ON THE AFTERMATH OF LEXINGTON

Darkness closed upon the country and upon the town, but it was no night for sleep. Heralds on swift relays of horses transmitted the war-message from hand to hand, till village repeated it to village; the sea to the backwoods; the plains to the highlands; and it was never suffered to droop, till it had been borne north, and south, and east, and west, throughout the land. It spread over the bays that receive the Saco and the Penobscot. Its loud

[1 This skirmish inspired Emerson's famous *Concord Ode*, in which he says of this first volley of "the embattled farmers," that they "fired the shot heard round the world."]

[2 Colonel Stedman,*m* a British historian, says that the fagged-out regulars reached Percy's lines with "their tongues hanging out of their mouths like dogs after a chase."]

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reveille broke the rest of the trappers of New Hampshire, and ringing like bugle-notes from peak to peak, overleapt the Green mountains, swept onward to Montreal, and descended the ocean river, till the responses were echoed from the cliffs of Quebec. The hills along the Hudson told to one another the tale. As the summons hurried to the south, it was one day at New York; in one more at Philadelphia; the next it lighted a watch-fire at Baltimore; thence it waked an answer at Annapolis. Crossing the Potomac near Mount Vernon, it was sent forward without a halt to Williamsburg. It traversed the Dismal Swamp to Nansemond along the route of the first emigrants to North Carolina. It moved onwards and still onwards through boundless groves of evergreen to New Berne and to Wilmington. "For God's sake, forward it by night and by day!" wrote Cornelius Harnett by the express which sped for Brunswick. Patriots of South Carolina caught up its tones at the border, and despatched it to Charleston, and through pines and palmettoes and moss-clad live oaks, still farther to the south, till it resounded among the New England settlements beyond the Savannah. Hillsborough and the Mecklenburg district of North Carolina rose in triumph, now that their wearisome uncertainty had its end. The Blue Ridge took up the voice and made it heard from one end to the other of the valley of Virginia. The Alleghanies, as they listened, opened their barriers that the "loud call" might pass through to the hardy riflemen on the Holston, the Watauga, and the French Broad. Ever renewing its strength, powerful enough even to create a commonwealth, it breathed its inspiring word to the first settlers of Kentucky; so that hunters who made their halt in the matchless valley of the Elkhorn commemorated the nineteenth day of April by naming their encampment Lexington. With one impulse the colonies sprang to arms; with one spirit they pledged themselves to each other "to be ready for the extreme event." With one heart the continent cried, "Liberty or death!"

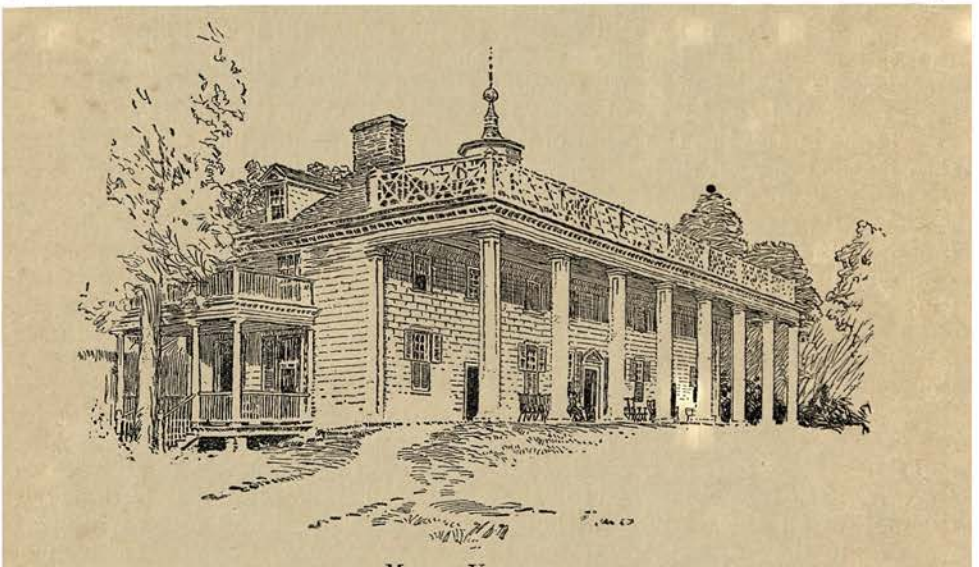
The country people, as soon as they heard the cry of innocent blood from the ground, snatched their firelocks from the walls, and wives and mothers and sisters took part in preparing the men of their households to go forth to the war. The farmers rushed to "the camp of liberty," often with nothing but the clothes on their backs, without a day's provisions, and many without a farthing in their pockets. Without stores or cannon, or supplies even of powder or of money, Massachusetts, by its congress, on the 22nd of April resolved unanimously that a New England army of thirty thousand men should be raised, and established its own proportion at thirteen thousand six hundred. The term of enlistment was fixed for the last day of December.

Boston was beleaguered round from Roxbury to Chelsea by an unorganised, fluctuating mass of men, each with his own musket and his little store of cartridges, and such provisions as he brought with him or as were sent after him or were contributed by the people round about. The British officers, from the sense of their own weakness and from fear of the American marksmen, dared not order a sally. Their confinement was the more irksome, for it came of a sudden before their magazines had been filled. They had scoffed at the Americans as cowards who would run at their sight, and they had saved themselves from destruction only by the rapidity of their retreat.

The news from Lexington surprised London in the last days of May. The Massachusetts congress, by a swift packet in its own service, had sent to England a calm and accurate statement of the events of the 19th of April, fortified by depositions, with a charge to Arthur Lee, their agent, to give it the widest circulation. These were their words to the inhabitants of Britain: "Brethren, we profess to be loyal and dutiful subjects, and, so hardly dealt

with as we have been, are still ready, with our lives and fortunes, to defend the person, family, crown, and dignity of our royal sovereign. Nevertheless, to the persecution and tyranny of his cruel ministry we will not submit. Appealing to heaven for the justice of our cause, we determine to die or be free."

Granville Sharpe, who was employed in the ordnance department, declined to take part in sending stores to America, and after some delay threw up his employment. Lord Chatham was the real conqueror of Canada for England, and Carleton had been proud to take to Quebec as his aide-de-camp Chatham's eldest son. But it was impossible for the offspring of the elder Pitt to draw his sword against the Americans, and his resignation was offered, as soon as it could be done without a wound to his character as a soldier. Admiral Keppel, one of the most gallant officers in the British navy, asked not to be employed in America. The recorder of London put on a full suit of mourning,



MOUNT VERNON

and being asked if he had lost a relative or friend, answered, "Yes, many brothers at Lexington and Concord."

On the 24th of June the citizens of London, agreeing fully with the letter received from New York, voted an address to the king, desiring him to consider the situation of the English people, "who had nothing to expect from America but gazettes of blood and mutual lists of their slaughtered fellow subjects." And again they prayed for the dissolution of parliament, and a dismission forever of the present ministers. As the king refused to receive this address on the throne, it was never presented, but it was entered in the books of the city and published under its authority. The Society for Constitutional Information, after a special meeting on the 7th of June, raised £100, "to be applied," said they, "to the relief of the widows, orphans, and aged parents of our beloved American fellow subjects, who, faithful to the character of Englishmen, preferring death to slavery, were, for that reason only, inhumanly murdered by the king's troops at Lexington and Concord." Other sums were added, and an account of what had been done was laid before the world by Horne Tooke in the *Public Advertiser*. The publication raised an

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implacable spirit of revenge. Three printers were fined in consequence £100 each, and Horne was pursued unrelentingly.

The people of New England had with one impulse rushed to arms; the people of England, quite otherwise, stood aghast, doubtful and saddened, unwilling to fight against their countrymen; languid and appalled; astonished at the conflict, which they had been taught to believe never would come; in a state of apathy; irresolute between their pride and their sympathy with the struggle for English liberties. The king might employ emancipated negroes, or Indians, or Canadians, or Russians, or Germans; Englishmen enough to carry on the war were not to be engaged. The king's advisers cast their eyes outside of England for aid. They counted with certainty upon the inhabitants of Canada; they formed plans to recruit in Ireland; they looked to Hanover, Hesse, and Russia for regiments. The king rested his confidence of success in checking the rebellion on the ability of his governor to arm Indians and negroes enough to make up the deficiency. This plan of operations bears the special impress of George III.*e*

### TICONDEROGA AND CROWN POINT TAKEN; BUNKER HILL LOST

At New York the doubtful tory ascendency was completely swept away by the current of patriotism occasioned by the battle of Lexington, and the public voice of the colony declared its determination to join in the quarrel. Some of the boldest inhabitants of Connecticut conceived the design of capturing Ticonderoga and Crown Point, two fortresses which, in the event of a final struggle, would prove of the utmost importance to the Americans. Forty volunteers accordingly proceeded from Connecticut to Bennington. Colonel Ethan Allen joined them with two hundred and thirty men. Here they were all unexpectedly joined by Colonel Benedict Arnold, who had meditated a similar project. He was admitted to act as auxiliary to Allen, who held the chief command. Allen and Arnold with eighty-three men entered the fort abreast at break of day (May 9th).[1] All the garrison were asleep, except one sentinel, whose piece missing fire, he attempted to escape into the fort; but the Americans rushed after him, and, forming themselves into a hollow square, gave three loud huzzas, which instantly aroused the garrison. Some skirmishing with swords and bayonets ensued. De la Place, the commander [who came forth undressed with his breeches in his hands], was required to surrender the fort. "By what authority?" he asked, with no unnatural surprise. "I demand it," replied Allen, "in the name of the great Jehovah and of the continental congress!" This extraordinary summons was instantly obeyed.*f*

Thus was Ticonderoga taken in the gray of the morning of the 10th of May. What cost the British nation £8,000,000, a succession of campaigns, and many lives was won in ten minutes by a few undisciplined men, without the loss of life or limb. The Americans gained with the fortress nearly fifty prisoners and more than a hundred pieces of cannon.*e*

Colonel Seth Warner was then despatched to Crown Point, and he easily succeeded in gaining possession of this place, in which a sergeant and twelve privates formed the whole of the garrison. A British sloop of war, lying off St. Johns, at the northern end of Lake Champlain, was captured by Arnold, who commenced in this manner a brief but brilliant career, too soon clouded

[1 There has been controversy concerning the relative credit due Allen and Arnold in this affair.]

by private vice, vanity, and prodigality, and finally tarnished by public treachery and dishonour. Thus the Americans, without the loss of a single man, acquired, by a bold and decisive stroke, two important posts, a great quantity of artillery and ammunition, and the command of Lake George and Lake Champlain.

Towards the end of May a considerable reinforcement arrived at Boston from England under generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, who had gained great reputation in the preceding war. General Gage, thus strengthened, prepared to act with more decision. It was recommended by the provincial congress to the council of war to take measures for the defence of Dorchester Neck and to occupy Bunker Hill. The hill, which is high and commanding, stands just at the entrance of the peninsula of Charlestown. Orders were accordingly issued, on the 16th of June, for a detachment of one thousand men, under the command of Colonel Prescott, to take possession of that eminence; but, by some mistake, Breed's Hill was made the scene of the intrenchment. The American troops, who were provided with intrenching tools, immediately commenced their work, and pursued it with such diligence that before the morning arrived they had thrown up a redoubt of considerable dimensions. This was done in such deep silence that, although the peninsula was nearly surrounded by British ships of war and transports, their operations were only first disclosed to the enemy by the return of daylight.

The alarm was given at Boston, at break of day, by a cannonade which the *Lively*, sloop of war, promptly directed against the provincial works. A battery of six guns was soon after opened upon them from Copp's Hill, at the north end of Boston. Under a continual shower of shot and shells, the Americans persevered in their labour.

At three o'clock the British moved to the attack, three thousand strong. They marched slowly up the hill in two lines. The artillery was used occasionally as they advanced, but did little execution. Meantime the Americans had been reinforced by a body of their countrymen under Joseph Warren and Pomeroy. While the troops were advancing, orders were given by the British to set fire to Charlestown, and in a very short time the town was wrapped in flames. The Americans permitted the enemy to approach unmolested within a hundred yards of their works, and then poured in upon them such a deadly fire of small-arms that the British commanders, who had expected nothing more than a few random shots from militia, soon found their line broken and the soldiers falling back precipitately to the landing-place. By the vigorous exertions of the officers, they were again formed and brought to the attack, though with apparent reluctance. The Americans again reserved their fire until the enemy were within five or six rods, when they gave it with deadly precision, and put them a second time to flight. But by this time the powder of the Americans began to fail, and their fire slackened. The British brought some of their cannon to bear, which raked the inside of the breastwork from end to end; the fire from the ships, batteries, and field-artillery was redoubled, and the redoubt, attacked on three sides at once, was carried at the point of the bayonet. The Americans, though a retreat was ordered, delayed, and made an obstinate resistance with the butts of their guns, until the assailants, who easily mounted the works, had half filled the redoubt. The troops had now to make their way over Charlestown Neck, which was completely raked by the Glasgow man-of-war and two floating batteries; but by the skill and address of the officers, and especially of General Israel Putnam, who commanded the rear, the retreat was effected with little loss. General Warren was in the battle, fighting like

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a common soldier, with his musket, in the redoubt, and while the troops were retreating from thence he was shot in the back of the head.

The New Hampshire troops, under Stark, Dearborn, and others, were in the battle, near the rail-fence. They were marching from their native state towards Cambridge, and came upon the battle-ground by their own impulses, having received no orders from the commander-in-chief. The British had over three thousand in the fight, the Americans fifteen hundred [engaged at one time; from three to four thousand took part at some time, though at all points of contact the British were superior in numbers]. The English acknowledged a loss of one thousand and fifty-four killed and wounded, with a great proportion of officers. The American loss, previous to the taking of the redoubt, was trifling, but owing to their imprudence in not retreating when ordered the number was increased. They lost in killed one hundred and fifty, and three hundred wounded and missing.*f*

The battle of Bunker, or Breed's, Hill, though a defeat for the Americans, was in a sense a moral victory, since their untrained and ill-managed troops showed that they could hold their fire for effective volleys, and could meet the British regular face to face. This in spite of bad military management. On this matter Charles Francis Adams *o* animadverts with much vigour. He declares that "the affair of the 17th of June 1775 affords one of the most singular examples on record of what might be called the 'balancing of blunders' between opposing sides, and of the accidental inuring of all those blunders to the advantage of one side." In elucidation of this curious claim, he points out that the operations of the Americans were so blunderingly carried out that they should have resulted in irretrievable disaster, and would have so resulted had it not been that the British commanders showed an even superior capacity for blundering. He declares that when Prescott was ordered to march across Charlestown Neck and to occupy Bunker Hill, he left his rear quite unprotected; that in advancing without orders from the summit of Bunker Hill to the lower summit before him, he entered a trap from which there was no escape unless his enemy had the fatuity to come at him directly from the front and thus drive him out of his dangerous position. Even so, Prescott twice repulsed the British, as we have seen. It is the opinion of Adams that if he had a third time repulsed his opponents, they would in all probability have given up the attack for the day; and in that case there is hardly a doubt that he would have been compelled to surrender on the following day, as operations in the rear would then have been made under cover of the British fleet. Paradoxical as it may seem, then, it was Prescott's peculiar good fortune that a lack of ammunition led him to withdraw, so that he was virtually forced out of the trap into a position of safety by the ill-advised advance of the enemy. Had it been otherwise, Prescott's success of the first day would have led to irretrievable disaster on the second, just as happened in Napoleon's battles of Ligny and Waterloo. It must be admitted that there is a certain plausibility, if not actual conviction, in this paradoxical view.*a*

### THE SECOND CONGRESS; WASHINGTON DRIVES THE BRITISH FROM BOSTON

A second congress was now clearly necessary. Before the battle of Lexington delegates had been appointed by all the colonies, and it assembled at Philadelphia on the 10th of May, when Peyton Randolph was again chosen president.

The crisis had now arrived which required the other colonies to determine whether they would maintain the cause of New England in actual war, or abandon that liberty for which they had so long contended, and submit to parliament. The congress immediately resolved that the colonies should be put in a state of defence. They then voted addresses to the king, to the people of Great Britain, to the people of Canada, and to the assembly of Jamaica. These several papers were written in a masterly style, full of the eloquence so necessary to conciliate goodwill to the common cause. Congress next resolved that twenty thousand men should immediately be equipped; chose George Washington, of Virginia, a member of the congress, to be commander-in-chief of the army of the United Colonies, and all the forces now raised or to be raised by them; they organised all the higher departments of the army, and emitted bills of credit, for the payment of which the twelve United Colonies were pledged. On the 6th of July a manifesto was issued.

Meantime the news of the battle of Bunker Hill spread through the country, and all New England was in arms. Companies were raised with the utmost despatch, and all hopes of reconciliation were lost. Bands of armed men came flocking to Cambridge from all directions and from remote distances. The British force in New England was fully employed by sea and land. Congress had fitted out several small vessels which had been very successful in capturing store-ships laden with provisions and ammunition for the British army. The British cruisers were sent against them, but with little success. This produced retaliation on defenceless towns along the coast, and on the 17th of October, Falmouth, now Portland, was visited by Captain Mowat, who laid the town in ashes, the inhabitants having escaped during the night. On the 2nd of July General Washington, accompanied by General Lee and several other officers of rank, arrived at Cambridge, the headquarters of the provincial army.*f*

Washington at once determined to lay regular siege to Boston. His first object was merely to shut up the British in the town. In August he tried to bring on an attack from the enemy against the American lines. This failing, he formed the purpose of attacking the British in their own lines in September. He deferred to the objections of his officers, and put off the assault, without, however, abandoning his designs. All the while, he had no arms, no ammunition, no pay for his troops from congress; no general support from his officers or men; no obedience even, at times, from the soldiers or from the crews of the armed vessels acting in concert with the army.[1] It was very difficult to fill the ranks to any degree at all proportioned to the operations of the siege. "There must be some other stimulus," he writes to the president of congress, "besides love for their country, to make men fond of the service." "Such a dearth of public spirit," he laments to a personal friend, "and such want of virtue, such stock-jobbing and fertility to obtain advantages of one kind and another, I never saw before, and pray God's mercy that I may never be witness to again. I tremble at the prospect. Could I have foreseen what I have experienced and am likely to experience, no consideration upon earth should have induced me to accept this command." Such were the circumstances, and such the feelings, in which the commander-in-chief found himself conducting the great operation of the year.

[1 "It is not in the pages of history, perhaps," observed Washington *p* in a letter to congress, "to furnish a case like ours. To maintain a post within musket-shot of the enemy for six months together without ammunition, and at the same time to disband one army and recruit another, within that distance of twenty-odd British regiments, is more, probably, than ever was attempted."]

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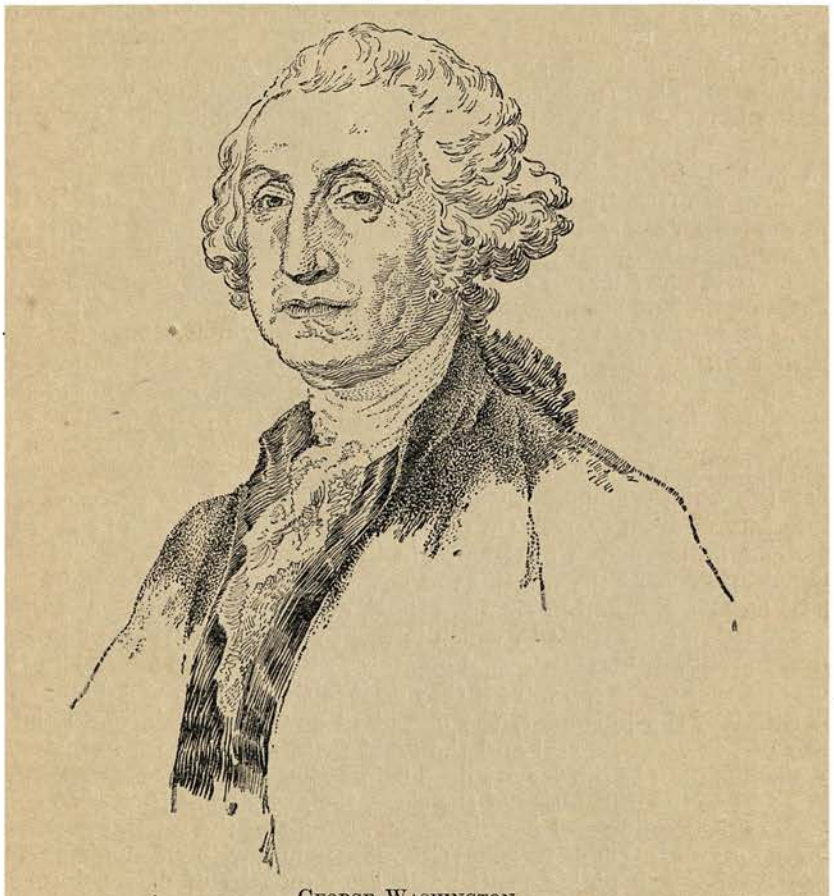
By this time there was not only an army but a government of America. The continental congress took all the measures, military, financial, and diplomatic, which the cause appeared to require. The organisation of the army was continued; that of the militia was attempted. A naval committee was appointed, and a navy—if the name can be used on so small a scale—was called into existence [by the resolution of December 13th, 1775, to fit out thirteen war-ships]. Hospitals were provided. Several millions of continental currency were issued, and a treasury department created. A post-office was



GEORGE WASHINGTON
(1732-1799)

also organised. Several of the colonies who had applied for advice upon the point were recommended to frame governments for themselves. The Indian relations were reduced to system. More significant than all else was the appointment of a committee of secret correspondence with Europe. In short, the functions of a general government were assumed by congress and recognised throughout the colonies. At the beginning of August Georgia signified her accession to the other colonies, thus completing the thirteen. A fourteenth offered itself in Transylvania, the present Kentucky, where one or two small settlements had just been made [under the leadership of the pioneer

Daniel Boone, who first explored it in 1769, following James Robertson's settlement in Tennessee in 1768]. But congress could not admit the delegate of a territory which Virginia claimed as under her jurisdiction. The nation and the government remained as the Thirteen United Colonies.

Military operations, apart from the siege of Boston, were numerous, if not extensive. The landing of a British party at Gloucester was repelled. The fort near Charleston was seized by the Americans, who also drove the British ships out of the harbour. Norfolk, for some time in the hands of the British, was recovered after a gallant action. On the other hand, Stonington, Bristol, and Falmouth were not saved from bombardment, Falmouth (now Portland) being nearly annihilated, as we have seen. The Americans, in return, sent out their privateers; those commissioned by Washington, especially his "famous Manly," as he called one of his captains, doing great execution in Massachusetts Bay. Offensive operations were pursued on land.

A projected expedition against Nova Scotia was given up, chiefly on account of the friendly feeling of that province. But a twofold force, partly from the New York and partly from the Maine side, marched against Canada. St. John's and Montreal[1] were taken by the Americans under the Irish General Montgomery, who fell in an assault on Quebec the last day of the year. Arnold, the same who had gone against Crown Point and Ticonderoga, kept up the show of besieging Quebec through the winter, but in the spring the Americans retreated within their own borders. One of the most successful operations of the period was towards the close of winter, when fifteen hundred Highlanders and Regulators, who had enlisted under the royal banner in North Carolina, were defeated by two-thirds their number of Americans, under Colonel Moore. It saved the province to the country.

All the while Washington was before Boston. But his attention was not wholly concentrated there. On the contrary, his voice was to be heard in all directions, on the march to Canada, in the posts of New York, on board the national cruisers, at the meetings of committees and assemblies, in the provincial legislatures, within congress itself, everywhere pointing out what was to be done, and the spirit in which it was to be done. They who doubt his military ability or his intellectual greatness will do well to follow him through these first months of the war; if they do it faithfully they will doubt no more. The activity, the judgment, the executive power, and above all the moral power of the great general and the great man, are nowhere in history more conspicuous than in those rude lines before Boston.

To add to the difficulties of the siege, the army went through a complete process of disbanding and recruiting, on account of the general unwillingness to serve for any length of time. Without men and without munitions, Washington sublimely kept his post, until, after months of disappointment, he obtained the means to take possession of Dorchester Heights, whence the town was completely commanded. The British, now under General Howe, General Gage having been recalled, had long meditated the evacuation of the place, and they now the more readily agreed to leave it on condition that they should be unmolested. The 17th of March, 1776, eight and a half months from the time that Washington undertook the siege, his generalship and his constancy were rewarded with success. It was certainly an amazing victory. "I have been here months together," he wrote to his brother, "with what will scarcely be believed, not thirty rounds of musket cartridges to a man. We

[1 Colonel Ethan Allen was taken prisoner by the British near Montreal, with about thirty-eight of his men. He was cruelly treated, loaded with irons, and sent to England for trial as a rebel.]

have maintained our ground against the enemy under this want of powder, and we have disbanded one army and recruited another within musket-shot of two-and-twenty regiments, the flower of the British army, whilst our force has been but little, if any, superior to theirs, and at last have beaten them into a shameful and precipitate retreat out of a place the strongest by nature on this continent, and strengthened and fortified at an enormous expense." Such being the result of the only operation in which the Americans and the British met each other as actual armies, there was reason for Washington and his true-hearted countrymen to exult and to hope. But the country was in danger. An attack was feared at New York, another at Charleston; the whole coast, indeed, lay open and defenceless. The year of warfare ended in greater apprehensions and in greater perils than those in which it began.[d]

### THE INSURRECTION BECOMES A REVOLUTION

During the winter of 1775–1776 many of the most able writers in America were employed in demonstrating the necessity and propriety of a total separation from the mother country, and the establishment of constitutional governments in the colonies. One of the most conspicuous of these writers was Thomas Paine, an Englishman [a corset-maker], who had lately arrived in America, and who published a pamphlet anonymously under the title *Common Sense*, which produced a great effect. It demonstrated the necessity, advantages, and practicability of independence, and heaped reproach and disgrace on monarchical governments, and ridicule on hereditary succession. Although ignorant of many of the first principles of political economy and a man of no learning, yet Paine had both shrewdness and cunning mixed with boldness in his manner of writing, and to this, perhaps, may be ascribed the uncommon effect of his essays on the inflamed minds of the Americans. [More than one hundred thousand copies of his *Common Sense* were sold in a short time.] The subject had been fully and earnestly discussed in the various provinces, and nearly every member of congress had received instructions on the subject from his constituents.

In May congress directed reprisals to be made, both by public and private armed vessels, against the ships and goods of the mother country found on the high seas, and they declared their ports open to all the world except the dominions of Great Britain. This act was retaliatory to the act passed by parliament prohibiting American commerce. Intelligence was received that it was in contemplation to send forty-two thousand soldiers over to subjugate America; of these, twenty-five thousand were to be English and seventeen thousand Hessians, hired to fight for the king. The employment of these foreign mercenaries gave great offence to the Americans and strengthened the disposition to declare independence.

This measure was brought forward on the 7th of June, 1776, by Richard Henry Lee, one of the delegates from Virginia. He submitted a resolution declaring the colonies free and independent. The most animated and eloquent debates followed, John Adams of Massachusetts leading the party in favour of independence, and John Dickinson of Pennsylvania the opponents. Dickinson opposed from principle the declaration, and he was therefore removed from his place as member of congress. Perceiving afterwards that his countrymen were earnestly struggling for independence, Dickinson joined with them, and was as zealous in congress in 1780 as any of the members.

On the 8th the resolution was debated in committee of the whole house, and adopted on the 10th, in committee, by a bare majority. It was postponed in the house until the 1st of July, to obtain greater unanimity among the members, as the representatives from Pennsylvania and Maryland were instructed to oppose it, and many members had received no instructions on the subject. During the interval measures were taken to procure the assent of all the colonies, and on the day appointed all assented to the measure except Pennsylvania and Delaware.

The committee who were instructed to prepare a declaration of independence appointed as a sub-committee John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston; the original draft was made by Thomas Jefferson. It was reported by the committee, almost without alteration, to the house, where, after several amendments, it received the sanction of congress. This well-known document was then signed by each of the members of congress, and the thirteen United States were thus severed from Great Britain and a new and great nation was born to the world. The Declaration of Independence was immediately sent to the provinces and proclaimed to the army, and was everywhere received with demonstrations of joy.*f*

### GEORGE E. ELLIS ON THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE[1]

There is a slight conflict of testimony in private records—for we have none that are official—as to some of the details in the preparation of the Declaration. John Adams, trusting to his memory, wrote in his *Autobiography*, twenty-eight years after the transaction, and again in a letter to Timothy Pickering, forty-seven years after it, and when he was in his eighty-eighth year, substantially to the same effect—namely, that Jefferson and himself were appointed by their associates a sub-committee to make the draft. Jefferson, reading this letter, published in 1823, wrote to Madison denying this statement, and making another, relying on notes which he had made at the time. He says there was no sub-committee, and that when he himself had prepared the draft he submitted it for perusal and judgment separately to Doctor Franklin and Mr. Adams, each of whom made a few verbal alterations in it. These he adopted in a fair copy which he reported to the committee, and on June 28th to congress, where, after the reading, it was laid on the table. On July 1st congress took up for debate Mr. Lee's resolution for independence. On July 2nd, and the two days following, Jefferson's draft was under debate, and was amended in committee of the whole. The author of the instrument leaves us to infer that he sat in an impatient and annoyed silence through the ordeal of criticism and objection passed upon it. The two principal amendments were the striking out a severe censure on "the people of England," lest "it might offend some of our friends there," and the omission of a reprobation of slavery, in deference to South Carolina and Georgia. When the committee reported to congress, such notes of the debates as we have inform us that, with much vehemence, discordance, remonstrance, and pleadings for delay, with doubts as to whether the people were ready for and would ratify the Declaration, it secured a majority of one in the count of the delegates. Jefferson said that John Adams was "the colossus" in that stirring debate.

[1 Reproduced by permission from Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America.* Copyright, 1887, by Houghton, Mifflin & Co.]

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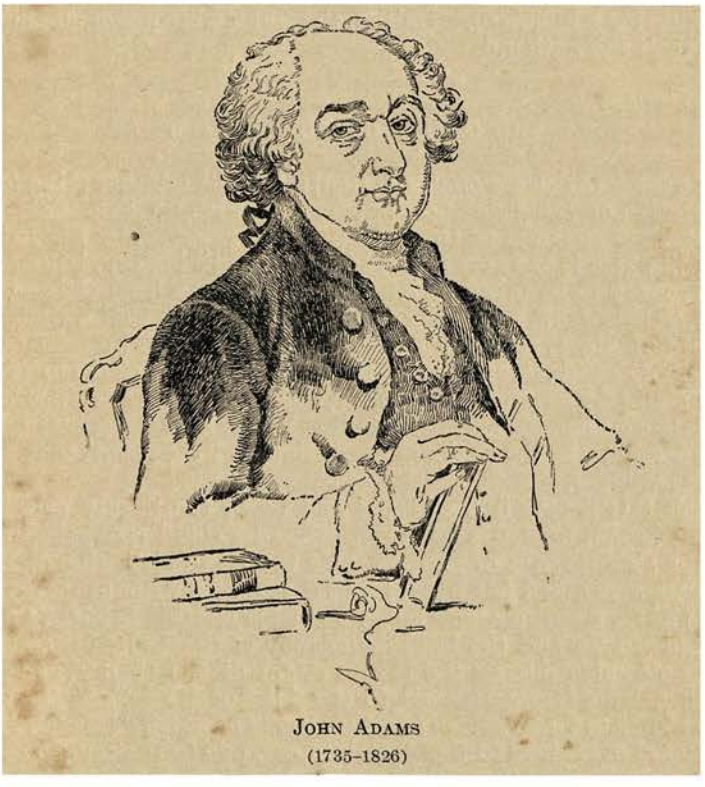
There is no occasion here for a critical study or estimate of the Declaration, either as a political manifesto or as a literary production. Its rhetoric, as we know, was at the first reading of it regarded as excessive—needlessly, perhaps harmfully, severe. That has ever since been the judgment of some. But Jefferson, Franklin, and John Adams, men of three very different types of mental energy and styles of expressing themselves, accorded in offering the document. The best that can be said of it is that it answered its purpose, was fitted to meet a crisis and to serve the uses desired of it. Its terse and pointed directness of statement, its brief and nervous sentences, its cumulating gathering of grievances, its concentration of censure, and its resolute avowal of a decided purpose, not admitting of temporising or reconsideration, were



JOHN ADAMS
(1735-1826)

its effective points. Dating from its passage by the congress and its confidently assured ratification by the people, it was to announce a changed relation and new conditions for future intercourse between a now independent nation and a repudiated mother country.[9]

### ORGANISATION OF STATE GOVERNMENTS

The day after a committee had been appointed to draw up the Declaration, another, and a larger one, received the charge of preparing a plan of confederation (June 12th). This was reported a week after the adoption of the Declaration, but no action was taken upon it (July 12th). Circumstances

postponed any decision; nor were the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, as they were styled, actually adopted by congress until more than a year later (November 15th–17th, 1777), when they were recommended to the states for adoption. A long time elapsed before all the states complied. Meanwhile congress continued to be the uniting as well as the governing authority. It was imperfectly, as we shall perceive, that congress served the purpose of a central power. Its treaties, its laws, its finances, its armaments, all depended upon the consent and the co-operation of the states. The states were everywhere forming governments of their own. Massachusetts took the lead, as was observed, in the early summer of 1775. As a general thing each had a governor, with or without a council, for an executive; a council, or senate, and a house of representatives, for a legislature, and one or more judicial bodies for a judiciary. Indeed, the states were much more thoroughly organised than the nation.[d]

### THE COMING OF THE HESSIANS

It is one thing to declare one's self free; it is quite another thing to get free. The Declaration of Independence, put forward with no little timidity by the loosely organised congress of the colonists, was received by the British, not as the classic which it has now become in the world's history, but as an impudent tract hardly to be taken seriously. It has often been claimed that the citizens of Mecklenburg, South Carolina, had already issued a declaration of freedom (May 20th, 1775), but in spite of the evidence brought to bear in proof, the most cautious opinion seems to be that the claim to priority of the Mecklenburg declaration rests upon a mistake in later crediting to it sentiments of independence not expressed in it. In any case the actual declaration from Philadelphia was the national expression and the gospel that swept the country like wildfire.

To crush this heresy in its cradle and teach the unruly colonists their place, King George needed more troops than he could conveniently send so far from the storm-centre of Europe. He turned to Catherine of Russia, as we have seen, and asked her for aid, but she refused without undue delicacy, and there was for a century a curiously amicable relation between the extreme despotism of Russia and the level democracy of the United States, it being especially noticeable during the severe strain of the Civil War. Rebuffed by Catherine, King George turned to the duke of Hesse, and from him was enabled to purchase thousands of mercenaries. The name "Hessian" has worn a hateful sound ever since to the American ear, due to the roughness of these troops, as well as the fact that they were levelling their muskets at people with whom they had no possible concern. Rather should their memory be visited with special pity. Their brutalities towards the people they encountered were largely due to the difficulty of making their wants known in a language they could not speak and in a country that did not understand their tongue. They must have been embittered, too, by the harshness of their own fate, which had dragged them from their quiet German homes across the ocean into a wild new country. They were treated like dogs by their own officers and like wolves by the natives; and they had been sold to a strange oppressor and were sent to their slaughter like sheep. In fact, the indignant Frederick the Great ordered his customs-officers to collect a cattle-toll on such as passed through his territory. Thirty thousand German soldiers were sent from Hesse and other petty principalities, as Brunswick, Anhalt, Anspach, Bayreuth, and

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Waldeck. Of these, 7,754 died, and 4,800 settled in America after the war. The sale of the Hessians, as Rosengarten[r] points out, provoked great indignation in Europe, Mirabeau and Schiller writing against it and Frederick the Great protesting; later, Napoleon used this inhumanity of the ruler as an excuse for annexing Hesse-Cassel to his kingdom of Westphalia and overthrowing the ruling family.[a]

### THE BRITISH REPULSED AT CHARLESTON, VICTORIOUS AT NEW YORK

The war of Independence naturally divides itself into three periods. Of these, the first has been already described as beginning with the arming of Massachusetts, in October, 1774, and extending to the recovery of Boston, in March, 1776—a period of a year and a half, of which something less than a year, dating from the affrays at Lexington and Concord, was actually a period of war. The second period is of little more than two years—from April, 1776, to July, 1778. The chief points to characterise it are these, namely, that the main operations were in the north, and that the Americans fought their battles without allies.

A brilliant feat of arms had preceded the Declaration. The anticipated descent upon the southern coast was made off Charleston by a British force, partly land and partly naval, under the command of General Clinton and Admiral Parker. The Americans, chiefly militia, were under General Lee. Fort Sullivan, afterwards Fort Moultrie, a few miles below Charleston, became the object of attack. It was so gallantly defended, the fort itself by Colonel Moultrie, and an adjoining battery by Colonel Thomson, that the British were obliged to abandon their expedition and retire to the north, June 28th. A long time passed before the enemy reappeared in the south. Meanwhile Washington had transferred his quarters from Boston to New York (April 13th), which he was busy in fortifying against the expected foe. Troops from Halifax, under General Howe, joined by British and Hessians under his brother Admiral Howe, and by the discomfited forces of the southern expedition, landed at various times on Staten Island.[d] General Howe found himself at the head of twenty-four thousand of the finest troops in Europe, well-appointed and supplied,[1] while further reinforcements were expected daily, which would swell his numbers to fifty-five thousand. As Washington had supposed, the intention of the British was to gain possession of New York, and, having command of the Hudson river, open communication with Canada, and thus separate the eastern from the middle states and be able to carry the war into the interior; while Long Island, adjacent to New York, which abounded in grain and cattle, would afford subsistence to the army. By the middle of summer, as we have already seen, the American forces were driven out of Canada and the northern frontier was exposed to attack.

Soon after the landing of the British army Admiral Lord Howe sent a letter containing an offer of pardon to all who would submit. This letter was directed to "George Washington, Esq." Washington, however, declined receiving in his private capacity any communication from the enemies of his country; the style of the address was then changed to that of "George Washington, etc., etc., etc.," and it was requested that the offer of pardon contained in the letter might be made known as widely as possible. Congress ordered it to be published in every newspaper throughout the Union, "that

[1 Washington reported that he himself had only eleven thousand effectives, and that two thousand of those were without arms.]

everybody might see how Great Britain was insidiously endeavouring to amuse and disarm them," and replied that, "not considering that their opposition to British tyranny was a crime, they therefore could not solicit pardon."

Nothing being gained by this attempt at conciliation, the British now proceeded to the prosecution of the war. Washington, aware that the enemy would advance to New York by way of Long Island, had intrenched a portion of the American army, nine thousand strong, at Brooklyn. On August 22nd the English landed on the southern shore of Long Island, and advanced to within four miles of the American camp. On the 27th the British silently advanced at night by three several roads towards the American army. Clinton, proceeding by the eastern road, having seized an important defile, which through carelessness had been left unguarded, descended with the morning light into the plain and within sight of the American camp. General Sullivan, who had hastened out to meet them with a considerable force, had fallen in with Generals Grant and Heister, whilst Clinton, who by this time was safe on the plain, hastened forward and threw himself between Sullivan's corps and the American camp. The Americans attempted a retreat, but it was too late. The English drove them back upon Heister's Hessians, and thus locked in between two hostile armies, some few managed to escape, but the greater number were killed or taken prisoners. It was a disastrous day. The true number of the Americans killed was never ascertained; about a thousand were taken prisoners. The English lost only about four hundred. The victors, fifteen thousand strong, encamped directly opposite the American lines. Among the prisoners were General Sullivan and General Lord Stirling.

This defeat was more disastrous even than the loss of so much life in the effect which it produced on the American mind. The utmost doubt and depression prevailed, and again regiments which were enlisted only on a short term quitted the service the moment it had expired, and even in some cases deserted before that was the case.[s]

### WAS WASHINGTON A GOOD GENERAL?

It is an undoubted fact that Washington, who, like Napoleon, began by driving the British out of a besieged seaport, was, unlike Napoleon, so badly beaten in his first pitched battle that he was saved from absolute disaster, and perhaps from capture or death, only by the amazing appearance of a fog which blinded a slow enemy to his retreat across a wide, swift river. These facts have led the acute strategical critic Charles Francis Adams[t] to try to dispel the "glamour round Washington," and his right to acceptance as a first-rate general. He declares that Washington was saved, and with him the cause of American independence, at New York, by sheer luck. He asserts that the Americans were in an exceedingly precarious position, and that only by the most fortuitous chance were they given an opportunity to escape. "Washington was compelled to violate, and did violate, almost every recognised principle of warfare." He divided his army into such inadequate forces and so separated them that it was quite impossible for one portion to come to the support of the other. And when the enemy, through some fatuous miscalculation, attacked him in the full front, precisely where he could have chosen to have them make the advance, had the choice been his, he went out to meet them, instead of awaiting them within the lines; and thus, Adams claims, he fairly invited the fate which

befell him. It is admitted, however, that Washington showed excellent management in the moment of disaster, though that is a small measure of concession coming after the preceding criticism; but even so, this belated exercise of judgment would have availed him nothing had it not been for the "almost miraculous good luck, to which the 'dilatoriness and stupidity of the enemy' most effectively contributed." In Adams' opinion, Howe remembered his experience at Bunker Hill, and was led by this recollection to exercise an excessive caution at Brooklyn. Like a burned child, he feared the fire, and Washington benefited by his lack of resolution. In any event, his dilatoriness was fatal to success.

Mr. Adams can only compare the fog that saved Washington to the mists which in Trojan times the gods threw round their otherwise helpless favourites. He regrets, however, the fact that the Americans had previously lost the flower of the army, and that even after the successful retreat whose alleged "masterliness" he denies, Washington's prestige had so suffered that he was on the point of being supplanted by General Charles Lee, an Englishman by birth, and proved after his death to have been in treasonable correspondence with the British.

With due respect for the truth of much of Mr. Adams' criticism, it is only fair to place Washington in his true perspective. He was not the only general who won fame in spite of mistakes. In the first place, the best general cannot win battles single-handed, if his troops on outpost duty allow themselves to be silently captured, his minor commanders allow themselves to be flanked right and left, and his main body breaks and runs from the field—all of which happened in this case. Washington's troops were very raw, they were on short-term enlistment, they were doubly outnumbered on Long Island, and of his eleven thousand effectives, "two thousand were entirely destitute of arms"; there was little artillery, no cavalry, and no naval support. He had found the British commanders far from alert at Boston, and, as Napoleon so often did, he took great risks in reliance on the incompetence of his enemy. It was not the enemy that disappointed him; it was his own troops, whom he now saw for the first time capable of the panics that long characterised them.

The rawness of the troops is the only consolation Americans can find when they regard the rapidity with which their forefathers often forgot their watchword of "liberty or death," and preferred to escape the latter in the front by seeking the former well to the rear. The more we remember the untrained, ill-disciplined, weak-kneed material George Washington had under him, the more we shall realize how purely he was a military genius of the first order, a truth which critics of too great acuteness after the event, and of too little perspective, are wont to deny. It is true that luck occasionally saved him from impending disaster, and that his enemies occasionally overlooked the very easy and apparently unavoidable way of crushing him beyond recovery. But this can be said of every other great general from Alexander down to Napoleon. Robert E. Lee is ordinarily pointed to as the best strategist America has ever produced, and not without reason; but even he was at the beginning of his career defeated by inferior numbers at Cheap Mountain, and on more than one occasion he left Richmond unprotected against an easy dash. On more than one occasion, as after Gettysburg, he could have been annihilated by a heavy pressure after victory.

Military prestige is largely a collaboration between common sense and uncommon luck. There have been rarely such combinations as were in Washington's favour during his first retreats. They offered every excuse for a theory as to the direct interposition of providence, if one could only overlook

the other occasions on which his carefully drawn plans were at the last moment sent to the winds of defeat by some unforeseen malice of events, or some almost superhuman stupidity of his inferior officers.

While the amazing and almost Mosaic assistance given Washington in his distress by the pillar of fog in front of him and the broad daylight in his rear offers some excuse to the British general for not making Washington's army an easy prize, this must not be allowed to detract from Washington's genius in taking advantage of the fortuitous weather, and of being ready to turn it to the most immediate account. The English historian of the revolution, Stedman,[m] who served with the invading army, says of this Long Island affair, "The circumstances of the retreat were particularly glorious to the Americans." In contrast with the disaster following upon Washington's cautious methods and his narrow escapes in spite of them, there were even more bitter disasters attending upon the American cause in the north, where the troops were driven from Lake George and from Crown Point (October 11th–14th) in spite of that excellent general and firebrand of impetuous valour, Benedict Arnold.[a]

Landing a considerable force in the city of New York, Washington, on the 12th of September, removed his headquarters to the heights of Harlem,[1] seven miles above the city. The British fleet sailed up each side of Manhattan, or New York Island, on which New York stands; a battery was erected, and while the attention of the Americans was diverted by the fire from Howe's ships stationed in the East river and the Hudson, he landed his troops at Bloomingdale, about five miles above the city and only two from the American camp. Troops had been stationed to guard this landing; but seeing now the advantage gained by the alacrity of the English, they fled panic-stricken, without even firing a gun, as did also two New England brigades, in company with Washington, who had come down to view the ground. Washington, thus left undefended, except by his immediate attendants, within eighty paces of the enemy, was so distressed and excited by their dastardly conduct that he exclaimed, "Are these the men with whom I am to defend America?" His attendants turned his horse's head and hurried him from the field. The next day, a skirmish taking place at Harlem, the Americans retrieved their character in some degree, though it was with the loss of two able officers.

The loyalists of New York received the British army with the utmost joy. A few nights after, a fire breaking out, which destroyed the largest church and about one third of the city, this disaster was attributed to "the sons of liberty," some of whom, seized on suspicion by the British soldiers, were thrown into the flames. The fire, however, is supposed to have originated in accident. The utmost depression prevailed in the American camp at Harlem. There were no proper hospitals; the sick lay in barns and sheds, and even in the open air under walls and fences. The army was wasting away as a result of desertion and of the expiration of terms of service. To encourage enlistment a bounty of twenty dollars was offered, and grants of land were promised, but the results were discouraging. On the 28th of October a skirmish, the outcome of which was unfavourable to the Americans, occurred at White Plains; Washington then took up a much stronger position on the heights of North Castle.

[1 It was from here that Washington dispatched Nathan Hale, a captain who was but twenty-one years old, to learn the British strength and dispositions. Disguised as a schoolteacher he secured the information and was returning, but was arrested, and, in accordance with the laws of war, was condemned as a spy. Tradition says that the brutal British provost-marshal, Cunningham, refused him a clergyman or a Bible, and destroyed his farewell letters. Hale's last words before he was hanged were: "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."]

### WASHINGTON DRIVEN ACROSS THE JERSEYS

Discontinuing the pursuit of Washington, Howe now turned his attention to the American posts on the Hudson, with the design of entering New Jersey. Aware of this intention, Washington crossed the Hudson with his army, and joined General Greene at Fort Lee. Fort Washington was assaulted by a strong British force. The commander, Colonel Magaw, made a brave defence and the assailants lost four hundred men in gaining the outworks; but no sooner were the British within the fort, than the garrison, to the number of two thousand, overcome with terror, refused to offer any resistance, and all, together with a great quantity of artillery, fell into the hands of the British. Two days afterwards Lord Cornwallis crossed the Hudson with six thousand men, against Fort Lee, which also surrendered with the loss of baggage and military stores.

Misfortune was the order of the day. Alarm and distrust increased; Washington and his daily diminishing army fled from point to point. The New York convention moved its sittings from one place to another, the members often sitting with arms in their hands to prevent surprise; when just at this disastrous crisis new alarm arose from the proposed rising of the tories in aid of the British. Many suspected tories, therefore, were seized, their property confiscated, and themselves sent into Connecticut for safety. The gaols were full; so also were the churches, now employed as prisons, while numbers were kept on parole. These resolute measures effected their purpose; the tory party yielded to a force which they were not yet strong enough to control, and deferred active co-operation with the British to a yet more favourable time.

On the last day of November the American army amounted but to three thousand men, and was then retreating into an open country at the commencement of winter, without tents, blankets, or intrenching tools, and but imperfectly clad. The prospect was hopeless in the extreme. The towns of Newark, New Brunswick, Princeton, and Trenton, all in New Jersey, were taken possession of by the British. Finally, Washington, on the 8th of December, crossed the Delaware, which was now the only barrier between the English and Philadelphia.

In the mean time the disasters of the Americans were not ended. General Lee, an ambitious and conceited man, who ranked his own military experience as superior to that of the commander-in-chief, instead of hastening across the Hudson to join the main army, as Washington had earnestly requested him to do without loss of time, determined on a brilliant and independent achievement which should at once startle both English and Americans and give him a great reputation. Lingering, therefore, among the hills of New Jersey, he lodged one night with a small guard at a house some little distance from his army, where he was surprised by a body of British cavalry, and carried prisoner to New York. The command of his troops falling on General Sullivan, the latter conducted them without further delay to join Washington, whose forces were thus increased to seven thousand men.

On the very day also on which Washington crossed the Delaware, a British squadron from New York, under command of Sir Peter Parker, took possession of Newport in Rhode Island, the second city in New England. The American squadron, under Commodore Hopkins, was thus blocked up in Providence river, where it lay for a long time useless.

WASHINGTON MADE DICTATOR; WINS AT TRENTON AND PRINCETON

Congress, sitting at that time at Philadelphia, adjourned to Baltimore, and Washington was invested for six months with unlimited powers. He was further authorised to take whatever he might require for the use of the army at his own price, and to arrest and confine all such as should refuse the continental money—a new trouble which had arisen owing to the vast issue of paper money. The entire power was thus placed in the hands of Washington, and he was worthy of the confidence. Christmas was now at hand, and gloom and despondency pervaded the American mind, when Washington, as it were, rose up and girded his loins for action. Aware that the festivities of the season would be fully enjoyed in the British camp, he resolved to avail himself of the time for an unexpected attack, and selected the Hessians stationed at Trenton as its object. On Christmas eve, therefore, he set out with two thousand four hundred picked men and six pieces of artillery, intending to cross the Delaware nine miles below Trenton, while two other forces, under Generals Cadwallader and Irving, were to cross at other points at the same time. The river was full of floating masses of ice, and it was only after great difficulty and danger that the landing was effected by four o'clock in the morning. [Here, as at Valley Forge, the almost barefooted American troops left bloody footprints on the snow.] Amid a heavy snowstorm Washington's force advanced towards Trenton, the other bodies under Cadwallader and Irving not having been able to effect a landing at all.

It was eight o'clock when Washington reached Trenton, where, as he expected, the Hessians, fast asleep after a night's debauch, were easily surprised. Their commander, Colonel Rahl, was slain, and their artillery taken, together with nine hundred and eighteen prisoners. The entire force, save twenty or thirty killed, was captured. Of the Americans two only were killed, one was frozen to death, and a few were wounded, among whom was Lieutenant James Monroe, afterwards president of the United States. Without waiting for any movement on the part of the British, whose forces so far outnumbered the Americans, Washington entered Philadelphia in a sort of triumph with his prisoners.

This unexpected and brilliant achievement created an immediate reaction. Several regiments, whose term of enlistment was about expiring, agreed to serve six weeks longer, and militia from the adjoining provinces marched in. Nor was the effect on the British less striking. General Howe, astounded by this sudden movement in the depth of winter, in an enemy whom he considered already crushed, detained Lord Cornwallis, then just setting out for England, and despatched him with additional forces to New Jersey, to regain the ground which had been lost. Washington, in the mean time, knowing the importance of maintaining the advantage he had gained, established himself at Trenton. On January 2nd, 1777, Lord Cornwallis, with eight thousand men, the van of the British army, approached.

Washington knew that his position was a very hazardous one. It was a great risk to wait for a battle, with his five thousand men, most of them militia, new to the camp, and that against a greatly superior and well-disciplined force. To recross the Delaware, then still more obstructed with floating ice, was equally dangerous, with the enemy behind him. With great sagacity and courage, therefore, he decided on a bold scheme, which fortunately was executed with equal courage and skill. This was no other than to attack the enemy's rear at Princeton, and, if possible, gain possession of his artillery

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and baggage. Replenishing, therefore, his camp-fires, and silently sending his own heavy baggage to Burlington, and leaving parties still busied at their intrenchments within hearing of the enemy, Washington marched with his army, about midnight, towards Princeton, where three British regiments had passed the night, two of which, marching out to join Cornwallis, were met and attacked about sunrise by the Americans. One division of the British fled to New Brunswick; the rest rallied and continued their march to Trenton. About four hundred of the British were killed and wounded; the American loss was somewhat less.

At dawn, Lord Cornwallis beheld the deserted camp of the Americans and heard the roar of the cannonade at Princeton, on which, discovering Washington's artifice, he reached Princeton when the Americans were about to leave it. Again was Washington in great danger. "His troops," says Hildreth,[c] "were exhausted; all had been one night without sleep, and some of them longer; many had no blankets; others were barefoot; all were very thinly clad." Under these circumstances the attack on New Brunswick was abandoned, and Washington retired to strong winter quarters at Morristown. There he remained till spring, having, in fact, repossessed himself, in the most masterly manner, of New Jersey.[s] The English historian Hinton adds: "Other causes had a powerful operation upon the minds of the yeomanry of New Jersey. The British commanders tolerated, or at least did not restrain, gross licentiousness in their army. The inhabitants of the state, which they boasted was restored to the bosom of the parent country, were treated not as reclaimed friends but as conquered enemies. The soldiers were guilty of every species of rapine, and the abuse was not limited to the plundering of property. Every indignity was offered to the persons of the inhabitants, not excepting those outrages to the female sex which are felt by ingenuous minds with the keenest anguish, and excite noble spirits to desperate resistance. These aggravated abuses roused the people of New Jersey to repel that army to which they had voluntarily submitted in the expectation of protection and security. At the dawn of success upon the American arms, they rose in small bands to oppose their invaders. They scoured the country, cut off every soldier who straggled from his corps, and in many instances repelled the foraging parties of the enemy." [u]

"The recovery of the Jerseys," says Hildreth, "by the fragments of a defeated army, which had seemed just before on the point of dissolution, gained Washington a high reputation not only at home, but in Europe, where the progress of the campaign had been watched with great interest, and where the disastrous loss of New York and the retreat through the Jerseys had given the impression that America would not be able to maintain her independence. The recovery of the Jerseys created a reaction. The American general was extolled as a Fabius, whose prudence availed his country no less than his valour."[c]

Though Hopkins and his squadron were blocked up at Providence, privateering had been carried on, principally by New England frigates, to a great extent. The homeward-bound British ships from the West Indies offered rich prizes, and in the year just concluded no less than 350 British ships had been captured. A new foreign trade had also been opened with France, Spain, and Holland, principally by way of the West Indies, and though great risk attended it, still it was the successful commencement of the great American trade, and the national flag of thirteen stars and stripes, as appointed by congress, was now first hoisted in this maritime service. By no European nation was the progress of the war of independence in America watched with

more interest than by France, who still was smarting under the loss of her American possessions; hence the American privateer found ever a ready sale for his prizes in the French ports, and armed French vessels, sailing under American commissions, were secretly fitted out.

Numerous volunteers, the most eminent of whom was the young marquis de la Fayette, offered to risk their fortunes and bear arms in the cause of American liberty. La Fayette fitted out a vessel at his own expense, and in the spring of 1777 arrived in America. He at first enlisted as a volunteer in Washington's army, declining all pay for his services; but congress soon after bestowed upon him the appointment of major-general.

As the spring of 1777 advanced, although as yet the main armies were inactive, various little attacks and reprisals were made. Tryon, late governor of New York, at the head of two thousand men, landed in Connecticut and advanced to Danbury, an inland town, where a large quantity of provisions was collected; having destroyed these, set fire to the town, and committed various acts of atrocity, he departed as rapidly as he had come. Arnold and Wooster, however, pursued him at the head of militia, hastily collected for that purpose. Tryon made good his escape, with a loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners of about three hundred, and congress, in acknowledgment of Arnold's bravery, presented him with a horse fully caparisoned, and raised him to the rank of major-general. A small party of Americans under Colonel Meigs landed on Long Island, destroyed twelve vessels, and took a large quantity of provisions and forage collected at Sag Harbour, and carried off ninety prisoners, without himself losing a single man. Another little triumph of the Americans is worth recording. General Prescott, now being stationed at Newport, in Rhode Island, irritated the Americans no little by offering a reward for the capture of Arnold; on which Arnold, in return, offered half the amount for the capture of Prescott. A party of forty men under one Colonel Barton set out with the intention of carrying him off, landed at night on the island, entered his house, and taking the general from his bed hurried away with their prize. Until now the Americans had not been able to ransom their general, Lee, who had been taken much in the same manner, and the two officers were shortly exchanged.[s]

In his famous work, Sir Edward Creasy[v] places the climax of Burgoyne's campaign at Saratoga among the "Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World." His account of it is distinctly quotable, except that he curiously makes no mention of General Schuyler, who is now generally awarded the glory of the victory, though he was absent from its culmination. It was Schuyler who with a small force, under the greatest disadvantages, adopted the correct policy of avoiding battle, while luring the British along a road whose passage he surrounded with such ingenious and eternal difficulties as exhausted the provisions and morale of the troops, and delayed them while reinforcements could be gathered. The whole plan of the campaign was his; posterity gives him the credit; and while Gates won temporary renown by appearing in time to gather Schuyler's laurels, he later showed how utterly incompetent he was to manage a large campaign. But, at first, Schuyler had to bear all the odium of public disfavour and alarm at the first successes of Burgoyne's irresistible force. He and all his officers were accused of arrant cowardice, and John Adams exclaimed, "We shall never be able to defend a fort till we shoot a general." So Gates was commissioned and ordered north, where he arrived too late to do more than carry out Schuyler's plans, now at their culmination. With this in mind we shall find Creasy's account vivid and true.[a]

## CREASY'S ACCOUNT OF BURGOYNE'S CAMPAIGN

The war which rent away the North American colonies of England is, of all subjects in history, the most painful for an Englishman to dwell on. It was commenced and carried on by the British ministry in iniquity and folly, and it was concluded in disaster and shame. But the contemplation of it cannot be evaded by the historian, however much it may be abhorred. Nor can any military event be said to have exercised more important influence on the future fortunes of mankind than the complete defeat of Burgoyne's expedition in 1777, a defeat which rescued the revolted colonists from certain subjection, and which, by inducing the courts of France and Spain to attack England in their behalf, insured the independence of the United States and the formation of that transatlantic power which not only America, but both Europe and Asia, now see and feel.

In 1777 the British ministry resolved to avail themselves of the advantage which the occupation of Canada gave them for the purpose of striking a vigorous and crushing blow against the revolted colonies. Seven thousand veteran troops were sent out from England, with a corps of artillery abundantly supplied, and led by select and experienced officers. Large quantities of military stores were also furnished for the equipment of the Canadian volunteers who were expected to join the expedition. It was intended that the force thus collected should march southward by the line of the lakes, and thence along the banks of the Hudson river. The British army in New York (or a large detachment of it) was to make a simultaneous movement northward, up the line of the Hudson, and the two expeditions were to unite at Albany. By these operations all communication between the northern colonies and those of the centre and south would be cut off. An irresistible force would be concentrated, so as to crush all further opposition in New England, and when this was done it was believed that the other colonies would speedily submit. The Americans had no troops in the field that seemed able to baffle these movements. Without question the plan was ably formed, and had the success of the execution been equal to the ingenuity of the design, the reconquest or submission of the thirteen United States must in all human probability have followed. No European power had as yet come forward, and America would have been suffered to fall unaided.

Much eloquence was poured forth, both in America and in England, in denouncing the use of savage auxiliaries. Yet Burgoyne seems to have done no more than Montcalm, Wolfe, and other French, American, and English generals had done before him. But, in truth, the lawless ferocity of the Indians, their unskilfulness in regular action, and the utter impossibility of bringing them under any discipline, made their services of little or no value in times of difficulty, while the indignation which their outrages inspired went far to rouse the whole population of the invaded districts [including many tories] into active hostilities against Burgoyne's force.

Burgoyne assembled his troops and confederates near the river Bouquet, on the west side of Lake Champlain. He then, on the 21st of June, 1777, gave his red allies a war-feast, and harangued them on the necessity of abstaining from their usual cruel practices against unarmed people and prisoners. At the same time he published a pompous manifesto to the Americans, in which he threatened the refractory with all the horrors of war, Indian as well as European. Ticonderoga commanded the passage along the lakes, and was considered to be the key to the route which Burgoyne wished to follow.

Burgoyne invested it with great skill, and the American general, St. Clair, who had only an ill-equipped army of about three thousand men, evacuated it on the 5th of July. It seems evident that a different course would have caused the destruction or capture of his whole army. When censured by some of his countrymen for abandoning Ticonderoga, St. Clair truly replied "that he had lost a post but saved a province." Burgoyne's troops pursued the retiring Americans, and took a large part of their artillery and military stores.

The British moved southward with great difficulty, across a broken country, full of creeks and marshes, and clogged by the enemy with felled trees and other obstacles, to Fort Edward, on the Hudson river, the American troops continuing to retire before them. The astonishment and alarm which these events produced among the Americans were naturally great. The local governments of the New England states, as well as the congress, acted with vigour and firmness in their efforts to repel the enemy. General Gates was sent to take command of the army at Saratoga, and Arnold was despatched by Washington to act under him, with reinforcements of troops and guns from the main American army.

When Burgoyne left Canada, General St. Leger was detached across Lake Ontario against Fort Stanwix [now Rome, New York], which the Americans held. St. Leger was obliged [after a battle at Oriskany, August 6th, 1777, where the American leader Herkimer was mortally wounded] to retreat, and to abandon his tents and large quantities of stores to the garrison. At the very time that General Burgoyne heard of this disaster, he experienced one still more severe in the defeat of Colonel Baum with a large detachment of German troops at Bennington,[1] whither Burgoyne had sent them for the purpose of capturing some magazines of provisions, of which the British army stood greatly in need. The Americans, under John Stark, augmented by continual accessions of strength, succeeded, after many attacks, in breaking this corps, which fled into the woods, and left its commander mortally wounded on the field; they then marched against a force of five hundred grenadiers under Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman, who, after a gallant resistance, was obliged to retreat on the main army. The British loss in these two actions exceeded six hundred men; and a party of American loyalists, on their way to join the army, having attached themselves to Colonel Baum's corps, were destroyed with it. Notwithstanding these reverses, which added greatly to the spirit and numbers of the American forces, Burgoyne determined to advance. Having by unremitting exertions collected provisions for thirty days, he crossed the Hudson by means of a bridge of rafts, and, marching a short distance along its western bank, he encamped on the 14th of September on the heights of Saratoga, about sixteen miles from Albany. The Americans had fallen back and were now strongly posted [on Bemus Heights] near Stillwater, about half way between Saratoga and Albany, and showed a determination to recede no further.

On the 19th of September a sharp encounter took place between part of the English right wing under Burgoyne himself, and a strong body of the enemy under Gates and Arnold. The British remained masters of the field, but the loss on each side was nearly equal (from five hundred to six hundred men). But Burgoyne had overestimated his resources, and in the very beginning of October found difficulty and distress pressing him hard. The

[1 The remarkable features of Bennington were the facts that the yeomanry of America now ventured to assail regular troops in intrenchments, and that they won an overwhelming victory.]

[1777 A.D.]

Indians and Canadians began to desert him, while, on the other hand, Gates' army was continually reinforced by fresh bodies of the militia.

On the 6th of October Clinton had successfully executed a brilliant enterprise against the two American forts which barred his progress up the Hudson. He had captured them both, with severe losses to the American forces opposed to him; he had destroyed the fleet which the Americans had been forming on the Hudson, under the protection of their forts, and the upward river was laid open to his squadron. All depended on the fortune of the column with which Burgoyne, on the eventful 7th of October, 1777, advanced against the American position. But directly the British line began to advance, the American general, with admirable skill, caused General Poor's and General Leonard's brigades to make a sudden and vehement rush against its left, and at the same time sent Colonel Morgan, with his rifle corps and other troops, amounting to fifteen hundred, to turn the right of the English. The English cannon were repeatedly taken and retaken, Arnold himself setting the example of the most daring personal bravery, and charging more than once, sword in hand, into the English ranks. On the British side General Fraser fell mortally wounded. Burgoyne's whole force was now compelled to retreat towards their camp. The Americans, pursuing their success, assaulted it in several places with remarkable impetuosity, and captured baggage, tents, artillery, and a store of ammunition, which they were greatly in need of. Burgoyne now took up his last position on the heights near Saratoga, and, hemmed in by the enemy, who refused any encounter, and baffled in all his attempts at finding a path of escape, he there lingered until famine compelled him to capitulate. On the 17th the convention of Saratoga was carried into effect. Five thousand seven hundred and ninety men surrendered themselves as prisoners.[1] The sick and wounded left in the camp when the British retreated to Saratoga, together with the numbers of the British, German, and Canadian troops who were killed, wounded, or taken, and who had deserted in the preceding part of the expedition, were reckoned to be four thousand six hundred and eighty-nine.[v]

## WASHINGTON LOSES TWO BATTLES AND THE CAPITAL; THE CONWAY CABAL

The joy of the Americans, especially those of the northern states, was almost beyond bounds, and, as might be expected, the military reputation of Gates stood very high—nay, even for the time outshone that of Washington, whose loss of Philadelphia, of which we have yet to speak, was placed unfavourably beside the surrender of a whole British army. As soon as the surrender of Burgoyne was known, the British garrison at Ticonderoga destroyed the works and retired to Canada. Clinton, with Tryon and his tory forces, on the same intelligence, dismantled the forts on the Hudson, and having burned every house within their reach, and done all the damage in their power, returned to New York.[s]

The main army of Great Britain was that which Washington had to deal with in New Jersey and the vicinity. After much uncertainty as to the intentions of the British general, he suddenly appeared in the Chesapeake,

[1 "Even of those great conflicts in which hundreds of thousands have been engaged and tens of thousands have fallen, none has been more fruitful of results than this surrender at Saratoga. It not merely changed the relations of England and the feelings of Europe towards these insurgent colonies, but it has modified, for all time to come, the connection between every colony and every parent state."—EARL OF STANHOPE.[w]]

and landing, prepared to advance against Philadelphia (August 25th). Washington immediately marched his entire army of about eleven thousand to stop the progress of the enemy. Notwithstanding the superior number—about seventeen thousand—opposed to him, Washington decided that battle must be given for the sake of Philadelphia. After various skirmishes, a general engagement took place by the Brandywine, resulting in the defeat of the Americans (September 11th) with a loss of about one thousand. But so little were they dispirited that their commander decided upon immediately fighting a second battle, which was prevented only by a great storm. Washington then withdrew towards the interior, and Howe took possession of Philadelphia (September 26th). Not yet willing to abandon the city, Washington attacked the main division of the British encamped at Germantown. At the very moment of victory, owing to a heavy fog, a panic seized the Americans, and they retreated (October 4th) with a loss of about a thousand. There was no help for Philadelphia; it was decidedly lost. The contrast between the defeat of Burgoyne and the loss of Philadelphia was made a matter of reproach to the commander-in-chief. Let him make his own defence: "I was left," he says, "to fight two battles, in order, if possible, to save Philadelphia, with less numbers than composed the army of my antagonist. Had the same spirit pervaded the people of this and the neighbouring states as the states of New York and New England, we might before this time have had General Howe nearly in the situation of General Burgoyne, with this difference—that the former would never have been out of reach of his ships, whilst the latter increased his danger every step he took." More than this, Washington conducted his operations in a district where great disaffection to the American cause cut off supplies for the army and intelligence of the enemy. To have done what he did, notwithstanding these embarrassments, was greater than a victory.

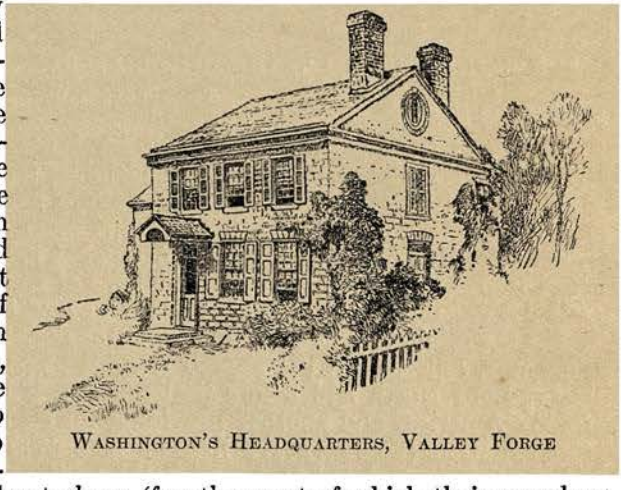
One enterprise of the year is not to be passed over. Captain Wickes, of the cruiser *Reprisal*, after distinguishing himself in the West Indies, sailed for France in the autumn of 1776. Encouraged by his success in making prizes in the bay of Biscay, Wickes started on a cruise round Ireland in the following summer. Attended by the *Lexington* and the *Dolphin*, the *Reprisal* swept the Irish and the English seas of their merchantmen. But on the way to America the *Lexington* was captured, and the *Reprisal*, with the gallant Wickes and all his crew, was lost on the coast of Newfoundland. It was for the navy, of which Wickes was so great an ornament, that a national flag had been adopted in the summer of his cruise (June 14th).

"I see plainly," wrote La Fayette to Washington at the close of the year, "that America can defend herself, if proper measures are taken; but I begin to fear that she may be lost by herself and her own sons. When I was in Europe, I thought that here almost every man was a lover of liberty, and would rather die free than live a slave. You can conceive my astonishment when I saw that toryism was as apparently professed as whiggism itself." "We must not," replied Washington, "in so great a contest, expect to meet with nothing but sunshine." These mournful complaints, this cheerful answer, referred to an intrigue that had been formed against Washington for the purpose of displacing him from his command. Generals Gates and Mifflin, both members of the board of war, lately organised, with Conway, an Irish general in the service, were at the head of a cabal which was secretly supported by some members of congress. Had their unworthy plots prevailed, had their anonymous letters to the civil authorities and their underhand appeals to military men succeeded, Washington would have been superseded

by Gates or by Lee, it was uncertain which, both of British birth, both of far more selfishness than magnanimity, of far more pretension than power. Gates, as we shall read hereafter, met the most utter of all the defeats, Lee conducted the most shameful of all the retreats, in which the Americans were involved. Happily for the struggling nation, these men were not its leaders. The cabal in which they were involved fell asunder, yet without crushing them beneath its ruins. They retained their offices and their honours, as well as Washington.

### VALLEY FORGE AND THE FRENCH ALLIANCE

The experience of the past twelvemonth had given Washington more confidence in his soldiers. He had had time to learn their better points, their enthusiasm, their endurance, their devotion. The winter following the loss of Philadelphia was one of cruel sufferings, and the manner in which they were borne formed a new link between the troops and the commander. His remonstrances against the jealousies of congress are accompanied by representations of the agonies of the army. "Without arrogance or the smallest deviation from truth, it may be said that no history now extant can furnish an instance of an army's suffering such hardships as ours has done, bearing them with the same patience and fortitude. To see men without clothes to cover their nakedness, without blankets to lie on, without shoes (for the want of which their marches might be traced by the blood from their feet), and almost as often without provisions as with them, marching through frost and snow, and at Christmas taking up their winter quarters within a day's march of the enemy, without a house or hut to cover them, till they could be built, and submitting without a murmur, is a proof of patience and obedience which, in my opinion, can scarce be paralleled." This story, at once so heroic and so sad, is dated from Valley Forge.[d]



WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE

However selfish their motives, unless the French had given the Americans encouragement and large financial advances, and finally soldiers and ships, unless they had taken upon themselves the burden of a war with England, it is hard to see how the American cause could ever have won, requiring seven years as it did to succeed. The cordial enthusiasm of the French is vividly contrasted with the apathy of the Americans in a letter from Colonel du Portail, brigadier-general of American troops, written to the French minister of war, in which he says, "There is more enthusiasm for this revolution in any café in Paris than there is in all the United Colonies together."

The diplomats abroad, Silas Deane, Benjamin Franklin, Arthur Lee, and later John Adams, who were trying to borrow money and excite hostility

towards England, were themselves quarrelling at every step. Of Benjamin Franklin, who was permanently establishing himself in the French heart as one of the greatest minds in all history, and was unconsciously sowing the seeds for the French Revolution that should overthrow the Bourbons who aided his country, John Adams, his eminent colleague, wrote home: "Franklin is a wit and a humourist, I know. He may be a philosopher, for what I know. But he is not a sufficient statesman for all the business he is in. He is too old, too infirm, too indolent and dissipated to be sufficient for all these things, to be ambassador, secretary, admiral, consular agent, etc." When, however, the hopes of the colonists seemed to be at their lowest ebb, there was another tidal wave of good news which, as in the case of Burgoyne's capitulation, lifted the whole country to new efforts. There was to follow another aftermath of distress and despair, but the cause was immeasurably advanced. After a long delay, a treaty was made between France and the United States (January 30th–February 6th, 1778) and ratified May 5th. The news caused even greater dismay in England than it excited joy in America.[a]

### THE BRITISH EVACUATE PHILADELPHIA; BATTLE OF MONMOUTH; FRENCH CO-OPERATION

For three years had the British armies contended against the rebels. They held New York, Newport, Philadelphia, the lower banks of the Hudson and of the Delaware. This was all. Nothing had been, nothing, it must have almost seemed, could be, gained except upon the coast; the interior was untenable, if not unconquerable. And what had been lost? Twenty thousand troops, hundreds of vessels, millions of treasure; to say nothing of the colonial commerce, once so precious, and now so worthless. It might well strike the ministry that they must win back their colonies by some other means than war, especially if the French were to be parties in the strife. Accordingly, Lord North laid before parliament a bill renouncing the purpose of taxing America, and another providing for commissioners to bring about a reconciliation (February 17th). The bills were passed, and three commissioners were appointed to act with the military and the naval commanders in procuring the submission of the United States. To their proposals congress returned an answer on the anniversary of Bunker Hill, refusing to enter into any negotiations until the independence of the nation was recognised.

Desirous of concentrating his forces before the French appeared in the field, Sir Henry Clinton, now the British commander-in-chief, evacuated Philadelphia (June 18th). Washington instantly set out in pursuit of the enemy. Coming up with them in a few days, he ordered General Lee, commanding the van of the army, to begin the attack in the morning. Lee began it by making a retreat, notwithstanding the remonstrances of La Fayette, who had held the command until within a few hours. But for Washington's coming up in time to arrest the flight of the troops under Lee, and to protect the advance of his own soldiers, the army would have been lost. As it was, he formed his line and drove the British from the field of Monmouth (June 28th). They stole away in the night, and reached New York with still more loss from desertion than from battle.[d]

A curious instance of the risk of accepting public tradition is a famous story of this battle of Monmouth and Washington's rebuke to Lee for retreating. According to the popularly accepted legend, Washington denounced Lee's cowardice with a resounding oath, the only one he had ever been heard to

use. As a matter of fact Washington was by no means an infrequent employer of profanity, and a diligent search of the court-martial records which profess to give Washington's exact words on this battle-field show that, while he was greatly excited, he used no hint of profanity, and it was his manner and not his language that betrayed his intense disgust. This drove Lee to write an indignant letter to Washington. A court-martial was held, and he was suspended for twelve months. Later he wrote a disrespectful letter to congress and was dismissed the service.[a]

In the far West there were nothing but border forays until 1778, when Major George Rogers Clark led a regular expedition against the frontier posts of the enemy, in the wilderness in the far Northwest, now the states of Indiana and Illinois. On the 4th of July they captured Kaskaskia. On the 9th they took the village of Cahokia, sixty miles farther up the river; and finally, in August, the stronger British post of Vincennes, on the Wabash, fell into their hands. Acting in the capacity of a peacemaker, Clark was working successfully towards the pacification of the western tribes, when, in the month of January, 1779, the commander of the British fort at Detroit retook Vincennes. With one hundred and seventy-five men Clark penetrated the dreadful wilderness a hundred miles from the Ohio. For a whole week they traversed the "drowned lands" of Illinois, suffering every privation from wet, cold, and hunger. When they arrived at the Little Wabash, at a point where the forks of the stream are three miles apart, they found the intervening space covered with water to the depth of three feet. The points of dry land were five miles apart, and all that distance those hardy soldiers, in the month of February, waded the cold snow-flood in the forest, sometimes armpit deep! They arrived in sight of Vincennes on the 18th (February, 1779), and the next morning at dawn, with their faces blackened with gunpowder, to make themselves appear hideous, they crossed the river in a boat and pushed towards the town. On the 20th the stripes and stars were again unfurled over the fort at Vincennes and a captured garrison. Had armed men dropped from the clouds, the people and soldiers at Vincennes could not have been more astonished than at the apparition of these troops, for it seemed impossible for them to have traversed the deluged country. [The country was organised as part of Virginia under the name of Illinois County.][x]

The third and last period of the war extends from July, 1778, to January, 1784, five years and a half. Its characteristics are the alliance of the French with the Americans and the concentration of the more important operations in the Southern States.

The first minister of France to the United States, M. Gérard, came accompanied by a fleet and army, under D'Estaing (July). "Unforeseen and unfavourable circumstances," as Washington wrote, "lessened the importance of the French services in a great degree." In the first place, the arrival was just late enough to miss the opportunity of surprising the British fleet in the Delaware, not to mention the British army on its retreat to New York. In the next place, the French vessels proved to be of too great draught to penetrate the channel and co-operate in an attack upon New York. Thus disappointing and disappointed, D'Estaing engaged in an enterprise against Newport, still in British hands. It proved another failure, but not through the French alone, the American troops that were to enter the island at the north being greatly behindhand. The same day that they took their place under Sullivan, Greene, and La Fayette, the French left theirs at the lower end of the island in order to meet the British fleet arriving from New York

(August 10th). A severe storm prevented more than a partial engagement; but D'Estaing returned to Newport only to plead the injuries received in the gale as compelling his retirement to Boston for repairs. The orders of the French government had been peremptory that in case of any damage to the fleet it should put into port at once. So far was D'Estaing from avoiding action on personal grounds, that when La Fayette hurried to Boston to persuade his countrymen to return, the commander offered to serve as a volunteer until the fleet should be refitted. The Americans, however, talked of desertion and of inefficiency—so freely, indeed, as to affront their faithful La Fayette.

At the same time large numbers of them imitated the very course which they censured, by deserting their own army. The remaining forces retreated from their lines to the northern end of the island, and, after an engagement, withdrew to the mainland (August 30th). It required all the good offices of La Fayette, of Washington, and of congress to keep the peace between the Americans and their allies. D'Estaing, soothed by the language of those whom he most respected, was provoked, on the other hand, by the hostility of the masses, both in the army and amongst the people. Collisions between his men and the Bostonians kept up his disgust, and, when his fleet was repaired, he sailed for the West Indies in November.

### DISCOURAGEMENT OF WASHINGTON

The summer and autumn passed away without any further exertions of moment upon the American side. On the part of the British there was nothing attempted that would not have been far better unattempted. Marauding parties from Newport went against New Bedford and Fairhaven. Others from New York went against Little Egg Harbor. Tories and Indians —"a collection of banditti," as they were rightly styled by Washington— descended from the northern country to wreak massacre at Wyoming and at Cherry Valley. The war seemed to be assuming a new character; it was one of ravages unworthy of any cause.

Affairs were again at a low state amongst the Americans. "The common interests of America," wrote Washington at the close of 1778, "are mouldering and sinking into irretrievable ruin." Was he, who had never despaired, at length despairing? There was reason to do so. "If I were to be called upon," he said, "to draw a picture of the times and of men, from what I have seen, heard, and in part know, I should in one word say that idleness, dissipation, and extravagance seem to have laid fast hold upon most of them; that speculation, peculation, and an insatiable thirst for riches seem to have got the better of every other consideration, and almost of every order of men; that party disputes and personal quarrels are the great business of the day; whilst the momentous concerns of an empire, a great and accumulating debt, ruined finances, depreciated money, and want of credit, which in its consequences is the want of everything, are but secondary considerations, and postponed from day to day, from week to week, as if our affairs wore the most promising aspect. After drawing this picture, which from my soul I believe to be a true one, I need not repeat to you that I am alarmed, and wish to see my countrymen roused." This gloomy sketch is of the government—congress and the various officials at Philadelphia. What was true of the government was true of the people, save only the diminishing rather than increasing class to which we have frequently referred as constituting the strength of the nation.

### BRITISH SUCCESSES IN THE SOUTH AND NORTH

A border warfare had been carried on during two successive summers (1777–1778) between east Florida and Georgia. At the close of 1778 a serious invasion of Georgia was planned by the British commander. Savannah was taken (December 29th). An American force, under General Ashe, was routed at Brier Creek, and Georgia was lost (March 4th, 1779). A few months later Sir James Wright, the royal governor at the beginning of the war, returned and set up the provincial government once more.

The conqueror of Georgia aspired to become the conqueror of Carolina. With chosen troops and a numerous body of Indians, Prevost set out against Charleston. He was met before that town by the legion under Count Pulaski, the Pole, but Pulaski's men were scattered, and Prevost pressed on. The approach of General Lincoln with his army compelled the British to retire (May 12th). The Americans were by no means disposed to acquiesce in the loss of Georgia. On the reappearance of the French fleet, under D'Estaing, after a successful cruise in the West Indies, he consented to join General Lincoln in an attack on Savannah in September. But he was too apprehensive of being surprised by the British fleet, as well as too desirous of getting back to the larger operations in the West Indies, to be a useful ally. The impatience of D'Estaing precipitated an assault upon the town (October 9th), in which Pulaski fell, and both the French and the Americans suffered great loss. The French sailed southward; the Americans retired to the interior, leaving Savannah to the enemy.

The operations in the north during the year were of altogether inferior importance. Washington could hold only a defensive attitude. A gallant party, under the gallant "Mad Anthony" Wayne, surprised the strong works which the British had constructed at Stony Point (July 15th), and, though obliged to evacuate them, destroyed them, and recovered the Hudson, that is, the part which had been recently taken from the Americans. The fortification of West Point was undertaken as an additional safeguard. Some months later, apprehensions of the French fleet induced the British commander to draw in his outposts on the Hudson and to evacuate Newport in October. These movements, effected without loss, or even collision, were the only ones of any strong bearing upon the issue of the war.[d]

### EDWARD EVERETT HALE ON THE REVOLUTIONARY NAVY[1]

The battles of the Revolution were fought on the sea as often as on the land, and to as much purpose. The losses inflicted on their enemies by the United States in their naval warfare were more constant, and probably more serious, than any losses which they inflicted elsewhere. The captures which the English navy made by no means compensated England for the losses which she sustained. In such a contest, it generally proves that the richer combatant is he who pays the most. The loss of an English Indiaman or a Mediterranean trader was but poorly compensated by the capture of even a dozen American schooners laden with salt fish and clapboards.

It is certain that, as the war went on, many more than seventy thousand Americans fought their enemy upon the sea. On the other hand, the reader

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knows that there was no one time when seventy thousand men were enrolled in the armies of the United States on shore. The magnitude of the injury inflicted upon the English trade by these vessels may be judged by such a comparison as is in our power of the respective forces. In the year 1777 the whole number of officers and men in the English navy was eighty-seven thousand. There were at the same time very considerable naval forces in the employ of the several states and of the United States government. Man for man, the numerical forces engaged by the two parties were not very much unlike. In the Atlantic Ocean the Americans seem to have outnumbered the English.

The French ally D'Estaing was not averse to a contest. On the 10th of August, 1778, with the advantage of a fresh north wind, he had taken his squadron to sea. The English admiral, Howe, slipped his cables and went to sea also. D'Estaing did not avoid a battle, and, in the gale which followed, engaged the rear of the English fleet. But his own flagship, the *Languedoc*, was dismasted in the gale, and, after communicating with Sullivan again, he went round to Boston to refit. Samuel Cooper, in a letter, is well aware that there was some popular disappointment because the count d'Estaing had not done more. But he resumes the whole by saying: "The very sound of his aid occasioned the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British army; his presence suspended the operation of a vast British force in these states, by sea and land; it animated our own efforts; it protected our coast and navigation, obliging the enemy to keep their men-of-war and cruisers collected, and facilitated our necessary supplies from abroad. By drawing the powerful squadron of Admiral Byron to these seas, it gave security to the islands of France in the West Indies, and equilibrium to her naval power in the Channel, and a decided superiority in the Mediterranean."

When it is remembered that, in the events of the summer and autumn of 1778, the English lost twenty vessels in their collisions with D'Estaing's fleet, it must be granted that its exploits were by no means inconsiderable.*y*

### NAVAL ENCOUNTERS; PAUL JONES TAKES THE *SERAPIS*

The first commander-in-chief of the navy, or high admiral, was Ezekiel Hopkins, of Rhode Island, whom congress had commissioned as such in December, 1775. He first went against Dunmore, on the coast of Virginia. He also went to the Bahamas, and captured the town of New Providence and its governor. Sailing for home, he captured some British vessels off the east end of Long Island, and with these prizes he went into Narragansett Bay. In the mean while Paul Jones[1] and Captain Barry were doing good service, and New England cruisers were greatly annoying English shipping on the coast. In 1777 Doctor Franklin, under the authority of congress, issued commissions to naval officers in Europe. Expeditions were fitted out in French seaports, and these produced great alarm on the British coasts. While these things were occurring in European waters, captains Biddle, Manly, M'Neil, Hinman, Barry, and others were making many prizes on the American coasts.*x*

In 1778, Jones, cruising on the coast of Great Britain, from the Land's End to Solway Firth, where as yet the American flag had never ventured, made a descent on the Scotch coast near Kirkcudbright, and plundered the

[[1] John Paul Jones was born in Scotland in 1747, and came to Virginia in boyhood. He entered the American naval service in 1775, and was active during the whole war. He was afterwards very active in the Russian service, against the Turks, in the Black Sea, and was created rear-admiral in the Russian navy. He died in Paris in 1782.*x*]

[1778 A.D.]

house of the earl of Selkirk, where, tradition says, he had once lived as servant, and a second by night on the Cumberland coast, at Whitehaven, where he spiked the guns in the fort and burned one or two vessels. For a whole summer he kept the northwestern coast of England and the southern coast of Scotland in a continual state of alarm, and made his name one of terror. The next year he returned to cruise on the eastern coast, no longer with a single ship, but a squadron, manned by French and Americans. This squadron consisted of the *Bonhomme Richard*, of forty guns, which he himself commanded, the *Alliance*, of thirty-six, the *Pallas*, a frigate of thirty-two, and two other smaller vessels. Cruising with these ships, he fell in with a British merchant-fleet on its return from the Baltic, under convoy of Captain Pearson, with the *Serapis*, of forty-four guns, and a smaller frigate; and one of the most desperate naval engagements on record took place off Flamborough Head. About seven o'clock in the evening Paul Jones in the *Bonhomme Richard* engaged Captain Pearson in the *Serapis*, the ships advancing nearer and nearer, until at length they dropped alongside of each other, head and stern, and so close that the muzzles of the guns grated. [When at a sudden slacking in the American fire, Pearson called out to Jones, "Have you struck?" Jones made his famous answer, "I have not begun to fight!"] In this close contact the action continued with the greatest fury till half past ten, during which time Jones, who had the greater number of men, vainly attempted to board, and the *Serapis* was set on fire ten or twelve times. After a desperate and last attempt to board Paul Jones, Captain Pearson hauled down his colours, two thirds of his men being killed or wounded, and his mainmast gone by the board. The *Bonhomme Richard* was in little better condition, for, to add to her misfortunes, the *Alliance*, coming up in the darkness and confusion of the night, and mistaking her for the enemy, had fired a broadside into her, not discovering his error till the glare of the burning *Serapis* had revealed it.[1] The next day Paul Jones was obliged to quit his ship, and she sank at sea almost immediately, with, it is said, great numbers of the wounded on board. Of the three hundred and seventy-five men whom she carried, three hundred were killed or wounded. The *Pallas* captured the *Countess of Scarborough*, and Jones, on the 6th of October, succeeded in carrying his shattered vessels into the waters of the Texel.[s]

Because of his achievement of the apparently impossible, and because of his having been a Scotchman, a British subject by birth, who enlisted with Americans and preyed upon British commerce, English historians like English officers of the time regarded Paul Jones as only a pirate and unjustly accused him of actual theft. The captain of the *Serapis* insulted him even in the moment of surrendering to him; the English historian Stedman[m] calls him "a ruffian commander," and has only this praise for his indomitable courage, "None but a desperado would have continued the engagement." And yet it was this desperado who first flung the American flag at a masthead, and who first carried it into an English port.[a]

### FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES

A cause of anxiety and distress was the depreciation of the paper currency. At the close of 1778 a dollar in specie could scarcely be obtained for forty in bills. But the very paper was fluctuating in value. Hence a

[1 The *Alliance* was commanded by Pierre Landais, who was extremely jealous of Jones' whose crew always insisted that Landais fired into them with full intention. Landais shortly after went insane.]

set of men arose, who, speculating on this currency, amassed immense wealth, while honest men and the nation itself were reduced to beggary.[s] George Washington vividly expressed the condition of affairs when he wrote that "it required a wagonload of money to buy a wagonload of provisions." But the finances of the colonies would have been in far sadder plight had it not been for the Herculean energies of Robert Morris. According to W. G. Sumner,[z] "the only man in the history of the world who ever bore the title of superintendent of finance was Robert Morris of Philadelphia." He ought to have had a peculiar title, for the office he filled has never had a parallel. Among his retrenchments, for instance, was the cutting down of $10,525 a month in commissary salaries. This saving alone paid for 3,278 rations a day. Robert Morris was, like Washington and everyone else in authority, the victim of opposition and distrust. Although he had been one of the most brilliant financiers in the history of the world, after the war was over he was unable to manage his own affairs and went into bankruptcy, dying very poor. He was of British birth, and was a good offset to the other British contributions to the American cause—Conway, who tried to scheme Washington out of office, and the traitor General Charles Lee, who was very nearly granted the chief command of the army.[a]

### DISASTERS IN THE SOUTH; GATES AT CAMDEN

The war was gathering fresh combatants. Spain, after vainly offering her mediation between Great Britain and France, entered into the lists on the side of the latter power, June, 1779. There was no thought of the United States in the transaction. John Jay, hastily appointed minister to Spain in September, could not obtain a recognition of American independence. But the United States hailed the entrance of a new nation into the arena. It was so much against their enemy, however little it was for themselves. The beginning of 1780 beheld large detachments from the British at New York, under Clinton, the commander-in-chief himself, on their way southward. Charleston, twice already assailed in vain, was the first object. The siege began April 11th, with five thousand British against fifteen hundred Americans; the numbers afterwards increasing to eight thousand on the British side and three thousand on the American. The naval forces of the attack and the defence were still more unequal. Lincoln, yet in command of the southern army, made a brave resistance, but was of course overpowered. The loss of Charleston (May 12th) was followed by the loss of the state, or the greater part of it. Three expeditions, the chief under Lord Cornwallis, penetrated into the interior without meeting any repulse. So complete was the prostration of South Carolina that Clinton returned to New York in June, leaving Cornwallis to retain and to extend the conquest which had been made.

All was not yet lost. The partisans of South Carolina, like those of Georgia, held out in the upper country, whence they made frequent descents upon the British posts. The names of Thomas Sumter and Francis Marion recall many a chivalrous enterprise. Continental troops and militia were marching from the north under De Kalb, the companion of La Fayette in his voyage, and under Gates, who assumed the command in North Carolina (July). Thence entering South Carolina in the hope of recovering it from its conquerors, Gates encountered Cornwallis near Camden, and, although much superior in numbers, was routed—the militia of North Carolina and Virginia leaving the few continental troops to bear the brunt of the battle in vain.

[1780 A.D.]

The brave De Kalb fell a sacrifice upon the field (August 16th). Two days afterwards Sumter was surprised by the British cavalry under Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, and his party scattered. Marion was at the same time driven into North Carolina.[d]

Gates' popularity, gained by profiting from Schuyler's good work in the Burgoyne campaign, never recovered the shock of Camden when he was beaten by an inferior number. He was accused of cowardice and incompetency, and a court of inquiry proposed but never held, as his successor, the brilliant Nathanael Greene, defended him. He has found a recent advocate in Edward Channing,[bb] who praises Gates' plans, and says that the defeat was (in the words of Stevens, a Virginia officer) "brought on by the damned cowardly behaviour of the militia."[a]

### ARNOLD'S TREASON AT WEST POINT (1780 A.D.)

The utmost gloom hung over the American affairs in the north. A scheme of treason, in the very bosom of the American camp, came to light, which fell like a thunderbolt on the country. In September a plot was laid for betraying the important fortress of West Point, and other posts of the Highlands, into the hands of the enemy, the traitor being no other than Arnold, the most brilliant officer and one of the most honoured in the American army. Arnold, however, with all his fine qualities as a soldier, had in many cases shown great want of integrity and disregard of the rights of others; nevertheless his valour and his many brilliant achievements had cast his faults into the shade and placed him in command at Philadelphia. There, however, his conduct had given rise to much dissatisfaction. He lived in so expensive a style as to become involved in debt, to free himself from which he entered into mercantile and privateering speculations. This mode of living and these speculations led to the interference of congress, which required that Washington should deliver him a reprimand.[1] His debts and money difficulties caused him to request, but in vain, a loan from the French minister. The same causes [combined with indignation at the mistakes of congress, with doubt of the possibilities of successfully warring with England, and with jealousy of other officers more favoured] had already led him to open a secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton. The strong and very important post of West Point, with its neighbouring dependencies and one wing of the army, were now intrusted to the custody and conduct of General Arnold. An interview was necessary with some confidential British agent, and Major André, with whom Arnold had already carried on a correspondence under the feigned names of Gustavus and Anderson, volunteered for this purpose. The outlines of the project were that Arnold should make such a disposition of the wing under his command as should enable Sir Henry Clinton to surprise their strong posts and batteries, and throw the troops so entirely into his hands that they must inevitably either lay down their arms or be cut to pieces on

[1 Nothing could be more delicate than the form of this reprimand, which was at once a fatherly rebuke and a noble exhortation. Though it has been considered somewhat apocryphal, there are many reasons for accepting it as given by Marbois:[cc] "When Arnold was brought before him," says Marbois, "he kindly addressed him, saying, 'Our profession is the chastest of all. Even the shadow of a fault tarnishes the lustre of our finest achievements. The least inadvertence may rob us of the public favour, so hard to be acquired. I reprimand you for having forgotten that, in proportion as you had rendered yourself formidable to our enemies, you should have been guarded and temperate in your deportment to your fellow citizens. Exhibit anew those noble qualities which have placed you on the list of our most valued commanders. I will myself furnish you, as far as it may be in my power, with opportunities of regaining the esteem of your country.'"]

the spot. Such a blow, it was deemed, would be irrevocable. The British sloop-of-war *Vulture*, with Major André on board, ascended the Hudson. A boat was sent off by Arnold at nightfall, which brought André on shore and landed him on the west side of the river, just below the American lines, where Arnold was waiting for him. In the mean time the *Vulture*, having attracted the notice of the American gunners, had found it necessary to change her position. On the second day, assuming an ordinary dress, and being furnished with a pass from Arnold, in the name of John Anderson, André set out on horseback, with Smith for a guide, and passed through a remote part of the camp, and all the guards and posts, in safety. He had now to pass through a district some thirty miles above the island of New York, known as "neutral ground," a populous and fertile region, infested by bands of plunderers called "Cow-Boys and Skinners."

In passing through Tarrytown, André was stopped by three young men, John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac van Wert, on the lookout for cattle or travellers. André, not prepared for such an encounter—or, as he himself said in his letter to Washington, too little versed in deception to practise it with any degree of success—offered his captors a considerable purse of gold, a valuable watch, or anything which they might name, if they would suffer him to proceed to New York. His offers were rejected;[1] he was searched, suspicious papers were found in his boots, and he was carried before Colonel Jamison, the commanding officer on the lines. Although these papers were in the handwriting of Arnold, Jamison, unable to believe that his commanding officer was a traitor, forwarded them by express to Washington at Hartford, and sent to Arnold, informing him of his prisoner, his passport, and that papers of a very suspicious character had been found upon him. Washington's aides-de-camp were breakfasting with Arnold when Jamison's letter arrived. Pretending that it was an immediate call to visit one of the forts on the other side of the river, Arnold rose from table, called his wife upstairs, told her sufficient to throw her into a fainting-fit, mounted a ready-saddled horse, rode to the riverside, threw himself into a barge, passed the forts, waving a handkerchief by way of flag, and ordered his boatmen to row for the *Vulture*. André was examined before a board of officers, and upon the very story which he himself told he was pronounced a spy, and as such was doomed to speedy death. Sir Henry Clinton used the utmost efforts to save him. The public heart sympathised with him, but martial justice demanded his life, and his last prayer that he might be shot rather than hanged was denied. The day after the sentence was passed, October 2nd, it was carried into execution. The sympathy which André excited in the American army is perhaps unexampled under any circumstances. It was said that the whole board of general officers shed tears at the drawing up and signing the report, and that even Washington wept upon hearing the circumstances of his death.[s]

All historians have felt pity for André's fate, and a few have impugned the justice of his execution, the earl of Stanhope[w] especially; he calls it "by far the greatest, and perhaps the only blot in Washington's most noble career." With this numerous of the later British historians strongly disagree, notably Lecky[g] and also Massey,[dd] who even doubts the propriety of burying André in Westminster Abbey for "services of this character."[a]

Arnold received £10,000, and was made a brigadier-general in the British army.[s]

[1 The charge has been made, and denied, that the three captors were very near accepting André's offers, but feared difficulty in collecting them.]

### THE GENIUS OF GENERAL GREENE

With Gates in disgrace and Arnold eternally infamous in American history, it was evident that some new genius must arise in support of Washington if the all-necessary work along the line were to be accomplished. The hour and the man came together. In General Nathanael Greene, who was sent to relieve Gates, was found the man, who saw that what was necessary, under the conditions of the country and the people, was to organise and hold together an army that should keep the British troops busy. To make attacks, except under most advantageous circumstances of surprise and safe retreat, was to risk another Camden. General Greene therefore takes his place in history as another Fabius like Washington. His retreats make monotonous reading for the proud American of to-day—they must have been a sore trial to the patriot of that time. But all the while the British troops were being worn out.

As in the case of Washington, it seemed at times that the weather must be in active alliance with him. It would be difficult to credit those almost miraculous instances where General Greene's sorely wearied army just managed to cross a stream ahead of the British when a merciful flood swept down as a barrier for their defence, or to explain many other coincidences in his favour as anything but the direct interference of providence, if this theory would not bring upon that same providence an accusation of fickleness and sloth in aiding those whom it apparently wished so well.[a]

Cornwallis, conqueror of South Carolina, prepared to march upon North Carolina. To secure the upper country, he detached a trusted officer, Major Ferguson, with a small band of regular troops and loyalists, in addition to whom large accessions were soon obtained from the tory part of the population. These recruits, like all of the same stamp, were full of hatred towards their countrymen on the American side, and fierce were the ravages of the party as Ferguson marched on. Aroused by the agony of the country, a considerable number of volunteers gathered, under various officers—Colonel Campbell, of Virginia, Colonels Cleaveland, Sevier, and Shelby, of North Carolina, and others. Nine hundred chosen men hastened to overtake the enemy, whom they found encamped in security on King's Mountain, near the frontier of South Carolina. The Americans never fought more resolutely. Ferguson was killed, and his surviving men surrendered at discretion (October 7th). The march of Cornwallis was instantly checked; instead of advancing, he fell back.

The year had been marked by important movements in Europe. The empress Catherine of Russia put forth a declaration of independence, as it may be styled, in behalf of the neutral states, by proclaiming their right to carry on their commerce in time of war exactly as in time of peace, provided they conveyed no contraband articles. This doctrine was wholly at variance with the rights of search and of blockade, as asserted by England in relation to neutral nations. But it prevailed, and a league, by the name of the Armed Neutrality, soon comprehended nearly the whole of Europe. On the accession of Holland to the Armed Neutrality, Great Britain, having just before captured a minister to the Dutch from the United States—Henry Laurens, of South Carolina—declared war at the close of 1780. But Holland no more became an ally of the United States than Spain had done.

In the mean time events were hastening to a crisis in the field. General Greene determined to save the Carolinas. He was confirmed in his purpose by his brigadier, General Morgan, who, distinguished in various actions, won

a decisive victory over Tarleton at the Cowpens, in South Carolina (January 17th, 1781). Later, Greene and Morgan having retreated in the interval, the main bodies of the armies, British and American, met at Guilford, in North Carolina (March 15th). Both retired from the field; the Americans first, but the British with the greater loss. Cornwallis withdrew towards Wilmington, pursued by Greene, who presently dashed into South Carolina. There he was opposed by Lord Rawdon, who at once defeated him in an engagement at Hobkirk's Hill, near Camden (April 25th). This was a cruel blow to Greene's hopes of surprising South Carolina. "This distressed country," he wrote, "cannot struggle much longer without more effectual support." But it was not in Greene's nature to despair. While he advanced against the stronghold of Ninety-Six, in South Carolina, he detached a body of troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Lee to join a band of Carolinians and Georgians who were besieging Augusta. The result was the surrender of that town (June 5th). But the fort at Ninety-Six held out against repeated assaults, and Greene was obliged to retire before the superior force which Rawdon was leading to raise the siege (June 19th). For a time the war subsided; then Greene reappeared, and fought the action of Eutaw Springs. He lost the field of battle (September 8th); but the British, under Colonel Stuart, were so much weakened as to give way and retreat precipitately towards Charleston. Thus from defeat to defeat, without the intermission of a single victory, in the common sense, Greene had now marched, now retreated, in such a brave and brilliant way as to force the enemy back upon the seaboard. The successes of the militia and of the partisan corps had been equally effective. All the upper country, not only of the Carolinas, but of Georgia, was once more in the American possession.

At the time when things were darkest at the south, greater perils arose at the centre of the country. Virginia was invaded in the first days of 1781 by a formidable force, chiefly of loyalists under the traitor Arnold. He took Richmond, but only to leave it and retire to Portsmouth, where he bade defiance both to the American militia and the French vessels from Newport (January). Soon after, two thousand British troops were sent from New York, under General Phillips, with directions to march up the Chesapeake against Maryland and Pennsylvania (March). This plan embraced the twofold idea of cutting off the Carolinas from all assistance and of laying the central states equally prostrate. At about the same time Cornwallis, baffled by Greene in North Carolina, set out to join the forces assembled in Virginia. They, meanwhile, had penetrated the interior, swept the plantations and the towns, and taken Petersburg (April). The arrival of Cornwallis completed the array of the enemy (May). The very heart of the country was in danger.

The nation was far from being up to the emergency. A spirit of weariness and selfishness was prevailing among the people. The army, ill-disciplined and ill-paid, was exceedingly restless. Troops of the Pennsylvania and New Jersey lines had broken out into actual revolt at the beginning of the year. The government was still ineffective, the confederation feeble, congress inert, not to say broken down. When one reads that this body stood ready to give up the Mississippi to Spain, nay, to waive the express acknowledgment of American independence as an indispensable preliminary to negotiations with Great Britain—when one reads these things, he may well wonder that there were any preparations to meet the exigencies of the times. The German baron von Steuben,[1] collecting troops in Virginia at the time of the invasion,

[1] To Baron Steuben had been due the reform of the drill. It may be instructive to see how the Prussian officer had set about bringing this irregular force into something like military

[1787 A.D.]

was afterwards joined by La Fayette, whose troops had been clad on their march at his expense. By sea, the French fleet was engaged in defending the coasts against the invader. It seemed as if the stranger were the only defender of Virginia and of America. But on the southern border was Greene, with his troops and his partisan allies. At the north was Washington, planning, acting, summoning troops from the states, and the French from Newport, to aid him in an attack upon New York, as the stronghold of the foe, until, convinced of the impossibility of securing the force required for such an enterprise, he resolved upon taking the command in Virginia (August 14th). Thither he at once directed the greater part of his scanty troops, as well as of the French. The allied army was to be strengthened by the French fleet, and not merely by that of Newport, but by another and a larger fleet from the West Indies.

### THE SURRENDER AT YORKTOWN, AND END OF THE WAR

The British under Cornwallis were now within fortified lines at Yorktown and Gloucester (August 1st–22nd). There they had retired under orders from the commander-in-chief at New York, who thought both that post and the Virginian conquests in danger from the increasing activity of the Americans, and especially the French. Little had been done in the field by Cornwallis. He had been most gallantly watched, and even pursued by La Fayette, whose praises for skill, as well as heroism, rang far and wide. Washington and the French general Rochambeau joined La Fayette at Williamsburg (September 14th). A great fleet under Count de Grasse was already in the Chesapeake. As soon as the land forces arrived, the siege of Yorktown was begun (September 28th). The result was certain. Washington had contrived to leave Sir Henry Clinton impressed with the idea that New York was still the main object. Sir Henry, therefore, thought of no reinforcements for Cornwallis, until they were too late, until, indeed, they were out of the question in consequence of the naval superiority of the French. In fact, an expedition to lay waste the eastern part of Connecticut was occupying Clinton's mind. He placed the loyalists and the Hessians despatched for the purpose under the traitor Arnold, who succeeded in destroying New London in September. Thus there were but seven thousand five hundred British at Yorktown to resist nine thousand Americans and seven thousand French, besides the numerous fleet. In less than three weeks Cornwallis asked for terms (October 17th), and two days afterwards surrendered.

The blow was decisive. The United States were transported. Government, army, people were for once united, for once elevated to the altitude of

order, with the sanction of Washington. He drafted a hundred and twenty men from the line, as a guard for the chief-in-command. He drilled them himself twice a day. "In a fortnight my company knew perfectly how to bear arms, had a military air, knew how to march, deploy, and execute some little manœuvres with excellent precision." In the course of instruction he departed altogether from the general rule. "In our European armies a man who has been drilled for three months is called a recruit; here, in two months, I must have a soldier. In Europe we had a number of evolutions very pretty to look at when well executed, but in my opinion absolutely useless so far as essential objects are concerned." He reversed the whole system of eternal manual and platoon exercises, and commenced with manœuvres. He soon taught them something better than the pedantic routine which was taught in manuals of tactics. To the objectors against Steuben's system it was answered that "in fact there was no time to spare in learning the minutiæ—the troops must be prepared for instant combat." The sagacious German had his men at drill every morning at sunrise, and he soon made the colonels of regiments not ashamed of instructing their recruits.—[KAPP.ee]

those noble spirits who, like Washington, had sustained the nation until the moment of victory. "The play is over," wrote La Fayette, "and the fifth act is just finished." "O God!" exclaimed Lord North, the English prime minister, on hearing of the event. "It is all over—all over!"

It was Washington's earnest desire to avail of the French fleet in an attack on Charleston. De Grasse refused. Then Washington urged him to transport troops to Wilmington. But De Grasse alleged his engagement in the West Indies, and sailed thither. The French under Rochambeau went into winter quarters at Williamsburg, while the Americans marched, a part to reinforce the southern army, and a part to the various posts in the north. Prospects were uncertain. It was evident that the war was approaching its close, but none could tell how nearly.

A vote of parliament that the king be requested to bring the war to a close (February 27th, 1782) led to a change of ministry. Determining to recognise the independence of the United States, and to concentrate hostilities against the European powers, the new ministry sent out Sir Guy Carleton as commander-in-chief, with instructions to evacuate New York, Charleston, and Savannah—in a word, the entire seaboard. It was the result of past campaigns, not of any present one. The Americans were without armies, without supplies, at least without such as were indispensable for any active operations. When the French under Rochambeau reached the American camp on the Hudson in the autumn, they passed between two lines of troops clothed and armed by subsidies from France. It was a touching tribute of gratitude, and an equally touching confession of weakness. All but a single corps of the French embarked at the close of the year. The remainder followed in the ensuing spring. Peace was then decided upon. It had been brought about by other operations besides those which have been described. The contest in America, indeed, was but an episode in the extended warfare of the period. Upon the sea, the fleets of Britain hardly encountered an American man-of-war. The opposing squadrons were those of France and Spain and Holland. By land, the French opposed the British in the East Indies, upon the coast of Africa, and in the West Indies. They also aided the Spaniards to conquer Minorca, in the Mediterranean, and to assail, but in vain, the great stronghold of Gibraltar. The Spanish forces were also active in the Floridas. Holland alone of the European combatants made no stand against Great Britain. In the Indies, both East and West, and in South American Guiana, the Dutch were immense losers. What was gained from them, however, did not compensate for what was lost to others by the British. The preliminaries of peace, at first with America (November 30th, 1782), and afterwards with the European powers (January 20th, 1783), were signed to the general contentment of Great Britain, of Europe, and of America.

Hostilities soon ceased. In America, Sir Guy Carleton proclaimed their cessation on the part of the British (April 8th). Washington, with the consent of congress, made proclamation to the same effect. By a singular coincidence, the day on which hostilities were stayed was the anniversary of that on which they were begun at Lexington, eight years before (April 19th). Measures, already proposed by the British commander, were at once taken on both sides for the release of prisoners. The treatment and the exchange of these unfortunate men had given rise to great difficulties during the war. Even where actual cruelty did not exist, etiquette and policy were too strong for humanity. The horrors of the British jails and prison ships were by-words, and when their unhappy victims were offered in exchange for the better treated prisoners of the other side, the Americans hesitated to receive them.

[1782 A.D.]

The troops that surrendered at Saratoga, on condition of a free passage to Great Britain, were detained, in consequence of various objections, to be freed only by desertions and slow exchanges after the lapse of years. In short, the prisoners of both armies seem to have been regarded in the light of troublesome burdens, alike by those who had captured them and those from whom they were captured. Individual benevolence alone lights up the gloomy scene. At the close of the war, we find congress, on the recommendation of Washington, voting its thanks to Reuben Harvey, a merchant of Cork, for his humane succours to the American prisoners in Ireland.

Negotiations for peace met with many interruptions. So far as the United States were concerned, the questions of boundary, of the St. Lawrence and Newfoundland fisheries, of indemnity to British creditors as well as to American loyalists, were all knotty points; the more so that the four negotiators—Franklin, John Jay, John Adams, and Henry Laurens—were by no means agreed upon the principles by which to decide them. Some of the envoys, moreover, were possessed of the idea that France was disposed to betray her American allies; and so strong was this feeling that the consent of the French government, the point which had been agreed upon as the essential condition of making peace, was not even asked before the signature of the preliminaries already mentioned. It was before the preliminaries were signed that all these embarrassments appeared, and they continued afterwards. At length, however, definitive treaties were signed at Paris and at Versailles between Great Britain and her foes (September 3rd). The treaty with Holland was not concluded until the following spring. America obtained her independence, with all the accompanying privileges and possessions which she desired. She agreed, however, against her will, to make her debts good, and to recommend the loyalists, whose property had been confiscated, to the favour of the state governments. Spain recovered the Floridas. The other terms of the treaties—the cessions on one side and on the other—have been detailed elsewhere in our history. The treaty between Great Britain and the United States was formally confirmed by congress at the beginning of the following year (January 14th, 1784). After long delays, the British withdrew from their post on the Penobscot. New York was evacuated (November 25th, 1783), and ten days later the remaining forces embarked from Staten Island and Long Island (December 4th–6th). A few western posts excepted, the territory of the United States was free.

### MUTINIES IN THE AMERICAN ARMY

The disposal of the American army had long been a serious question. A year before, the army had addressed congress on the subject of the pay, then months, and even years, in arrears (December, 1782). Congress was powerless. The army was incensed. When, therefore, anonymous addresses to the officers were issued from the camp at Newburg, proposing the alternative of redress or of desertion,[1] the worst consequences appeared inevitable. The more so, that the excitement was greatest amongst the better class of soldiers, the "worthy and faithful men," as their commander described them, "who, from their early engaging in the war at moderate bounties, and from their patient continuance under innumerable distresses, have not only deserved well of their country, but have obtained an honourable distinction over those

[1] "If peace [comes], that nothing shall separate you from your arms but death; if war, that you will retire to some unsettled country."

who, with shorter times, have gained large pecuniary rewards." Washington, and Washington alone, was equal to the crisis. He had repelled with unutterable disdain the offer of a crown from certain individuals in the army a year before (May, 1782). He now rebuked the spirit of the Newburg addresses, and by his majestic integrity quelled the rising passions of those around him. But he entered with all the greater fervour into the just claims of the army. His refusal at the outset of the war, renewed at the close, to receive any compensation for his services to the country, placed him in precisely the position from which he could now appeal in behalf of his officers and soldiers to congress and the nation. His voice was heard. The army obtained a promise of its pay, including the commutation to a fixed sum of the half pay for life formerly promised to the officers at the expiration of the war (March, 1783). All was not yet secure. But three months later, and a body of Pennsylvanian troops marched upon congress itself in Philadelphia. Washington denounced the act with scorn. "These Pennsylvania levies," he says, "who have now

THE LONG ROOM OF FRAUNCES' TAVERN
(Where Washington took formal farewell of his officers)

mutinied, are recruits and soldiers of a day, who have not borne the heat and burden of the war." He at once sent a force to reduce and to chastise them.

"It is high time for a peace," Washington had written some months previously. The army was slowly disbanded, a small number only being left when the formal proclamation of dissolution was made, November 3rd. A few troops were still retained in arms. Of these, and of his faithful officers, the commander-in-chief took his leave at New York, December 4th. Thence he repaired to Annapolis, where congress was in session, and there resigned (December 23rd) the commission which he had held, unstained and glorious, for eight years and a half.

It seems as if he left no one behind him. The town and the state each had its authorities; but the nation was without a government, at least with nothing more than the name of one. Yet the need of a directing and a sustaining power had never been greater or clearer. If the war itself was over, its consequences, its burdens, its debts, its wasting influences, were but begun. No one saw this more plainly, no one felt it more deeply, than the retiring commander-in-chief. At no time had he been absorbed in his military duties.

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THE PEACE BALL, FREDERICKSBURG, VA.

(From the painting by Jennie Brownscombe)

[1783 A.D.]

In his relations to congress, to the states, even to the citizens, as well as in those to foreigners, whether allies or enemies, he had been almost as much the civil as the military head of the country. The arm that had led the nation through the field was now lifted to point out the paths that opened beyond. "According to the system of policy the states shall adopt at this moment"—thus Washington wrote to the governors of the states, on disbanding the army—"they will stand or fall; and, by their confirmation or lapse, it is yet to be decided whether the revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse—a blessing or a curse, not to the present age alone, for with our fate will the destiny of unborn millions be involved. There are four things," he continued, "which I humbly conceive are essential to the well-being, I may even venture to say to the existence, of the United States as an independent power:

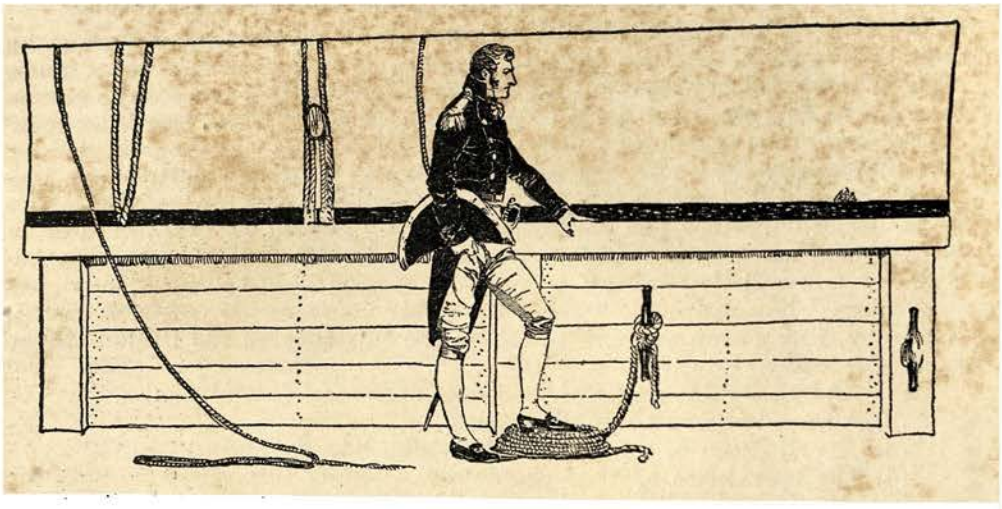
"(1) An indissoluble union of the states under one federal head.

"(2) A sacred regard to public justice.

"(3) The adoption of a proper peace establishment. And

"(4) The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies; to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity; and, in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community."[d]

In summing up the results of the Revolution, John Fiske[i] very justly asserts that, despite the humiliation for George III and the men who had been his tools, the day when the war was concluded was "a day of happy omen for the English race, in the Old World as well as in the New."[a]



# CHAPTER VIII

## THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNION

[1783–1814 A.D.]

A GREAT political principle had been strengthened by the success of the Revolution; republican government had been revived in a fashion unknown since ancient times. The territory claimed by Virginia was larger than the island of Great Britain. The federal republic included an area nearly four times as large as that of France. The suffrage was still limited to the holders of land; but the spirit of the Revolution looked towards abolishing all legal distinctions between man and man; and the foundation of later democracy, with its universal suffrage, was thus already laid. The influence of the republican spirit upon the rest of the world was not yet discerned; but the United States had established for themselves two principles which seriously affected other nations. Forty years later not one of the Spanish continental colonies acknowledged the authority of the home government. The other principle was that of the rights of man. The success of the Revolution was a shock to the system of privilege and of class exemptions from the common burdens, which had lasted since feudal times. The French Revolution of 1789 was an attempt to apply upon alien ground the principles of the American Revolution.—ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.[b]

### JOHN FISKE ON "THE CRITICAL PERIOD OF AMERICAN HISTORY"[1]

"THE times that tried men's souls are over," said Thomas Paine in the last number of the *Crisis*, which he published after hearing that the negotiations for a treaty of peace had been concluded. Paine was sadly mistaken. The most trying time of all was just beginning. It is not too much to say that the period of five years following the peace of 1783 was the most critical moment in all the history of the American people. The dangers from which we were saved in 1788 were even greater than the dangers from which we were saved in 1865. In the war of Secession the love of union had come

[1] Reproduced by permission of Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Copyright, 1888, by John Fiske.

to be so strong that thousands of men gave up their lives for it as cheerfully and triumphantly as the martyrs of older times, who sang their hymns of praise even while their flesh was withering in the relentless flames. In 1783 the love of union, as a sentiment for which men would fight, had scarcely come into existence. The souls of the men of that day had not been thrilled by the immortal eloquence of Webster, nor had they gained the historic experience which gave to Webster's words their meaning and their charm. The men of 1783 dwelt in a long, straggling series of republics fringing the Atlantic coast, bordered on the north and south and west by two European powers, whose hostility they had some reason to dread. Had there been such a government that the whole power of the thirteen states could have been swiftly and vigorously wielded as a unit, the British, fighting at such disadvantage as they did, might have been driven to their ships in less than a year. The length of the war and its worst hardships had been chiefly due to want of organisation. Congress had steadily declined in power and in respectability; it was much weaker at the end of the war than at the beginning, and there was reason to fear that as soon as the common pressure was removed the need for concerted action would quite cease to be felt, and the scarcely formed Union would break into pieces. There was an intensely powerful sentiment in favour of local self-government. This feeling was scarcely less strong as between states like Connecticut and Rhode Island, or Maryland and Virginia, than it was between Athens and Megara, Argos and Sparta, in the great days of Grecian history. A most wholesome feeling it was, and one which needed not so much to be curbed as to be guided in the right direction.

Unless the most profound and delicate statesmanship should be forthcoming to take this sentiment under its guidance, there was much reason to fear that the release from the common adhesion to Great Britain would end in setting up thirteen little republics, ripe for endless squabbling, like the republics of ancient Greece and mediæval Italy, and ready to become the prey of England and Spain, even as Greece became the prey of Macedonia.

Frederick of Prussia, though friendly to the Americans, argued that the mere extent of country from Maine to Georgia would suffice either to break up the Union or to make a monarchy necessary. No republic, he said, had ever long existed on so great a scale. The Roman Republic had been transformed into a despotism mainly by the excessive enlargement of its area. It was only little states, like Venice, Switzerland, and Holland, that could maintain a republican government. Such arguments overlooked three essential differences between the Roman Republic and the United States. The Roman Republic in Cæsar's time comprised peoples differing widely in blood, in speech, and in degree of civilisation; it was perpetually threatened on all its frontiers by powerful enemies, and representative assemblies were unknown to it. The only free government of which the Roman knew anything was that of the primary assembly or town-meeting. On the other hand, the people of the United States were all English in speech, and mainly English in blood. The differences in degree of civilisation between such states as Massachusetts and North Carolina were considerable, but in comparison with such differences as those between Attica and Lusitania they might well be called slight. The attacks of savages on the frontier were cruel and annoying, but never since the time of King Philip had they seemed to threaten the existence of the white man. A very small military establishment was quite enough to deal with the Indians. And, to crown all, the American people were thoroughly familiar with the principle of representation, having

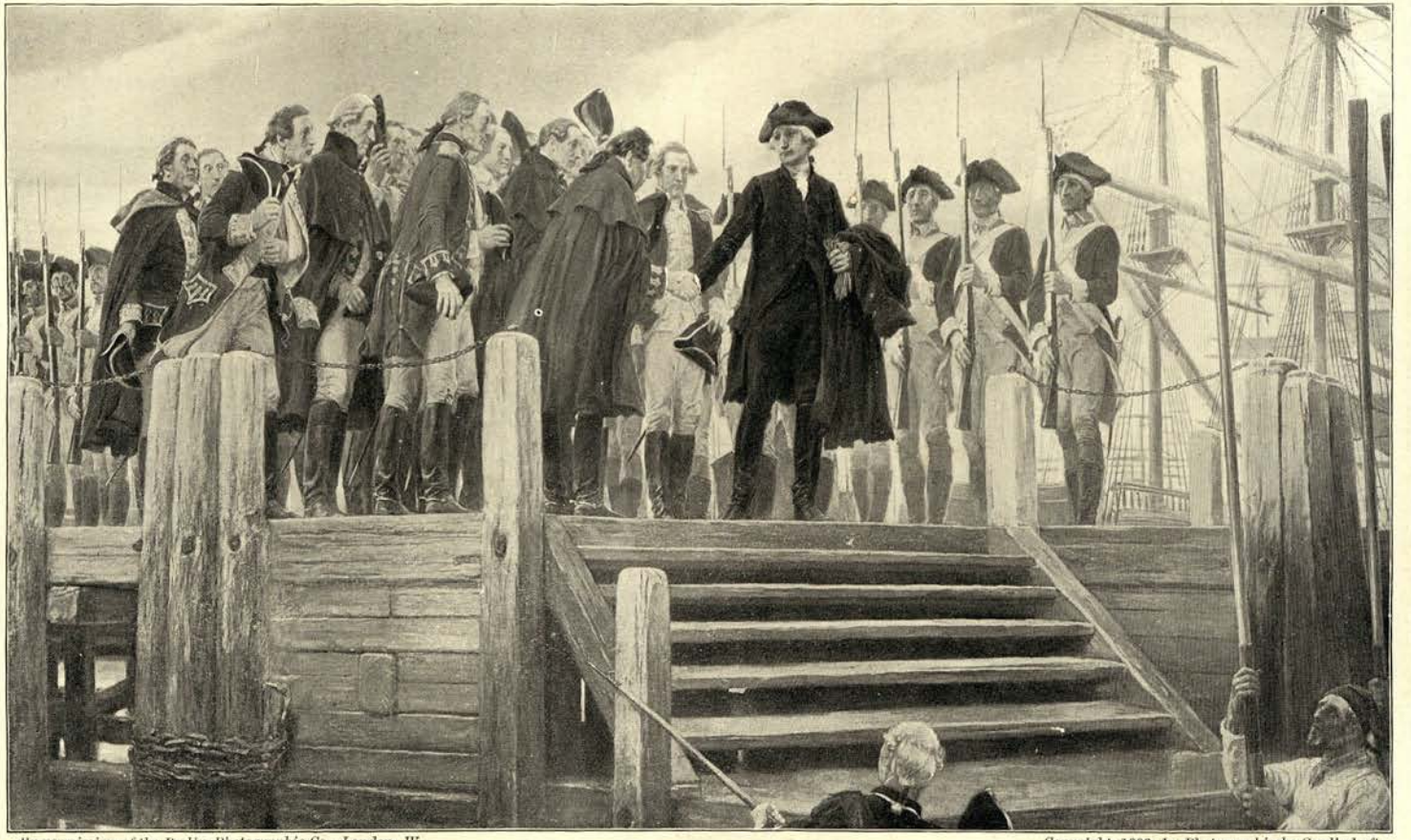
practised it on a grand scale for four centuries in England, and for more than a century in America. The governments of the thirteen states were all similar, and the political ideas of one were perfectly intelligible to all the others. It was essentially fallacious, therefore, to liken the case of the United States to that of ancient Rome.

But there was another feature of the case which was quite hidden from the men of 1783. Just before the assembling of the first continental congress, James Watt had completed his steam-engine; in the summer of 1787, while the federal convention was sitting at Philadelphia, John Fitch launched his first steamboat on the Delaware river; and Stephenson's invention of the locomotive was to follow in less than half a century. But for the military aid of railroads the government would hardly have succeeded in putting down the rebellion of the Southern states. In the debates on the Oregon Bill in the United States senate in 1843, the idea that the United States could ever have an interest in so remote a country as Oregon was loudly ridiculed by some of the members. It would take ten months, said George McDuffie, the very able senator from South Carolina, for representatives to get from that territory to the District of Columbia and back again. Yet, since the building of railroads to the Pacific coast, we can go from Boston to the capital of Oregon in much less time than it took John Hancock to make the journey from Boston to Philadelphia. Railroads and telegraphs have made that vast country, both for political and for social purposes, more snug and compact than little Switzerland was in the Middle Ages or New England a century ago.

It will be remembered that at the time of the Declaration of Independence there were three kinds of government in the colonies. Connecticut and Rhode Island had always been true republics. Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland presented the appearance of limited hereditary monarchies. The other eight colonies were viceroyalties, with governors appointed by the king, while in all alike the people elected the legislatures.

The organisation of the single state was old in principle and well understood by everybody. On the other hand, the principles upon which the various relations of the states to each other were to be adjusted were not well understood. There was wide disagreement upon the subject, and the attempt to compromise between opposing views was not at first successful. Hence, in the management of affairs which concerned the United States as a nation, we shall not find the central machinery working smoothly or quietly. We are about to traverse a period of uncertainty and confusion, in which it required all the political sagacity and all the good temper of the people to save the half-built ship of state from going to pieces on the rocks of civil contention.

Until the connection with England was severed the thirteen commonwealths were not united, nor were they sovereign. It is also clear that in the very act of severing their connection with England these commonwealths entered into some sort of union which was incompatible with their absolute sovereignty taken severally. It was not the people of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and so on through the list, that declared their independence of Great Britain, but it was the representatives of the United States in congress assembled, and speaking as a single body in the name of the whole. Three weeks before this declaration was adopted, congress appointed a committee to draw up the "articles of confederation and perpetual union," by which the sovereignty of the several states was expressly limited and curtailed in many important particulars.



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WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL TO THE ARMY

(From the painting by Andrew C. Gow)

[1783-1787 A.D.]

A most remarkable body was the "continental congress." For the vicissitudes through which it passed, there is perhaps no other revolutionary body, save the Long Parliament, which can be compared with it. The most fundamental of all the attributes of sovereignty—the power of taxation—was not given to congress. The states shared with congress the powers of coining money, of emitting bills of credit, and of making their promissory notes a legal tender for debts. Such was the constitution under which the United States had begun to drift towards anarchy even before the close of the Revolutionary War, but which could only be amended by the unanimous consent of all the thirteen states.[c]

### THE CHAOS AFTER THE REVOLUTION (1783 A.D.)

There was hardly a political principle upon which the entire country agreed. There was not one political power by which it was governed. Interests were opposed to interests, classes to classes; nay, men to men. When the officers of the army, for instance, formed into a society, under the name of the Cincinnati, for the purpose of keeping up their relations with one another, and more particularly of succouring those who might fall into distress, a general uproar was raised, because the membership of the society was to be hereditary, from father to son or from kinsman to kinsman. It was found necessary to strike out this provision, at the first general meeting of the Cincinnati (1784). Even then, though there remained nothing but a charitable association, it was inveighed against as a caste, as an aristocracy—as anything, in short, save what it really was. It is easy to say that all this is a sign of republicanism, of a devoted anxiety to preserve the institutions for which loss and sufferings had been endured. But it is a clearer sign of the suspicions and the collisions which were rending the nation asunder.

The states were absorbed in their own troubles. The debts of the confederation lay heavy upon them, in addition to those contracted by themselves. Their citizens were impoverished, here and there maddened by the calamities and the burdens, private and public, which they were obliged to bear together. At Exeter, the assembly of New Hampshire was assailed by two hundred men with weapons, demanding an emission of paper money. All day the insurgents held possession of the legislative chamber; but in the early evening they were dispersed by a rumour that Exeter was taking up arms against them (1786). The same year occurred Shays' Rebellion, in which the courts of Massachusetts were prevented from holding their usual sessions by bodies of armed men, under Captain Daniel Shays, whose main object it was to prevent any collection of debts or taxes. Nearly two thousand were in arms at the beginning of the following year (1787). The horror excited in the rest of the country was intense. Congress ordered troops to be raised; but, as it had no power to interfere with the states, the pretext of Indian hostilities was set up. Massachusetts was fortunate in having James Bowdoin for a governor. One or two thousand militia, under the command of General Lincoln, marched against the insurgents, who were put to rout. Of all the prisoners, fourteen alone were tried and condemned, not one being executed. The insurrection had lasted about six months.

Nor were such insurrections the only ones of the time. A body of settlers in Wyoming, principally emigrants from New England, held their land by grants from Connecticut, long the claimant of the territory. When Connecticut gave way to Pennsylvania, and the latter state insisted upon the

necessity of new titles to the settlements of Wyoming, the settlers armed themselves, and threatened to set up a state of their own (1782–1787). What was threatened there was actually executed elsewhere. The western counties of North Carolina, excited by being ceded to the United States, organised an independent government, as the state of "Franklin" or "Frankland" (1784). But the people were divided, and the governor, Colonel Sevier, of King's Mountain fame, was ultimately compelled to fly by the opponents of an independent organisation (1788). Meanwhile old projects of independence had been revived in the Kentucky counties of Virginia. Petitions and resolutions led to acts of the Virginia legislature consenting to the independence of Kentucky on certain conditions. Kentucky soon after petitioned congress for admission to the Union, but without immediate effect. Maine again and again strove to be detached from Massachusetts (1786). The case of Vermont was one apart. The inhabitants of that district, then known as the New Hampshire grants, declared it the state of Vermont (January, 1777), and asked admission to the Union in July. The request was denied, on account of the claims of New York to the territory. Overtures were then made to the British authorities in Canada, with whom the Vermonters might well wish to be on good terms, so long as they were excluded from the Union. Congress took alarm, but still kept Vermont at a distance (1782). So Vermont remained aloof, contented, one may believe, to be free from the troubles of the United States.

Partially settled at the time when the confederation was completed, the question of the unoccupied lands was still undecided. It united the smaller states, as a general rule, against the larger ones, by whom the western regions were claimed. Besides these great divisions between north and south, and between the larger and the smaller states, there were boundary questions.

The general government continued in the same feeble state. If there was any change, it was that the confederation and its congress had sunk to a still lower degree of inefficiency. There was even less attention to its wants on the part of the states; its requisitions went almost unanswered, their obligations almost unregarded. The superintendent of finance, Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, by whose personal exertions and advances the country had been forced through the last years of the war, laid down his office in despair, after a year of peace. His creation of a bank—the Bank of North America (1781)—was recommended by congress to the states, with the request that branches should be established; but in vain. Congress, in 1783, renewed its petition, as it may be styled, for power to lay a duty on imports, if only for a limited period. After long delay, a fresh appeal was made with really piteous representations of the national insolvency. New York refused to comply upon the terms proposed, and congress was again humiliated in 1786. During its efforts on this point, congress had roused itself upon another, and asked for authority over foreign commerce. But the supplications of congress to the states were once more denied.

On one point alone was congress worthy to be called a government. It organised the western territory, after having prevailed upon the states, or most of them, to abandon their pretensions to regions so remote from themselves. Virginia having followed the earlier example of New York, a plan was brought forward by one of her delegates, Thomas Jefferson, for the division and constitution of the western territory. The plan, at first, embraced the organisation of the entire western territory, out of which seventeen states, all free, were to be formed. The proposed prohibition of slavery was at once voted down; otherwise the project was adopted, in April, 1784. But the

cessions of the states not yet covering the whole of the region thus apportioned, its organisation was postponed until the national title to the lands could be made complete. Massachusetts, in 1785, and Connecticut, in 1786, ceded their claims, the latter state, however, with a reservation. Treaties with various tribes disposed in part of the Indian titles to the western territories (1784–1786). All these cessions completing the hold of the nation upon the tract northwest of the Ohio, that country was definitely organised as the Northwest Territory, by an ordinance of congress (July 13th, 1787).[1] This intrusted the government of the territory partly to officers appointed by congress, and partly to an assembly to be chosen by the settlers as soon as they amounted to five thousand. Articles provided for the equal rights and responsibilities of the new states and the old, and for the division of the territory. Under liberal organisation, surveys, sales, and settlements followed fast. A colony from Massachusetts was the first to occupy Ohio, at Marietta (1788).

Singular enough, while congress was taking these steps to preserve the western domains, it was taking others to endanger them. Eager to secure a treaty of commerce with Spain, the northern and central states assented to surrender the navigation of the Mississippi to that power (1786). In this they had no less an authority upon their side than Washington, who appears to have attached more importance to internal communication between the west and the east alone than to that wider intercourse which the west would possess by means of its mighty river. Jefferson, then the American minister at Paris, was farther-sighted. "The act," he wrote, "which abandons the navigation of the Mississippi, is an act of separation between the eastern and western country" (1787). Suppose the right to the Mississippi waived, even for a limited period, and the probability is that a large number of the western settlers, conceiving themselves sacrificed, would have separated from their countrymen [as the Kentuckians actually threatened to do], and gained a passage through the stream either in war or in alliance with Spain.

Relations with Great Britain were still more disturbed than those with Spain. Nor were they less threatening to the west. The treaty of peace exacted the surrender of the western posts by Britain. But America was required at the same time to provide for the debts of great magnitude due to British merchants. This, however, was not done. Congress was unable, and the states were unwilling, to effect anything—five states, indeed, continuing or commencing measures to prevent the collection of British debts. When, therefore, John Adams, the first minister to Great Britain, entered into a negotiation for the recovery of the posts which the British still held, he was met at once by the demand that the American part in the treaty should be fulfilled (1786). A remonstrance which congress addressed to the states was altogether in vain (1787).

"The consideration felt for America by Europe," wrote La Fayette, "is diminishing to a degree truly painful; and what has been gained by the Revolution is in danger of being lost little by little." Amid this tottering of the national system the old foundations stood secure. The laws that had been laid deep in the past, the institutions, political and social, that had been reared above them, remained to support the present uncertainties. Every strong principle of the mother country, every broad reform of the colonies, contributed to the strength and the development of the struggling nation. The claim of the eldest son to a double share of his father's property, if not to all

[1 A. B. Hart [b] says of this ordinance that "it was inferior in importance only to the Federal constitution."]

the prerogatives of primogeniture, was gradually prohibited, Georgia taking the lead. Suffrage was extended in several states, from holders of real or personal property to all tax-paying freemen. Personal liberty obtained extension and protection. The class of indented servants diminished. That of slaves disappeared altogether in some of the states. Massachusetts, declaring men free and equal by her Bill of Rights, was pronounced by her supreme court to have put an end to slavery within her limits (1780–1783). Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut forbade the importation of slaves, and the bondage of any persons thereafter born upon their soil. Other states declared against the transportation of slaves from state to state, others against the foreign slave trade; all, in fine, moving with greater or less energy in the same direction, save only South Carolina and Georgia. Societies were formed in many places to quicken the action of the authorities. In making exertions, and in maintaining principles like these, the nation was proving its title to independence.

Nothing, however, was more full of promise than the religious privileges to which the states consented. Rhode Island struck out the prohibitory statute against Roman Catholics (1784). But Rhode Island was no longer alone in her glory. The majority of the state constitutions allowed entire religious liberty. The only real restrictions upon it were those to which the Puritan states still clung, in enforcing the payment of taxes and the attendance upon services in some church or other—the old leaven not having entirely lost its power. Particular forms of faith were here and there required, if not from the citizens, at any rate from the magistrates; Roman Catholics being excluded from office in several states of the north, the centre, and the south.

### A CONVENTION DEVISES THE CONSTITUTION (1787 A.D.)

It was time for the nation to profit by the examples and the principles that have been enumerated—time for it to guard against the conflicts and the perils that have been described. Alexander Hamilton conceived the idea of a convention for forming a national constitution as early as 1780. Other individuals, including Thomas Paine, advocated the same measure, in private or in public. The legislature of New York supported it in 1782. The legislature of Massachusetts supported it in 1785.

A convention of five states at Annapolis recommended a national convention at Philadelphia in the ensuing month of May.

The first to act upon this proposal from Annapolis was the state so often foremost in the cause of the country, Virginia. The example thus set was at once followed by New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and Delaware. By the time these states declared themselves (February, 1787), congress, after many doubts as to the propriety of the course, came out with a call of its own, but limited its summons to a convention "for the sole and express purpose of revising the articles of confederation."

The state house at Philadelphia was chosen for the sessions of the convention. The day fixed for the opening arrived, only two states being represented, namely, Virginia and Pennsylvania. At length, eleven days after the appointed time, the representatives of seven states—a bare majority—assembled and opened the convention. As a matter of course, George Washington was elected president (May 25th).

The United States of America never wore a more majestic aspect than in the convention, which gradually filled up with the delegates of every state except Rhode Island. The purpose of the assembly was sufficient

[1787 A.D.]

to invest it with solemnity. To meet in the design of strengthening instead of enfeebling authority, of forming a government which should enable the nation to fulfil instead of eluding its obligations alike to the citizen and the stranger—to meet with these intentions was to do what the world had never witnessed. It is scarcely necessary to say that lower motives entered in; that the interests of classes and of sections, the prejudices of narrow politicians and of selfish men, obtruded themselves with ominous strength. Many of the members were altogether unequal to the national duties of the convention. But they were surrounded by others of a nobler mould, including the venerable Franklin, lately returned from his French mission, the representative of the later colonial days; and by several representatives of the younger class of patriots, notably by Alexander Hamilton and James Madison.

The rules of the convention ordered secrecy of debate and the right of each state to an equal vote. Governor Randolph, of Virginia, then opened the deliberations upon a constitution by offering a series of resolutions proposing a national legislature of two branches, a national executive, and a national judiciary of supreme and inferior tribunals. Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, offered a sketch of government, based on the same principles as Randolph's, but developed with greater detail. Both the plans were referred to a committee of the whole; but Randolph's, or the Virginia plan, as it was rightly called, engrossed the debate. At the end of a fortnight the committee reported in favour of the Virginia system. On the report of the committee, a new plan was offered by William Patterson, of New Jersey. This New Jersey plan, so styled, proposed a government of much more limited powers than that of the Virginia pattern. The two were referred to a committee of the whole.

Parties were by this time but too distinctly defined. The federal side was taken, as a general rule, by the representatives of the small states, the national by those of the large. Whatever was upheld by the large states, especially Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and, above all, Virginia, was, as if for this simple reason, opposed by the small ones. There was a constant dread of the dominion which, it was supposed, would be exercised by the superior states to the disadvantage and the disgrace of those of inferior rank. Perhaps the tone assumed by the large states was such as reasonably to inspire suspicion. Certain it is, that the breach between the two parties grew wider and wider, particularly when the committee and the convention pronounced in favour of the national plan. Within ten days afterwards, Franklin [who was by no means a pious man], shocked by the altercations around him, moved that prayers should be said every morning. The motion was parried, partly, it was said, to prevent the public from surmising the divisions of the convention.[1]

The starting-point, so far as theory was concerned, of the two parties, was the government by states. In this, the federal members argued, resides the only principle of sovereignty, and to this recourse must be had for the life and breath of a government for the nation. Hence the name of Federal, implying the support of a league—that is, a league between the states—as the true form of a general government. All this the national party opposed. We are not met, they reasoned, to fashion a constitution out of the states or for the states, but to create a constitution for the people; it is the people, not the states, who are to be governed and united; it is the people, moreover,

[1 The actual reason why they did not engage a chaplain was because they had no money to pay him.—J. S. LANDON.*d*]

from whom the power required for the constitution is to emanate. At the same time, the national members, with a few exceptions, were far from denying the excellence of state governments.

But the votes to be taken in the legislative branches of the new government are not, it was asserted, the votes of the states, but the votes of the people; let them, therefore, be given according to the numbers of the people, not of the states. Not so, replied the federal members—and they had reason to be excited, for it was from apprehension on this very point that they had opposed the national plan—not so, they replied, or our states, with their scanty votes, will be utterly absorbed in the larger states. One of the small states, Delaware, sent her representatives with express instructions to reserve her equal vote in the national legislature. But the federal party, already disappointed, found itself doomed to a fresh disappointment. Abandoning, or intimating that it was willing to abandon, the claim of an equal vote in both branches of the legislature, it stood the firmer for equality in one of the branches—the senate of the constitution. Even this more moderate demand was disregarded by the majority, intent upon unequal votes in both the branches.

Great agitation followed. "We will sooner submit to foreign power!" cried a representative from one of the small states. But for the reference of the matter to a committee, who, at the instance of Franklin, adopted a compromise, making the votes of the states equal in the senate, the work of the convention would have come to a sudden close. As it was, the report of the committee but partly satisfied the small states, while it kindled the wrath of the large. "If no compromise should take place," asked Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, "what will be the consequence? A secession will take place, for some gentlemen seem decided on it." It was the federal party that talked of secession. The national party, no wiser, as a whole, spoke of the dismemberment and absorption of the smaller states, hinting at the sword. Fortunately, peace prevailed. The compromise was accepted, and both national and federal members united in determining on an equal vote in the senate and an unequal vote in the house that were to be.

Another division besides that between the large and the small states had now appeared. Slavery separated the North from the South. The first struggle upon the point arose with respect to the apportionment of representation. Upon this subject all other questions yielded to one, namely, whether slaves should be included with freemen, not, of course, as voting, but as making up the number entitled to representation. The necessity for compromise was again evident. The moderate members of either side came together, and agreed that three-fifths of the slave population should be enumerated with the whole of the white population in apportioning the representatives amongst the different states.

A graver point was raised. In the draft of the constitution now under debate, there stood a clause forbidding the general government to lay any tax or prohibition upon the migrations or the importations authorised by the states. This signified that there was to be no interference with the slave trade. The opposition to the claims of the extreme South came from the central states, especially from Virginia, not from the North. The North, intent upon the passage of acts protective of its large shipping interests, was quite ready to come to an understanding with the South. The consequence was that, instead of imitating the example of earlier years and declaring the slave trade at an end, the convention protracted its existence for twenty years (till 1808). At the same time, the restriction upon acts relating

to commerce was stricken from the constitution. Dark as this transaction seems, it was still a compromise. To extend the slave trade for twenty years was far better than to leave it without any limit at all. It was at the close of these discussions that the draft of the clause respecting fugitive slaves was introduced, and accepted without discussion. The word "slaves," however, was avoided here, as it had been in all the portions of the constitution relating to slavery.

At length, after nearly four months' perseverance through all the heat of summer, the convention agreed to the constitution (September 15th). As soon as it could be properly engrossed, it was signed by all the delegates, save Gerry, of Massachusetts—who hinted at civil war being about to ensue—Randolph and George Mason, of Virginia (September 17th). As the last members were signing, Franklin pointed to a sun painted upon the back of the president's chair, saying, "I have often and often, in the course of the session and the vicissitude of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that sun behind the president, without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun." The dawn was still uncertain. Presented to congress, and thence transmitted to the states, to be by them accepted or rejected, the constitution was received with very general murmurs. Even some members of the convention, on reaching home, declared, like Martin, of Maryland, "I would reduce myself to indigence and poverty, if on those terms only I could procure my country to reject those chains which are forged for it." It was thought that the constitution was too strong, that it exalted the powers of the government too high, and depressed the rights of the states and the people too low. This was the opinion of the anti-federalists—a name borne rather than assumed by those who had constituted, or by those who succeeded to, the federal party in the convention. They opposed, not the union, but what they called the subjection of the states proposed by the constitution.

The constitutional writings, as they may be called, of the twelvemonth succeeding the convention, were far in advance of any preceding productions of America. The greatness of the cause called forth new powers of mind, new powers of heart. Washington's letters upon the subject overflow with emotions such as his calm demeanour had seldom betrayed before. Under the signature of Publius, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay united in the composition of *The Federalist*. It was a succession of essays, some profound in argument, others thrilling in appeal, and all devoted to setting forth the principles and foretelling the operations of the constitution. Under the signature of Fabius, John Dickinson—the same whose *Farmer's Letters* had pleaded for liberty twenty years before—now pleaded for constitutional government. It was not merely the constitution that was thus rendered clear and precious. The subject was as wide as are the rights of man.

So strong and so wise exertion was not in vain. State after state, beginning with Delaware (December 7th, 1787), assented to the constitution, some by large, some by exceedingly small majorities. But, actuated by different motives, the large states, or rather the parties in the large states, opposing the unconditional adoption of the constitution, were unable to combine with any effect. The generous impulses and the united exertions of their opponents carried the day. Only North Carolina and Rhode Island stood aloof, and the former but partially, when congress performed the last act preliminary to the establishment of the constitution by appointing days for the requisite

elections and for the organisation of the new government (September 13th, 1788). Thus was completed the most extraordinary transaction of which merely human history bears record. A nation enfeebled, dismembered, and dispirited, broken by the losses of war, by the dissensions of peace, incapacitated for its duties to its own citizens or to foreign powers, suddenly bestirred itself and prepared to create a government. It chose its representatives without conflicts or even commotions. They came together, at first only to disagree, to threaten, and to fail. But against the spells of individual selfishness and sectional passion, the inspiration of the national cause proved potent. The representatives of the nation consented to the measures on which the common honour and the common safety depended. Then the nation itself broke out in clamours. Still there was no violence, or next to none. No sort of contention arose between state and state. Each had its own differences, its own hesitations; but when each had decided for itself, it joined the rest and proclaimed the constitution.

The work thus achieved was not merely for the nation that achieved it. In the midst of their doubts and their dangers, a few generous spirits, if no more, gathered fresh courage by looking beyond the limits of their country. Let Washington[e] speak for them: "I conceive," says he, "under an energetic general government, such regulations might be made, and such measures taken, as would render this country the asylum of pacific and industrious characters from all parts of Europe—a kind of asylum for mankind."[f]

### A. B. HART ON THE CONSTITUTION [1]

Americans have become accustomed to look upon the constitution as a kind of political revelation; the members of the convention themselves felt no sense of strength or inspiration. They had no authority of their own. Their work must be submitted for the ratification of states which had been unable to agree upon a single modification of the articles.

Another popular delusion with regard to the constitution is that it was created out of nothing; or, as Mr. Gladstone[g] puts it, that "it is the greatest work ever struck off at any one time by the mind and purpose of man." [2] The radical view on the other side is expressed by Sir Henry Maine,[h] who informs us that the "constitution of the United States is a modified version of the British constitution which was in existence between 1760 and 1787." The real source of the constitution is the experience of Americans. They had established and developed admirable little commonwealths in the colonies; since the beginning of the Revolution they had had experience of state governments organised on a different basis from the colonial; and, finally, they had carried on two successive national governments, with which they had been profoundly discontented. The general outline of the new constitution seems to be English; it was really colonial. The president's powers of military command, of appointment, and of veto were similar to those of the colonial governor. National courts were created on the model of colonial courts. A legislature of two houses was accepted because such legislatures had been common in colonial times. In the English parliamentary system as it existed before 1760 the Americans had had no share; the later English system of parlia-

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[2 Gladstone[g] at the same time called "the British constitution the most subtle organism which has proceeded from progressive history."]

[1787 A.D.]

mentary responsibility was not yet developed, and had never been established in colonial governments; and they expressly excluded it from their new constitution.

They were little more affected by the experience of other European nations. Just before they assembled, Madison drew up an elaborate abstract of ancient, mediæval, and existing federal governments, of which he sent a copy to Washington. It is impossible to trace a single clause of the constitution to any suggestion in this paper. The chief source of the details of the constitution was the state constitutions and laws then in force. Thus the clause conferring a suspensive veto on the president is an almost literal transcript from the Massachusetts constitution. In fact, the principal experiment in the constitution was the establishment of an electoral college; and of all parts of the system this has worked least as the framers expected. The constitution represents, therefore, the accumulated experience of the time; its success is due to the wisdom of the members in selecting out of the mass of colonial and state institutions those which were enduring.

The real boldness of the constitution is the novelty of the federal system which it set up. For the first time in history an elaborate written constitution was applied to a federation; and the details were so skilfully arranged that the instrument framed for thirteen little agricultural communities works well for many large and populous states. A second novelty was a system of federal courts skilfully brought into harmony with the state judiciary. Even here we see an effect of the twelve years' experience of imperfect federation. The convention knew how to select institutions that would stand together; it also knew how to reject what would have weakened the structure.

It was a long time before a compromise between the discordant elements could be reached. To declare the country a centralised nation was to destroy the traditions of a century and a half; to leave it an assemblage of states, each claiming independence and sovereignty, was to throw away the results of the Revolution. The convention finally agreed that while the Union should be endowed with adequate powers, the states should retain all powers not specifically granted, and particularly the right to regulate their own internal affairs.

These difficult points out of the way, the convention arranged the details of the new government. One of the principal minor questions was the method of presidential election. Many members inclined towards an executive council; instead, it was agreed that there should be a president elected by congress; but almost at the last moment, on September 7th, 1787, the better plan of indirect election by the people was adopted. At one time the convention had agreed that congress should have the right of veto upon state laws; it was abandoned, and instead was introduced a clause that the constitution should be the supreme law of the land, and powerful courts were created to construe the law.

In making up the list of the powers of congress, the convention used brief but comprehensive terms. Thus all the difficulties arising out of the unfriendly commercial legislation of states, and their interference with foreign treaties, were removed by the simple clause: "The congress shall have power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes." The great question of taxation was settled by fourteen words: "The congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises." In a few respects the constitution was deficient. It did not profess to be all-comprehensive, for the details of the government were to be worked out in later statutes. There was, however, no provision

for future annexations of territory. No safeguards were provided for the proper appointment and removal of public officers. The growth of corporations was not foreseen, and no distinct power was conferred upon congress either to create or to regulate them. Above all, the convention was obliged to leave untouched the questions connected with slavery which later disrupted the Union. On September 17th, 1787, the convention finished its work. To the eloquent and terse phraseology of Gouverneur Morris we owe the nervous English of the great instrument. As the members were affixing their signatures, Franklin remarked, pointing to the picture of a sun painted behind the president's chair: "I have often, in the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears, looked without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now at length I have the happiness to know it is a rising and not a setting sun." The new constitution was, strictly speaking, unconstitutional; it had been ratified by a process unknown to law. The situation was felt to be delicate, and the states were for the time being left to themselves. North Carolina came into the Union by a ratification of November 21st, 1789. It was suggested that the trade of states which did not recognise congress should be cut off, and Rhode Island yielded May 29th, 1790; her ratification completed the Union.

Was the new constitution an agreement between eleven states, or was it an instrument of government for the whole people? Upon this question depends the whole discussion about the nature of the Union and the right of secession. The first theory is that the constitution was a compact made between sovereign states. Thus Hayne in 1830 declared that "before the constitution each state was an independent sovereignty, possessing all the rights and powers appertaining to independent nations. After the constitution was formed, they remained equally sovereign and independent as to all powers not expressly delegated to the federal government. The true nature of the federal constitution, therefore, is a compact to which the states are parties." The importance of the word "compact" is that it means an agreement which loses its force when any one of the parties ceases to observe it; a compact is little more than a treaty. Those who framed the constitution appeared to consider it no compact; for on May 30th, 1787, they voted that "no treaty or treaties among the whole or part of the states, as separate sovereignties, should be sufficient." In fact, the reason for the violent opposition to the ratification of the constitution was that when once ratified the states could not withdraw from it. Another view is presented by Webster in his reply to Hayne: "It is, sir, the people's constitution, the people's government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people. The people of the United States have declared that this constitution shall be the supreme law." It is plain that the constitution does not rest simply upon the consent of the majority of the nation. No popular vote was taken or thought of; each act of ratification set forth that it proceeded from a convention of the people of a state.

The real nature of the new constitution appears in the light of the previous history of the country. The articles of confederation had been a compact. The new constitution was meant to be stronger and more permanent. The constitution was, then, not a compact, but an instrument of government similar in its origin to the constitutions of the states. Whatever the defects of the confederation, however humiliating its weakness to the national pride, it had performed an indispensable service: it had educated the American people to the point where they were willing to accept a permanent federal union.[b]

## A GERMAN CRITICISM OF THE CONSTITUTION (H. VON HOLST[1])

When we consider the situation of the thirteen colonies and their relations to one another; when we follow the development which, in consequence of this situation and these relations, their political affairs and political theories received during the Revolutionary War and the following years, and endeavour to express the result in a few words, we are compelled to say, with Justice Story, that we ought to wonder, not at the obstinacy of the struggle of 1787 and 1788, but at the fact that, despite everything, the constitution was finally adopted. The simple explanation of this is that it was a struggle for existence, a struggle for the existence of the United States; and that after the dissolution of the Philadelphia convention it could be saved only by the adoption of the proposed constitution, no matter how well grounded the objections that might be made to it.

The masses of the American people in their vanity and too great self-appreciation are fond of forgetting the dreadful struggle of 1787 and 1788, or of employing it only as a name for the "divine inspiration" which guided and enlightened the "fathers" at Philadelphia. In Europe this view of the case has been generally accepted as correct. Much eloquence has been lavished in laudation of the "isolated fact in history" that thirteen states, loosely bound together as one confederate body, did not see in the sword the only engine to weld together their political machinery, which was falling to pieces, but met in peaceful consultation and agreed to transform a confederacy of states into a federal state of masterly construction. In America this is an inexhaustible theme for Fourth-of-July orations, and in Europe it is only too frequently used as a text for doctrinarian politico-moral discussions. With history, however, it has nothing to do. The historical fact is that "the constitution had been extorted from the grinding necessity of a reluctant people."

"Mr. Cobb the other night said it [the government of the Union] had proven a failure. A failure in what? Why, we are the admiration of the civilised world, and present the brightest hopes of mankind. No, there is no failure of this government yet." In these words Alexander H. Stephens expressed his judgment concerning the constitution and the political history of the Union, on the eve of the four years' civil war. Four weeks later he accepted the position of vice-president of the Confederate states, a position which he retained until the close of the war. A few years after the restoration of the Union, he published a comprehensive treatise, which is at once an emphatic reiteration and explication of that declaration and a justification of the rebellion, as well as of his personal participation in it. Only a thorough study of American history can solve the enigma how a man of so much acuteness as a thinker and of so much intelligence, one who has spent his whole life in the study of political questions, could honestly say that his views and his actions were in complete harmony.

It is possible for us to trace the earliest beginnings of the worship of the constitution. At first it was looked upon as the best possible constitution for the United States. By degrees it came to be universally considered as a masterpiece, applicable to every country. For four years the people of the United States tore one another to pieces in the most frightful civil war recorded in history, each camp thinking, in the best of faith, that it was following the standard of the constitution. A model constitution—so far as it is allowable

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at all to speak of such a one—would have done poor service for the United States. Besides, it is very probable that it would not have been ratified.

Almost from the very day on which the new order of things was inaugurated the conflict between the opposing tendencies broke out anew, and before the close of the century it attained a degree which suggested very serious fears. Were it not that the letter of the constitution permitted all parties to verge upon the actual dissolution of the Union, without feeling themselves responsible for a breach of the constitution, it is likely that long before 1861 a serious attempt in that direction would have been made. Calhoun and his disciples were not the authors of the doctrine of nullification and secession. That question is as old as the constitution itself, and has always been a living one, even when it has not been one of life and death. Its roots lay in the actual circumstances of the time, and the constitution was the living expression of these actual circumstances.*i*

### JUDSON S. LANDON ON THE EXECUTIVE AND THE SUPREME JUDICIARY [1]

The duties of the president were prescribed. As the first officer of the nation, it was agreed that he ought to be the commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and of the militia, when called into the actual service of the United States. He was permitted to make treaties by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and could therefore make peace; but he was not permitted to declare war, lest his ambition should lead the nation into useless wars. That power was vested in congress. Vast and almost unlimited executive powers were conferred by the provisions, "The executive power shall be vested in a president" and "he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

The only expressions in the constitution authorising a cabinet are "the principal officer in each of the executive departments," whose opinion the president may require in writing, "and heads of departments" and "any department." His independence of congress and influence over legislation were provided for by giving him a qualified veto power. His fidelity was secured by his oath of office and liability to impeachment. Great as is the presidential office by reason of the powers and duties intrusted to it by the constitution, it has become still greater, because congress has intrusted it with many discretionary powers which it can limit, or prescribe the means and methods of performance. Its greatness is partly of constitutional and partly of legislative creation. It is often said that the president has greater power than any constitutional monarch; if this is so, it is largely because congress has made it so. It is our pleasure, not our obligation, that makes him so great.

The federal judiciary was the subject of the careful attention of the very able lawyers of the convention. The power of the confederacy to enforce the decrees of its courts was dependent upon the support of the states. There was need of a uniform rule of decision upon federal cases in the several state courts. There should be one ultimate power of decision and enforcement, and that must be the judicial power of the Union. That power, having no will of its own, should utter the will of the supreme law. Behind it should be the power of the nation, but the wisdom and moral influence of the judicial power should be so pre-eminent that the sword which was ready to support it

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should rust in its scabbard. Thus too the Union should pledge its justice against the danger of its power.

To make this department as independent as possible, it was agreed that the judges should hold office during good behaviour. It was also agreed that it should not have any jurisdiction over cases arising in a state, between its citizens, in respect to matters wholly controlled by state laws. But the court should have jurisdiction over cases controlled by the laws of the United States, its constitution, and treaties.

It was resolved to provide a supreme court and inferior courts. To the supreme court was given appellate jurisdiction. All this seems very simple. But in these simple regulations lies the most admirable and important feature of the whole constitution. Without it the system might have failed. The appellate jurisdiction of the supreme court has, more than any other agency, composed dissensions, settled conflicting claims, and defined the powers by which the nation has developed into its stable greatness.

Under these happy provisions, whatever law any state may pass, no matter how much it conflicts with the constitution of the United States, it may go upon the statute-book of the state without exciting the least apprehension or alarm. There it will quietly repose until somebody seeks to assert or deny the right or duty which this law purports to confer or enjoin. The opposite party then challenges the state law as contrary to the supreme law of the constitution of the United States. Under the practice adopted, if the state courts hold the state law to be unconstitutional, no appeal is necessary to vindicate the national power; but if the state courts sustain the validity of the state law, an appeal lies to the supreme court of the United States, and that court will decide whether the state law is valid or void.

If it decide that it is void, it is to all intents and purposes not merely practically repealed, but declared never to have existed. In like manner, if congress enact any law in conflict with the constitution of the United States, whether by violating the rights reserved to the states, or by exercising powers not conferred by the constitution, the supreme court, whenever a case comes before it in which the question is raised—and its determination is decisive of the case—declares the act of congress void.[d]

### WASHINGTON'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION; HAMILTON'S FINANCES

The name of Washington was almost a part of the constitution. "The constitution would never have been adopted"—thus Edmund Randolph, by no means a strong adherent to Washington, wrote to him afterwards—"but from a knowledge that you had once sanctioned it, and an expectation that you would execute it." The presidential electors gave in their votes without a single exception in favour of Washington; and he consented to what he had reason to call "this last great sacrifice."

The two houses of congress had been organised in New York, after a month's delay, March 4th being the appointed day; and the house not having a quorum till March 30th, the senate none till April 6th. A day or two before Washington's arrival, John Adams took his place as vice-president. The inauguration of the president, postponed a few days after he was ready for the ceremony, at length completed the organisation of the government (April 30th, 1789). Whatever has been said of the solemnity of former periods, or of former duties, must be repeated with stronger emphasis of the work now before Washington and his coadjutors. Of far greater difficulty than the

formation of the constitution was the setting it in operation. Its principles were to be applied to a nation now numbering nearly four millions. The census of 1790 gave, whites, 3,172,464; free blacks, 59,466; slaves, 697,897; total, 3,929,827. This was the population of all the thirteen states.

The great feature of the opening years of Washington's administration was the work of congress, the body upon whose laws the government depended for movement, if not for life. The departments were organised: one of state, one of the treasury, and one of war, each being under the control of a secretary. The three secretaries, with an attorney-general, constituted the cabinet of the president; the postmaster-general not being a cabinet officer until a later period. Washington appointed Thomas Jefferson the first secretary of state, Alexander Hamilton the first secretary of the treasury, Henry Knox the first secretary of war, Edmund Randolph the first attorney-general, and Samuel Osgood the first postmaster-general (September, 1789). At the same time he made his appointments for the offices of the judiciary, congress having created a supreme court, with circuit and district courts appended. John Jay was the first chief justice of the United States.

Congress had already launched into constitutional discussions. The amendments to the constitution, proposed by the different states, were numerous enough—fifty and upwards—to call for early attention. It was not suggested either by the states or by their congressional representatives to make any fundamental alterations in the constitution. They were contented with a few articles, declaring the states and the people in possession of all the powers and all the rights not expressly surrendered to the general government. These articles, to the number of ten, were adopted by congress, and accepted by the states.

A far more vital matter was the revenue. To this congress addressed itself in the first weeks of the session. The result of long and difficult debates was the enactment of a tariff, intended to serve at once for revenue and for protection of domestic interests. A tonnage duty, with great advantages to American shipping, was also adopted. Some time afterwards, indeed towards the close of the first congress, an excise was laid on domestic spirits. These measures were modified at intervals. But beneath them, in all their forms, there continued the principle, that the duties upon imports were to provide for government in the shape of a revenue, and for the nation in the shape of protection.

It fell to the first congress, likewise, to provide for the public credit. The debts of the confederation amounted to $54,000,000, or to $80,000,000 if the debts of the states, incurred for general objects, were added. It was the plan of Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, that these debts should be taken as a whole to be assumed and funded by the new government. Those who, like the proposer of the system, desired to see the national government strong, advocated its being made the centre of the public credit; while those who inclined to the rights of the states preferred to have the debt remain in state rather than in national stocks.

The question was not decided upon any abstract grounds. It had been a bone of contention where the seat of the general government should be located, some going for one place and some for another. When the house of representatives decided against assuming the state debts, the advocates of the assumption hit upon the plan of securing the necessary votes from some of the Virginian or Maryland members by consenting to fix the projected capital on the Potomac, Philadelphia to be the capital until 1800. The bait was snapped at, and a measure on which the honour of the states,

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if not of the nation, depended passed by means of unconcealed intrigue.[1] The state debts were then assumed, not in mass, but in certain proportions. This being the chief object of altercation, the funding of the domestic and foreign debt of the general government was rapidly completed (August 4th, 1790). The transaction was by no means to the satisfaction of the entire nation.

The public creditors, on the other hand, were delighted, All the moneyed interests of the country, indeed, were quickened, the public bonds being so much additional capital thrown into the world of industry and of commerce. The creation of a national bank, with the design of sustaining the financial operations of government, took place in the early part of the following year (1791). On the opening of the subscription books, a signal proof of the confidence now placed in the national credit was given, the whole number of shares offered being taken up in two hours.*f*

### HAMILTON AND HIS WORK

John Fiske [c] entertains the highest admiration for Alexander Hamilton, whom he characterises as perhaps the most precocious man of his time, with the possible exception of William Pitt. Fiske declares that the American government is to-day, as to many substantial particulars, moving along the lines first pointed out by Hamilton. It is admitted that his economic views lacked something of finality, but this could scarcely have been otherwise in an age preceding the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. Comparing Hamilton with his own contemporaries, it is doubtless just to assert that he was surpassed in a comprehensive view of the financial situation by no other American save perhaps Albert Gallatin. But Hamilton was much more than a mere financier. He was an orator and writer, a practical lawyer, and a clear-headed student of politics, who was able to put his political views to the test of practice. It is conceded, however, that he lacked faith in the democratic government, and that he sometimes proceeded along by-paths towards ends that he considered desirable, in a manner which, in the most charitable interpretation, showed "impatience of temperament"; and which, as McMaster [k] does not hesitate to affirm, is susceptible of being interpreted—or, at least, was interpreted by many of his contemporaries—as out and out unscrupulousness. But this, after all, is no more than has been urged by party opponents against every politician of prominence; and there is nothing in evidence to disprove the friendlier estimate, according to which Hamilton strove to attain ends that he believed were conducive to the public weal. McMaster asserts that Hamilton's zeal, industry, and ability as a public servant "were never attacked even by Jefferson, who hated him with an animosity more implacable than the animosity of Burr"; and, if this be true, it can hardly be supposed that Hamilton "followed dark and crooked ways" from evil motives.

In estimating Hamilton's capacities, McMaster is at one with the generality of critics. He declares that Hamilton at thirty-two had a maturity of judgment and fitness for carrying out high political aims comparable to that of any man of his time who was twenty years his senior. As secretary Hamilton at once set to work to prepare a report

[1 The whole compromise was a bargain between the North and the South. The "geographical" and "sectional" character of the parties was a matter of frequent mention and lament. It is well to call special attention to this, because the erroneous view largely prevailed afterwards that the mischievous political division of the country by a geographical line dates back only to the Missouri Compromise.—Von Holst.*j*]

on the state of the national debt, and to devise the most equitable system of taxation by which the obligation might be met. But, long before his work was completed, the houses of congress met and began to grapple, after their own fashion, with the same momentous problem. The result of their labours was the financial policy that McMaster characterises as "fruitful of wonders," and as bringing to the front for the first time questions which were long to remain a source of public unrest, and were ultimately to lead to an appeal to the sword. McMaster points out that in January, 1791, the funded debt of the United States amounted to $75,463,476, a sum which the anti-federalists believed would ruin the country if funded; and that seventy-five years later, when this sum had long since been paid off, the Civil War created a new debt thirty-seven times as great—aggregating the almost unthinkable sum of $2,844,649,626—and that this colossal debt was borne with ease. But it must not be overlooked, if we would draw a correct inference, that in the meantime the United States had developed into a power of first magnitude.[a]

### WASHINGTON'S SECOND TERM; THE WHISKY INSURRECTION

New states were presenting themselves for admission into the line of the thirteen. The consent of New York having been obtained, Vermont was admitted (March 4th, 1791). Provision was already made for the entrance of Kentucky in the following year (June 1st, 1792). The territory south of the Ohio was subsequently admitted as the state of Tennessee (June 1st, 1796). The general government itself was concentrated in Washington. Jefferson, the head of the republicans, wrote to him: "The confidence of the whole Union is centred in you. Your being at the helm will be more than an answer to every argument which can be used to alarm and lead the people in any quarter into violence or secession. North and South will hang together, if they have you to hang on." "It is clear," wrote Hamilton, the leader of the federalists, "that if you continue in office nothing materially mischievous is to be apprehended; if you quit, much is to be dreaded." Thus urged, Washington could do no less than accept the unanimous summons to another term of labour for his country. Adams was again chosen vice-president (1792–1793).

There was one thing over which Washington had no influence. The animosity of parties had spared him, but without being checked by him. He vainly exerted himself to keep the peace, even in his own cabinet. Jefferson and Hamilton were at swords' points, and at swords' points they remained until Jefferson retired (1794). In congress all was uproar. The slightest question sufficed to set the northerner against the southerner, the federalist against the republican. Out of congress the tumult was increasing. A new party, chiefly from the republican ranks, had gathered under the name of democrats, in societies of which the model was taken from abroad, and which, as Washington wrote, might "shake the government to its foundation."

The fearful passion of the time at length broke out in insurrection. In consequence of the excise upon domestic spirits, some parts of the country where distillation was common had been greatly discontented. North Carolina and Pennsylvania, or rather the interior counties of those states, had been agitated to such a degree that the president deemed it necessary to issue a proclamation, calling upon his fellow citizens to support the laws (1792). The excitement gradually subsided, except in Pennsylvania, where, after various acts of violence, an armed convention, seven thousand strong, met at Brad-

dock's Field (August, 1794). The president of this assembly was a Colonel Cook; the secretary, Albert Gallatin, a Swiss emigrant, and the commander of the troops a lawyer named Bradford. Of course the objects of so large a body were various; some being intent merely upon suspending the collection of the excise, while others meditated the possession of the country and separation from the Union. The president at once put forth a proclamation announcing the march of fifteen thousand militia from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia. The president himself took the field for a few days; but finding that the insurgents had disappeared before the approach of his troops, he left his officers—General Henry Lee, governor of Virginia, being commander-in-chief—to complete the work that was no sooner begun than it was ended. A considerable number of prisoners was taken in November, but no executions followed. Enough had been done to decide "the contest," as Washington described it, "whether a small proportion of the United States shall dictate to the whole Union."

The same year (1794) witnessed the suppression by Anthony Wayne of a danger, half domestic and half foreign—a long-continued Indian war, in which two expeditions had been defeated in 1790 and 1791. No part of Washington's administration, domestic or foreign, was more original or more benign than the policy which he constantly urged towards the Indians of the United States. To save them from the frauds of traders, a national system of trade was adopted. To protect them from the aggressions of borderers, as well as to secure them in the rights allowed them by their treaties, a number of laws were prepared.

A far more savage foe than the Indian was appeased at the same period, but with much less credit, it must be added, to the nation. This was the dey of Algiers, who, with a number of neighbours like himself, was wont to sweep the seas with piratical craft. Singular to say, the sway of these buccaneering potentates was acknowledged by the European states, who paid an annual tribute on condition of their commerce being spared. Ten years before the present date the freebooters of the dey of Algiers had captured two American vessels and thrown their crews into bondage. He now (1795) consented to release his captives and to respect the merchantmen of the United States, on the reception of a tribute like that received from the powers of Europe. Three-quarters of a million were paid down, an annual payment of full fifty thousand dollars being promised in addition. Other treaties of the same sort with Tripoli and Tunis were under way.

### RELATIONS WITH FRANCE; CITIZEN GENÊT

A special envoy, Thomas Pinckney, was sent to Spain. It took him nearly a year to bring about a treaty defining the Florida boundary and opening the Mississippi to the United States (1795). Britain continued to wear the aspect of an antagonist, keeping her troops upon the United States territory until her demands were satisfied, while on the other side of the sea she laid one restraint after another upon commerce, as if she would have kept the Americans at a distance from her shores. France, on the contrary, was still the friend of the rising nation, and not only as its patron but as its follower. The same year that Washington entered the presidency the French Revolution began. Its early movements, professedly inspired by those that had taken place in America, kindled all the sympathies of American hearts. Hitherto the bond between them and the French was one of gratitude and of dependence; now it was one of sympathy and of equality. But the nation was by no means unanimous against Great Britain, by no means unanimous for France.

Many paused, and turning with distrust from the scenes of which France was the unhappy theatre, looked with kinder emotions towards the sedater Britain. It would be too much to say that this led to a British party; but it did lead to a neutral one, while, on the other hand, a French party applauded the license as well as the liberty of the Revolution. This party was the republican, its more impetuous members being the democratic-republicans. Their opponents were the federalists. France declared war against Britain. The nation was again close upon the breakers, when Washington—never greater, never wiser—issued his proclamation of neutrality, making it known "that the duty and interest of the United States require that they should with sincerity and good faith adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial towards the belligerent powers" (April 22nd, 1793). It is a memorable act in history. Its purpose is not always rightly estimated. Look at the nation, tasked to its utmost, one may almost say, to subdue a few Indian tribes, obliged to pay tribute to the Algerines, unable to keep the Spaniards to their obligations, and we shall not behold a power that could enter safely into European wars. If such a thing were attempted, it would be at the hazard of the independence that had been achieved.

France, having baptised herself a republic in the blood of her king, Louis XVI, sent a new minister to the United States in the person of "Citizen" Genêt. An enthusiastic representative of his nation, Genêt excited a fresh enthusiasm in the French party of America. Feasted at Charleston, where he landed (April, 1793), and at all the principal places on the route northward, he was led to imagine the entire country at his feet, or at those of the French Republic. He began at Charleston to send out privateers and to order that their prizes should be tried and condemned by the French consuls in the United States. It was a part of the treaty of commerce between the two nations that the privateers and prizes of the French should be admitted to the American ports. But Genêt was soon to be checked. He did battle for his privateers and his courts; appealed from the executive to congress and the people, and pursued so extreme a course as to set his supporters and his opponents bitterly at variance. The French party now went openly for war against England. "Marat, Robespierre, Brissot, and the Mountain," says Vice-President Adams,[1] "were the constant themes of panegyric and the daily toasts at table. Washington's house was surrounded by an innumerable multitude from day to day, huzzaing, demanding war against England, cursing Washington, and crying, 'Success to the French patriots and virtuous republicans!'" "I had rather be in my grave," exclaimed Washington one day in great excitement, "than in my present situation." He was equal, however, and more than equal, to his duty, and, supported by his cabinet, in August he sent to request the recall of Genêt. As the party by which Genêt had been commissioned had sunk to ruin, their successors readily appointed a minister of their own—"Citizen" Fauchet.

### THE JAY TREATY; WASHINGTON'S UNPOPULARITY

But the troubles of the time were too complicated to be reached by a mere change of ministers. France had pronounced against the neutrality of America—not, indeed, by direct menace or violence, but by ordering that neutral vessels, containing goods belonging to her enemies, should be captured (May 1st, 1793). An embargo was then laid upon the shipping at Bordeaux. Both these measures were decided violations of the treaty with America. The most that France did, however, was as nothing compared with the extremes

to which her chief enemy, Great Britain, resorted. France had ordered that the goods of an enemy were liable to capture. In June, Great Britain ordered that the goods of a neutral power, if consisting of provisions for the enemy, were to be captured or bought up, unless shipped to a friendly port. This was followed in November by an order that all vessels laden with the produce of a French colony, or with supplies for the same, were lawful prizes—a decree so arbitrary that it was soon modified by the nation that issued it (January, 1794). Worse than all, Great Britain claimed the right to impress into her service every seaman of British birth, wherever he might be found; so that the ships of the United States would be stopped, searched, and stripped of their crews, at the pleasure of the British cruisers. It often happened that American sailors as well as British were the victims of this impressment. A thrill of indignation and of defiance against such proceedings ran through the Americans. They would have been less than freemen, less, even, than men, to have borne with such injuries in silence.

The very party most opposed to France was earnest in sustaining the necessity of preparations for war, defensive, indeed, but still war with Great Britain. A temporary embargo upon the American ports was voted by congress, for the purpose of suspending commercial intercourse (March, 1794). One hint that Washington, the still trusted though still slandered magistrate, was in favour of arming, and the nation would have armed.

It was proposed to send a special mission to Great Britain. Washington selected Chief-Justice Jay (April, 1794). It was a fitting choice. Amongst all the prominent figures of the time, Jay's is almost, perhaps altogether, the only one that stands close to Washington's, aloof from the tarnishes and the collisions of opposing parties. No other man was so fit to join with Washington in rescuing the nation from its present perils. Accordingly, Jay proceeded to England and after some months of anxious diplomacy obtained a treaty (November). It was not much to obtain. The United States agreeing to indemnify their British creditors, Great Britain consented to surrender the posts which she had so long held in the west, the surrender to take effect June 1st, 1796. A few concessions to the claims of American commerce were made; but the rigid policy of Britain, especially in relation to her colonial trade, was strongly maintained. In short, the treaty did not acknowledge the rights of the Americans as neutrals, or their privileges as traders—both matters of the highest importance to their commercial interests. At the same time, the earlier points of controversy were determined, and from the later ones the sting was taken away, at least in some degree. So Jay thought, so Washington, though neither considered the treaty decidedly satisfactory. It was better at any rate, they reasoned, than war. Thus, too, reasoned the senate, who, convened in special session (June, 1795), advised the ratification of the treaty.

Not thus, however, the nation. If the necessity of the treaty, even as it stood, needed to be proved, the proof was the general insanity which it provoked. Meetings were held everywhere; harangues were made, resolutions passed; copies of the treaty were destroyed; Jay was burned in effigy. The French and the American flags waved together over these scenes; while the British ensign was dragged through the dirt and burned before the doors of the British representatives.

The example of Virginia was imitated in congress, where the phrase of "undiminished confidence" was also stricken from an address of the house to the president (December). As the session progressed, a fierce struggle arose with respect to the bills for carrying out the British treaty.

A three weeks' debate terminated in a call upon the president for the specified documents. He and his cabinet being alike of opinion that the house had transgressed its powers, the call was refused. After a fortnight's debate, in which Fisher Ames distinguished himself above all his colleagues in defending the treaty, a vote, by a bare majority, determined that the house would proceed to its duty (March, April, 1796). By this time the frenzy out of doors had died away.

Thus terminated the great event of Washington's administration. The proclamation of neutrality was the first decisive step; the treaty with Great Britain was the second, and, for the present, the last. The point thus gained may be called the starting-point of the infant nation in its foreign relations. But if the French party of the United States, if the minister of the United States to France, James Monroe, were indignant at the British treaty, it was but natural that France should be the same. The French government announced to Mr. Monroe that they considered their alliance with the United States to be at an end (February, 1796). To prove that they were in earnest, the authorities of France, in addition to their previous orders of capture and embargo, decreed that neutral vessels were to be treated exactly as they were treated by the British; that is, stopped, searched, and seized upon the seas (July). This was subsequently made known to the United States by a communication from the French envoy, Adet, who improved the opportunity by appealing to the people to take part with France and against Great Britain. To restore matters, as far as possible, to a better position, Washington had sent out Charles C. Pinckney as minister to France, in the place of Monroe (September).

The parties—northern and southern, federalist and republican, anti-French and French—that racked the nation were never so much agitated. Newspapers, especially those published at Philadelphia, carried the hostile notes from congress to the nation, and echoed them back to congress. It is difficult, without having room for extracts, to convey any idea of the virulence of political writing at the time. Both the administration and its head were objects of the fiercest assault. Washington wrote with natural indignation of the abuse which he, "no party man," as he truly called himself, had received, "and that, too, in such exaggerated and indecent terms as could scarcely be applied to a Nero, a notorious defaulter, or even to a common pickpocket." [1] It was amidst these outrages that Washington sent forth his farewell address to the people of the United States (September 17th, 1796). Soon afterwards congress came together, and showed that many of its members were violent against the retiring president. On the proposal of an address of grateful acknowledgments from the house of representatives, a man from Washington's own state, William B. Giles, of Virginia, took exception to the more expressive passages. The same attitude was taken by a considerable number, and amongst them Andrew Jackson, of Ten-

[1 Forged letters purporting to show Washington's desire to abandon the revolutionary struggle were published; he was accused of drawing more than his salary; hints of the propriety of a guillotine for his benefit began to appear; some spoke of him as the "stepfather of his country." The attacks embittered the close of his term of service; he declared, in a cabinet-meeting in 1793, that "he had never repented but once the having slipped the moment of resigning his office, and that was every moment since." Indeed, the most unpleasant portions of Jefferson's *Ana* are those in which, with an air of psychological dissection, he details the storms of passion into which the president was hurried by the newspaper attacks upon him. These attacks, however, came from a very small fraction of the politicians; the people never wavered in their devotion to the president, and his election would have been unanimous in 1796, as in 1789 and 1792, if he had been willing to serve.—ALEXANDER JOHNSTON.*m*]

nessee. "Although he is soon to become a private citizen," wrote Washington of himself (January, 1797), "his opinions are to be knocked down, and his character reduced as low as they are capable of sinking it."

If Washington could thus excite animosity and wrong, what must it have been with ordinary men? The country seemed unwilling to be pacified, unwilling to be saved.

Washington retired. He had done even greater things at the head of the government than he had done at the head of the army. But it was beyond his power to change the character of the nation. He left it as he found it—divided and impassioned. Yet he left it as he had not found it—with a constitution in operation, with principles and with laws in action—on the road to increase and to maturity.

At the close of the century which he adorned Washington died (December 14th, 1799). His retirement, to which he had looked forward so longingly, had been disturbed. He had been greatly occupied with the organisation of the provisional army, of which he had been appointed chief—the last of his many services to his country. He had been still more harassed by the party passions of the time; himself inclined to the support of federalist principles, he had been to some degree drawn into the whirl of political movements. Perhaps it was not too soon for his peace or for his fame that he was taken away. Beside his grave his countrymen stood united for an instant, then returned to their divisions and their strifes. His memory continued to plead, and not unavailingly, for love of country and of countrymen.*f*

### VARIOUS ESTIMATES OF WASHINGTON

It has been our custom to give varying characterisations of great historical characters. Among these Washington stands in the front rank as patriot, soldier, statesman, and man. In none of these qualities is he exceeded in history; in the purity of his lifelong patriotism he is perhaps unequalled. On these points, aside from certain contemporary attacks of faction, there is no divergence of opinion among authorities of any country or creed. The only point of dispute is his rank as a general. His soldiership is not questioned nor his abilities as a tactician and man of resource and courage in action. It is as a strategist that he has been criticised—and also eulogised. We have previously quoted some animadversions on his battle plans. We can only emphasise the fact that, after all, he kept his force together, that he would not accept defeat, and that he won what he fought for, and left it as his monument. He was undoubtedly no epoch-making general, but as a man of honour, a lover and benefactor of his kind, a man whose works live after him in increasing glory, he makes such self-maniacs as Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon dwindle into insignificance or loom up only as monstrosities. Alexander left an empire of chaos; Cæsar, assassinated by his own friends, marked the end of a republic; Napoleon left France smaller than he found it. Indeed, the very republic which gave birth to Napoleon and which he overthrew only for a few years—that very republic was largely the result of Washington's successes and his ideals.

We shall give only foreign estimates: British, German, and French. The American opinion need not be quoted; it amounts perhaps to as near an approach to the apotheosis of deification as a nation can ever make, and it finds its summing-up in the phrase, "The Father of his Country." He is the standard by which all other statesmen and patriots are tested—and found wanting.*a*

*Lord Brougham*

The relief which the friend of mankind, the lover of virtue, experiences when, turning from the contemplation of such a character [Napoleon I], his eye rests upon the greatest man of our own or of any age! It will be the duty of the historian and the sage in all ages to omit no occasion of commemorating this illustrious man; and until time shall be no more will a test of the progress which our race has made in wisdom and virtue be derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of Washington.*ff*

*The Earl of Stanhope*

In the mind of Washington punctuality and precision did not, as we often find them, turn in any degree to selfishness. Nor yet was his constant regularity of habits attended by undue formality of manner. In one of his most private letters there appears given incidentally, and as it were by chance, a golden rule upon that subject: "As to the gentlemen you mention, I cannot charge myself with incivility, or—what in my opinion is tantamount—ceremonious civility." In figure Washington was strongly built and tall (above six feet high), in countenance grave, unimpassioned, and benign. An inborn worth, an unaffected dignity, beamed forth in every look as in every word and deed. No man, whether friend or enemy, ever viewed without respect the noble simplicity of his demeanour, the utter absence in him of every artifice and every affectation.

Mark how brightly the first forbearance of Washington combines with his subsequent determination; how he who had been slow to come forward was magnanimous in persevering. When defeat had overtaken the American army, when subjugation by the British rose in view, when not a few of the earliest declaimers against England were, more or less privately, seeking to make terms for themselves, and fitting their own necks to the yoke, the high spirit of Washington never for a moment quailed; he repeatedly declared that if the colonies were finally overpowered he was resolved to quit them forever, and, assembling as many people as would follow, go and establish an independent state in the West, on the rivers Mississippi and Missouri. There is a lofty saying which the Spaniards of old were wont to engrave on their Toledo blades, and which with truth and aptness might have adorned the sword of Washington: "Never draw me without reason; never sheath me without honour!"

Nor was Washington in any measure open to the same reproach as the ancient Romans, or some of his own countrymen at present—that while eager for freedom themselves they would rivet the chains of their slave. To him at least could never be applied Doctor Johnson's taunting words: "How is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of negroes?" The views of Washington on this great question are best shown at the close of the Revolutionary War, and at a period of calm deliberation, in one of his letters to La Fayette: "Your late purchase of an estate in Cayenne with a view of emancipating the slaves on it is a generous and noble proof of your humanity. Would to God a like spirit might diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country!"

There was certainly no period in his career when he would not have joyfully exchanged—had his high sense of duty allowed him—the cares of public for the ease of private life. And this wish for retirement, strong and sincere as it was in Washington, seems the more remarkable since it was not

with him, as with so many other great men, prompted in any degree by the love of literature. He was not like Cicero, when shrinking in affright from the storms which rent the commonwealth, and reverting with fond regret to the well-stored library of Atticus, and to his own favourite little seat beneath the bust of Aristotle; he was not like Clarendon at Montpellier, when he turned from an ungrateful age, not worthy of his virtue, and indited for all time to come his immortal history. Neither reading nor writing as such had any charms for Washington. But he was zealously devoted to the earliest and most needful of all the toils of man—he loved to be a feeder of flocks and a tiller of the ground.

It has been justly remarked that of General Washington there are fewer anecdotes to tell than perhaps of any other great man on record. There were none of those checkered hues, none of those warring emotions, in which biography delights. There was no contrast of lights and shades, no flickering of the flame; it was a mild light that seldom dazzled, but that ever cheered and warmed. His contemporaries or his close observers, as Jefferson[n] and Gallatin,[o] assert that he had naturally strong passions, but had attained complete mastery over them. In self-control, indeed, he has never been surpassed. If sometimes on rare occasions, and on strong provocation, there was wrung from him a burst of anger, it was almost instantly quelled by the dominion of his will. He decided surely, though he deliberated slowly; nor could any urgency or peril move him from his serene composure, his calm, clear-headed good sense. Integrity and truth were also ever present in his mind.

Not a single instance, as I believe, can be found in his whole career when he was impelled by any but an upright motive, or endeavoured to attain an object by any but worthy means. Such are some of the high qualities which have justly earned for General Washington the admiration even of the country he opposed, and not merely the admiration but the gratitude and affection of his own. Such was the pure and upright spirit to which, when its toils were over and its earthly course had been run, was offered the unanimous homage of the assembled congress, all clad in deep mourning for their common loss, as to "the man first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow citizens." At this day in the United States the reverence for his character is, as it should be, deep and universal, and not confined, as with nearly all English statesmen, to one party, one province, or one creed. Such reverence for Washington is felt even by those who wander farthest from the paths in which he trod. Thus may it be said of this most virtuous man what in days of old was said of Virtue herself, that even those who depart most widely from her precepts still keep holy and bow down to her name.[p]

### *John Richard Green*

John Richard Green[q] is among the more modern writers who have spoken of Washington with similar enthusiasm. He commends the serene calmness of temper that told of perfect self-mastery; yet curiously enough he says that there was little in Washington's outward bearing to reveal his grandeur of soul; whereas in reality, it would appear that rarely has a hero possessed physical gifts more closely in keeping with his nobility of character. Nevertheless it is quite true that the colonists did not at first fully appreciate the greatness of their leader. As Green remarks, it was only after he had been tested through years of danger and defeat that he came to be understood at his full worth. Then it came to pass that men reposed in him

"a trust and faith such as few other men have won." It is even true, no doubt, that a large number of his contemporaries regarded him with reverence. But a correct interpretation of history requires that we should remember that, even to the last, Washington had his full quota of political opponents, who criticised him as antagonists are wont to criticise. It is not in the nature of things that a great man should be regarded by all his contemporaries in quite the same light with which he is viewed by posterity. Washington was no exception to this rule.[a]

*Sir Archibald Alison*

Modern history has not a more spotless character to commemorate. Invincible in resolution, firm in conduct, incorruptible in integrity, he brought to the helm of a victorious republic the simplicity and innocence of rural life; he was forced into greatness by circumstances rather than led into it by inclination, and prevailed over his enemies rather by the wisdom of his designs and the perseverance of his character than by any extraordinary genius for the art of war. A soldier from necessity and patriotism rather than disposition, he was the first to recommend a return to pacific counsels when the independence of his country was secured; and bequeathed to his countrymen an address on leaving their government, to which there are few compositions of uninspired wisdom which can bear a comparison. He was modest, without diffidence; sensible to the voice of fame, without vanity; independent and dignified, without either asperity or pride. He was a friend to liberty, but not to licentiousness—not to the dreams of enthusiasts, but to those practical ideas which America had inherited from her British descent. Accordingly, after having signalised his life by successful resistance to English oppression, he closed it by the warmest advice to cultivate the friendship of Great Britain, and exerted his whole influence, shortly before his resignation, to effect the conclusion of a treaty of friendly and commercial intercourse between the mother country and its emancipated offspring. He was a Cromwell without his ambition; a Sulla without his crimes; and, after having raised his country, by his exertions, to the rank of an independent state, he closed his career by a voluntary relinquishment of the power which a grateful people had bestowed.

If it is the highest glory of England to have given birth, even amidst transatlantic wilds, to such a man, and if she cannot number him among those who have extended her provinces or augmented her dominions, she may at least feel a legitimate pride in the victories which he achieved, and the great qualities which he exhibited, in the contest with herself, and indulge with satisfaction in the reflection that that vast empire which neither the ambition of Louis XIV nor the power of Napoleon could dismember received its first shock from the courage which she had communicated to her own offspring, and that, amidst the convulsions and revolutions of other states, real liberty has arisen in that nation alone which inherited in its veins the genuine principles of British freedom.[r]

*Henri Martin*

The Declaration of Independence was the birth-act of a society the most untrammelled and soon to be the vastest that the world has ever known. In the union of Protestant Christianity with eighteenth-century philosophy lay the germ of this gigantic progeny. Two men of the first order were to be its defenders and its guides during its early years, and each was the particular

representative of one of its parent sources: Washington, of tradition, but tradition transformed, and of progressive Protestantism enlightened and tolerant; Franklin, type of the age, of the movement of Locke and Rousseau—philosophy, but philosophy with a religious element.

Washington shook off ill-fortune by prodigies of constancy. He was a mingling of Fabius and Epaminondas, though he lacked the artistic and poetic *élan* that marked Epaminondas and all the Greeks. As Théodore Fabas [s] has so well phrased it, he was like those monuments whose grandeur does not at first strike the eye, precisely because of the perfect harmony of their proportion and because no one feature seizes the attention. "The sanest of great men," he was the very personification of the most rationalist of peoples, and his "august good sense," to use the happy expression of Eugène Pelletan,[t] was nothing but the distinctively Anglo-American quality exalted to the sublime.

During this time Franklin, America's other glory, had quitted his country the better to serve her. After having edited the immortal Declaration, he had gone to obtain the French alliance. The United States had made admirable choice of a plenipotentiary. Risen from the working classes; enlightened and uplifted in opinion by Diderot; not Protestant, like the majority, but deist philosopher of a shade intermediary between Voltaire and Rousseau; a physicist of the first order in that century; passionately devoted to the natural sciences, simple in dress and manners like Jean Jacques and his heroes, and yet the most spiritual and refined of men; of a mind altogether French in its grace and elasticity; at one and the same time a man of antiquity in certain phases and the most modern product of his day; redeeming his lack of ideality by the excellent moral equilibrium which he possessed in common with Washington, though in a degree at once wider, more comprehensive, and less severe—it was natural that he should appeal to France in all his sentiments, in all his ideas. He conquered the learned by the good sense of his genius; the enthusiastic by the dramatic aspect of his rôle; the frivolous by the originality of his position and his physiognomy. At the end of but a few days he was as popular at Paris as at Boston and Philadelphia.[u]

### *Charles von Rotteck*

America had placed herself between magnificence and ruin in 1776. In this position, in which such a great destiny was involved, she needed a great man, who would gain the victory for her. And she found him, put him at her head, and showed herself worthy of him. With newly levied soldiers, hardly provided with suitable arms, generally without experience and discipline, he undertook the contest against the best-disciplined and the best-equipped troops of the world, under able generals, and aided by all the resources with which it was easy for England to supply them, whilst he, afflicted by great want of money, was often unable to furnish his troops with provisions, still oftener unable to pay them, in constant danger of losing all with one blow, also not seldom persecuted by misfortune, in a situation almost desperate, but always of high courage and of unbent power of soul, provident, vigilant, and at suitable times ardent and heroically bold, but never rash, never intoxicated by success. But in order that no species of glory might not be his, he combined, as the most celebrated of the great ancients, the talents of the statesman with those of the warrior, all the private virtues of the noblest man with the public virtues of the patriot and republican. As long as civilisation and humanity have an empire or a place on earth, as long as the ideas

of freedom and fatherland retain a worth and historical recollections live among men, so long will Washington's name stand resplendent in the temple of glory.[v]

*Friedrich von Raumer*

Few men who have earned for themselves a celebrated name in the history of the world exhibit such a harmony, such a concordant symmetry of all the qualities calculated to render himself and others happy, as Washington; and it has been very appropriately observed that, like the masterpieces of ancient art, he must be the more admired in the aggregate the more closely he is examined in detail. His soul was elevated above party spirit, prejudice, self-interest, and paltry aims; he acted according to the impulses of a noble heart and a sound understanding, strengthened by impartial observation. To the greatest firmness he united the mildness and patience equally necessary in the then state of affairs; to prudence and foresight he joined boldness at the right moment; and the power intrusted to him he never abused by the slightest infraction of the laws. Although it is impossible that an American can ever again perform such services for his country as were then rendered by Washington, his noble, blameless, and spotless image will remain a model and a rallying-point to all, to encourage the good and to deter the bad. How petty do the common race of martial heroes appear in comparison with Washington!

Washington, the founder of the great American republic, proved in an affecting and exalted manner that the fame which had been won by the sword, without crimes and ambition, could also be maintained in private life without power or outward pomp. Happier than Timoleon and Brutus, no dark shadows of memory flitted across the cheerful serenity of his existence. Washington was unanimously chosen president of the new and renovated republic. This second founding of the state, this call to the head of a people recent in origin but sensible of true greatness, the modest and unsurpassed merit of Washington, and his solemn oath to support and maintain the constitution, form one of the brightest and most truly delightful pictures in modern history. The admiration with which Washington was regarded by all civilised nations showed him to be one of the few among mankind to whom is given an immortality more durable than brass or marble, and whose spotless and beneficent memory is cherished to the latest posterity.[w]

## PRESIDENCY OF ADAMS; WAR WITH FRANCE; "X. Y. Z."

During the closing months of Washington's administration the first great struggle among the people of the United States for ascendency between the federalists and republicans took place. The only man on whom the nation now could possibly unite was about to retire to private life. There was very little time for preparation or electioneering, for a new choice must be made in November following. Activity the most extraordinary appeared among politicians in every part of the Union. The federalists nominated John Adams for the high office of chief magistrate, and the republicans nominated Thomas Jefferson for the same. The contest was fierce, and party spirit, then in its youthful vigour, was implacable. The result was a victory for both parties—Adams being elected president, and Jefferson, having the next highest number of votes, vice-president. On March 4th, 1797, Washington retired from office, and Adams was inaugurated the second president of the United States.[x]

The contrast between the administration of Washington and the administrations of his successors is as wide as that between a nation and a party. He was the head of the nation; they have been the heads of parties, as well as of the nation. It was what foreign powers were doing, rather than what the United States had to do, which formed the staple of political action for the fifteen years (1797–1812) following the retirement of Washington.*f*

Chief amongst the combatants in Europe and the aggressors against America were Great Britain and France. For the moment the relations with France occupied the foreground. Charles C. Pinckney, accredited by Washington to negotiate with the French government, was refused an audience at Paris; and not only that, but was ordered to depart the French territory (December, 1796–February, 1797). Notwithstanding this, notwithstanding the rapidly following decrees against American ships and American crews, President Adams sent out a new mission, consisting of Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry, with moderate instructions, which, however, availed nothing. Pinckney and Marshall, incensed by the intrigue as well as the insolence of which they were the objects (October, 1797–April, 1798), shook off the dust of France from their feet, being followed in a few months by Gerry, who had undertaken to do alone what he had not been able to do with his colleagues.*f*

A. B. Hart thus describes the mission: "It was nearly a year before news of the result was received. On April 2nd, 1798, the president communicated the despatches revealing the so-called 'X. Y. Z. affair.' It appeared that the envoys, on reaching Paris in October, 1797, had been denied an official interview, but that three persons, whose names were clouded under the initials X. Y. Z., had approached them with vague suggestions of loans and advances; these were finally crystallised into a demand for £50,000 'for the pockets of the Directory.' The despatch described one conversation: 'Gentlemen,' said X., 'you do not speak to the point. It is money. It is expected that you will offer money.' We said that we had spoken to that point very explicitly, that we had given an answer. 'No,' he replied, 'you have not. What is your answer?' We replied, 'It is No, no, no; not a sixpence.' The president concluded with a ringing paragraph which summed up the indignation of the American people at this insult. 'I will never send another minister to France without assurances that he will be received, respected, and honoured as the representative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation.' The republican opposition in congress was overwhelmed and almost silenced. For the first and last time in his administration Adams found himself popular. There was built up a compact federal majority. It proceeded deliberately to destroy its own party."*b*

The president leaned to the side of his party. He had no mind to declare war, but he recommended congress to put the country in a state of defence (March, 1798). The recommendation was at once opposed by the republican leaders. According to Vice-President Jefferson, indeed, the president was aiming at a dissolution of the Union or at the establishment of a monarchical government. But the federalists upheld the president, and carried a series of measures providing for the organisation of a provisional army, as well as of a naval department, by which the existing navy might be more efficiently managed (May). Orders were issued directing the national ships to seize all armed vessels engaged in hostile acts against American shipping, while merchantmen were authorised to arm themselves and capture their assailants upon the seas. But to prevent hostilities, as far as possible, commercial intercourse with France and her colonies was formally prohibited in June.

Soon after, Washington was appointed to the command of the provisional army. The United States were fairly in arms.

War followed at sea. No declaration was made; the most that was done being to proclaim the treaties with France void, and then to authorise the president to send out national and to commission private vessels for the purpose of capturing any armed ships of the French, whether participating or not in hostilities. The seas were at once overrun with American ships, by which the French privateers were taken or driven from the coast. No actual engagement between national vessels, however, occurred, until the beginning of the following year, when Commander Truxton, in the *Constellation*, forced the French frigate *L'Insurgente* to strike (February, 1799). Hostilities were continued chiefly by privateers, the profits to whose owners were the principal results of the war. Still it pleased the party by whom it was favoured. "A glorious and triumphant war it was!" exclaimed Adams in after years. "The proud pavilion of France was humiliated."

### ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS, KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS, AND NULLIFICATION

But against the deeds of battle must be set the measures of government. These alone show the strain upon the nation. To provide ways and means, stamp duties and taxes on houses and slaves were voted, besides the loans that were procured. To keep down party opposition, the Alien and Sedition acts, as they were called, were passed. The first authorised the president to banish all aliens suspected of conspiracy against the United States. This was more of a party manœuvre than appears on the face of it, inasmuch as many of the most ardent spirits of the republicans, especially the democratic republicans, were aliens. The Sedition Act denounced fine and imprisonment upon all conspiracies, and even all publications, "with intent to excite any unlawful combination for opposing or resisting any law of the United States, or any lawful act of the president." Both these acts, however, were to be but temporary, the Alien to be in force for two years, the Sedition until March 4th, 1801, the end of Adams' administration. It was at midsummer that party spirit rose so high as to demand and to enact these urgent laws (June-July, 1798). The Alien Act was never put in operation. But the Sedition Act was again and again enforced, and almost if not altogether invariably upon party grounds. It may safely be said that the nation was straining itself too far.

So thought the party opposing the administration and the war. Strongest in the south and in the west, the republican leaders threw down the gauntlet to their opponents, nay, even to their rulers. The legislature of Kentucky, in resolutions drawn up for that body by no less a person than Vice-President Jefferson, declared the Alien and Sedition laws "not law, but altogether void and of no force" (November, 1798). The note thus sounded was taken up in the Virginia legislature, whose resolutions, drafted by James Madison, declared the obnoxious laws "palpable and alarming infractions of the constitution." Both sets of resolutions, as they came from the hands of their framers, were stronger still. Jefferson had written, "Where powers are assumed which have not been delegated, a nullification of the act is the right remedy, and every state has a natural right, in cases not within the compact [the constitution], to nullify of their own authority all assumptions of power by others within their limits." Madison had made his resolutions declare the acts in question "null, void, and of no force or effect." But it

was an early day for nullification; and neither Kentucky nor Virginia went the length prescribed for them. They went far enough, as has been seen, to excite very general opposition from their sister states, especially those of the centre and the north, where legislature after legislature came out with strong and denunciatory denials of the right of any state to sit in judgment upon the national government.

Things were in this seething state, the factions on both sides being at the height of their passions, when the president nominated a minister to France in the person of William Vans Murray, to whom he afterwards joined Oliver Ellsworth, then chief justice, and William R. Davie, as colleagues (February, 1799). They were to insist upon redress for the decrees and the captures of the French; yet, unless received on their arrival at Paris, they were not to linger, but to demand their passports and abandon the mission. In all this, one finds it difficult to detect anything unworthy of the nation. But the din upon the nomination of the embassy was tremendous. All the more active federalists, conspicuous amongst whom were the principal members of the cabinet, Timothy Pickering and Oliver Wolcott, cried out against the treachery of the president. It was treachery against their party rather than against their country, even in their own eyes; but they were blinded by the political animosity that dazzled and bewildered almost all around them. The president himself was suspected of urging the mission, in some degree, out of spite against the federal party, by whom, or by whose extreme members, he considered himself badly used. "The British faction," he wrote afterwards, "was determined to have a war with France, and Alexander Hamilton at the head of the army, and then president of the United States. Peace with France was therefore treason." "This transaction," he exclaimed in relation to the appointment of a new mission, "must be transmitted to posterity as the most disinterested, prudent, and successful conduct in my whole life!"

The envoys to France reached their destination in the beginning of the following year (1800).[1] They found Napoleon Bonaparte first consul. With his government, after some difficulty, they concluded a convention, in October, providing in part for mutual redress, but leaving many of the questions between the two nations for future settlement. The effect was soon seen in claims for French spoliations. The treaty sufficed to restore peace.

### THE MISSISSIPPI AND INDIANA TERRITORIES; THE SLAVERY QUESTION

France was not the only foreign power with which there had been difficulties. Spain, aggrieved, as she professed herself to be, by the same British treaty that had offended France, regarded the United States not only as an unimportant but as an untrustworthy ally. The former troubles in connection with the Florida territory continued, especially upon the subject of a boundary between it and the United States. New troubles, too, arose. Vague projects to get possession of the Mississippi valley, by dint of intrigue amongst the western settlers, were ascribed, and not without reason, to the Spaniards. Thus, on both sides there were suspicions, on both contentions.

The country at which Spain appeared to be aiming was rapidly organised by the United States. The Mississippi Territory was formed, including at first the lower part of the present Alabama and Mississippi (1798). This organisation excited a debate concerning slavery, which, as the organising

[1 During the summer of 1800 the seat of government was removed to the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, according to Hamilton's previous arrangement.]

act provided, was not to be prohibited in the territory. Here was no such plea as had existed in the case of the territory south of the Ohio. No cession from a state, no conditions laid any restraint upon congress. Yet but twelve votes were given in favour of an amendment proposed by George Thacher, of Massachusetts, prohibiting the introduction of slavery into the territory. The most that congress would agree to was to forbid the importation of slaves from abroad; a concession, inasmuch as the slave trade, it will be remembered, was still allowed by the constitution. So, for the second time, and this time without its being required by terms with any state,[1] the decision of the national government was given in favour of slavery. Let it be borne in mind, when we come to the controversies of later years.

But congress took the other side likewise. The western portion of the Northwest Territory soon needed to be set off as the territory of Indiana, embracing the present Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan (1800). There slavery was already prohibited. But this went against the interests of the inhabitants, as they thought, and they petitioned congress, within three and again within seven years after the organisation of the territory, to be allowed to introduce slaves amongst them. Twice a report was made in favour of the petition. Reports and petitions, however, were alike fruitless. Congress would not authorise slavery where it had been prohibited.

## THE PRESIDENCY OF JEFFERSON; THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

Adams had been elected by the predominance of federal principles, but several things had occurred in his administration which had not only weakened his personal influence, but tended greatly to the overthrow of the federal party.[2]

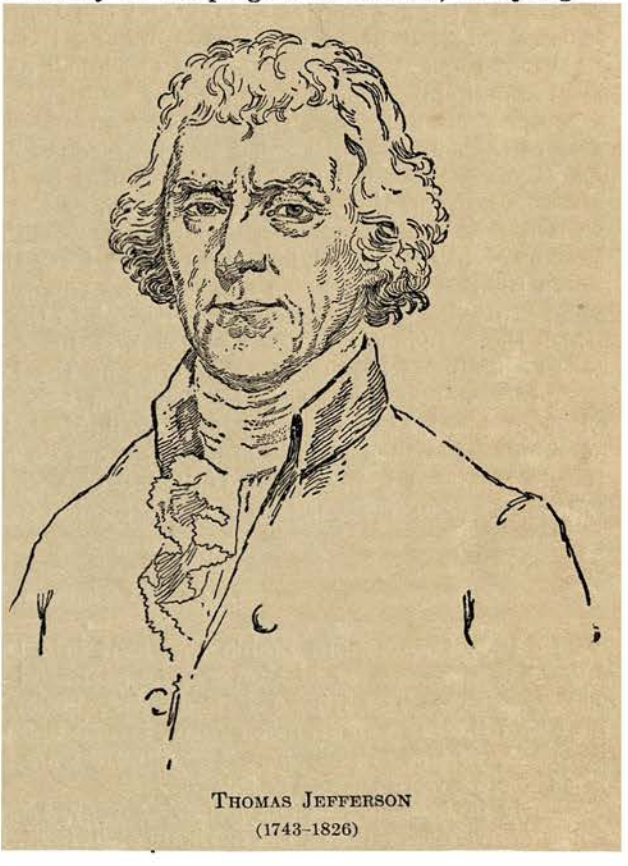
The federalists supported for the approaching election Adams and General Thomas Pinckney, the democratic party Thomas Jefferson and Colonel Aaron Burr. The two latter were found to have a small majority, the whole of the republican party having voted for them, with the intention of making Jefferson president and Burr vice-president. On counting the votes, however, it was discovered that both were equal; the selection, therefore, of the president devolved upon the house of representatives, who, voting by states, according to the constitution, should decide between the two. Again and again, and yet again, the balloting was repeated in the house, and the result always the same; nor was it until the thirty-sixth balloting that one altered vote turned the scale in Jefferson's favour. He became president, and Aaron Burr vice-president. To guard against the recurrence of such a difficulty, Article XII was added to the constitution.

[1] The part of the territory at this time organised was claimed by the United States as a portion of the old Florida domain. Georgia likewise claimed it as hers; and when she surrendered what was allowed to be hers, that is, the upper part of the present Alabama and Mississippi, she made it a condition that slavery should not be prohibited (1802).

[2] It was impossible to realise that there never again would be a federalist president. The reasons for this downfall are many. However popular the French war had been, the taxes made necessary by it had provoked great dissatisfaction; and in 1799 a little insurrection, the so-called Fries Rebellion, had broken out in Pennsylvania. The Sedition prosecutions were exceedingly unpopular. They had governed well; they had built up the credit of the country; they had taken a dignified and effective stand against the aggressions both of England and of France. Yet their theory was of a government by leaders. Jefferson, on the other hand, represented the rising spirit of democracy. It was not his protest against the over-government of the federalists that made him popular; it was his assertion that the people at large were the best depositaries of power. Jefferson had taken hold of the "great wheel going uphill." He had behind him the mighty force of the popular will.—A. B. HART.

[1801-1802 A.D.]

On the election of Jefferson, all the principal offices of the government were transferred to the republican party; Madison was appointed to the department of state; the system of internal duties was abolished, together with several unpopular laws which were enacted during the last administration. A second census of the United States was taken in 1801, giving a population of 5,319,762, presenting an increase of 1,400,000 in ten years. During the same time the exports had increased from $19,000,000 to $94,000,000, and the revenue from $4,771,000 to $12,945,000—a wonderful increase, which has scarcely a parallel in the history of the progress of nations, excepting it may be in some extraordinary cases, like those of California and Australia under the gold impulse.



THOMAS JEFFERSON
(1743-1826)

The right of depositing merchandise at New Orleans, which had been granted to the citizens of the United States by the Spanish governor of Louisiana, in a late treaty, and which was absolutely necessary to the people of the Western states, was withdrawn this year, and caused a general agitation. A proposal was made in congress to take forcible possession of the whole province of Louisiana; but milder measures were adopted, and the right of deposit was restored. In the year 1800 Louisiana had been secretly ceded to France, and Jefferson, in 1802, opened a private correspondence with Robert R. Livingston, in Paris, on the subject of this cession. The United States had hitherto, he said, considered France as their natural friend, but the moment she became possessed of New Orleans, through which three-eighths of the produce of the Americans must pass, she would become their natural enemy. The case was different with a feeble and pacific power like Spain; but it would be impossible that France and the United States could continue friends when they met in so irritating a position; that the moment France took possession of New Orleans, the United States must ally themselves with Great Britain; and, he asked, was it worth while for such a short-lived possession of New Orleans for France to transfer such a weight into the scale of her enemy? He then artfully suggested the cession of New Orleans and the Floridas; but adds, and even that they would consider as no equivalent while she possessed Louisiana.

In January, 1803, James Monroe was sent over to aid Livingston in the purchase of Florida; but instead of the purchase merely of New Orleans and the Floridas, as had been planned, they were able to effect that of all Louisiana, equal in extent to the whole previous territory of the United States. They owed their good fortune to the war which was so suddenly renewed between France and England, when the government of France, convinced that the possession of Louisiana would soon be wrested from her by the superior naval power of England, readily consented to make sale of it to a third power, and the rather, as the money was very acceptable at that time.

For the trifling sum of $15,000,000 the United States became possessed of that vast extent of country embracing the present state of Louisiana, which was called "the territory of Orleans," as well as of "the district of Louisiana," embracing a large tract of country extending westward to Mexico and the Pacific Ocean. The treaty was concluded at Paris in 1803.[1] The area of the country thus ceded was upwards of one million square miles, but all, excepting a small proportion, occupied by the Indians, its natural proprietors. Its inhabitants, chiefly French, or the descendants of the French, with a few Spanish creoles, Americans, English, and Germans, amounted to some eighty thousand, including about forty thousand slaves.

In 1803 an appropriation was made by congress for defraying the expenses of an exploring party across the continent to the Pacific. This was a scheme which the president had much at heart, and under his auspices it was carried out; Captain Meriwether Lewis being at the head of the expedition, while second in command was Capiain Jonathan Clark, brother of George Rogers Clark, and under them twenty-eight well-selected individuals, with an escort of Mandan Indians. The expedition set out on May 14th, 1804. Since 1801 war had existed between the United States and Tripoli, the United States refusing to increase its payment for immunity from Tripolitan depredations.

### WAR WITH TRIPOLI

In 1803 Commodore Preble was sent into the Mediterranean, and after humbling the emperor of Morocco, he appeared before Tripoli with most of his squadron. The frigate *Philadelphia*, under Captain Bainbridge, being sent into the harbour to reconnoitre, struck upon a rock, and was obliged to surrender to the Tripolitans. The officers were considered prisoners of war, but the crew were treated as slaves.

Early in February of the following year, Lieutenant Decatur, under the cover of evening, entered the harbour of Tripoli, in a small schooner, having on board but seventy-six men, with the design of destroying the *Philadelphia*, which was then moored near the castle, with a strong Tripolitan crew. By the aid of his pilot, who understood the Tripolitan language, Decatur succeeded in bringing his vessel in contact with the *Philadelphia*, when he and his followers leaped on board, and in a few minutes killed twenty of the Tripolitans and drove the rest into the sea. Under a heavy cannonade from the surrounding vessels and batteries, the *Philadelphia* was set on fire, and not abandoned until thoroughly wrapped in flames; when Decatur and

[1 Jefferson came into power as a stickler for a limited government, confined chiefly to foreign and commercial affairs. He now entered upon the most brilliant episode of his administration—the annexation of Louisiana; and that transaction was carried out and defended upon precisely the grounds of loose construction which he had so much contemned.—A. B. HART.b]

his gallant crew succeeded in getting out of the harbour without the loss of a single man. During the month of August, Tripoli was repeatedly bombarded by the American squadron, under Commodore Preble, and a severe action occurred with the Tripolitan gunboats, which resulted in the capture of several, with little loss to the Americans.

At the time of Commodore Preble's expedition to the Mediterranean, Hamet, the legitimate sovereign of Tripoli, was an exile, having been deprived of his government by the usurpation of a younger brother. Eaton, the American consul at Tunis, concocted with Hamet an expedition against the reigning sovereign, and obtained from the government of the United States permission to undertake it. With about seventy men from the American squadron, together with the followers of Hamet and some Egyptian troops, Eaton and Hamet set out from Alexandria towards Tripoli, a distance of a thousand miles across a desert country. After two successful engagements had occurred with the Tripolitan army, the reigning bashaw offered terms of peace, which, being considered much more favourable than had before been offered, were accepted by Mr. Lear, the authorised agent of government.[z]

Sixty thousand dollars were given as a ransom for the unfortunate American prisoners, together with an agreement to withdraw all support from Hamet.

In July, 1804, Alexander Hamilton, the present head of the federalist party, fell in a duel fought with the vice-president, Aaron Burr, who, having lost the confidence of the republicans, and despairing of re-election either as president or vice-president, had offered himself as candidate for the office of governor of New York. He was not elected, and attributing his unsuccess to the influence of Hamilton with his party, sent him a challenge, and Hamilton's death was the result. [Hamilton had simply fired into the air. So great was the popular desire to lynch Burr that he was forced to go into hiding for a time.]

This autumn closed Jefferson's first presidential term, and the general prosperity which prevailed gained for him the national favour. Summing up in short the events of his administration, we find that, by a steady course of economy, although he had considerably reduced the taxes, the public debt was lessened by $12,000,000, the area of the United States about doubled, and the danger of war with both France and Spain averted, the Tripolitans were chastised, and a large and valuable tract of Indian land was acquired. Jefferson was re-elected president, and George Clinton, late governor of New York, vice-president.[y]

### JEFFERSON'S SECOND TERM; AARON BURR'S CONSPIRACY

The new state of Ohio was already admitted to the Union (November 29th, 1802). New territories—Michigan (1805) and Illinois (1809)—were subsequently formed from out of the Indiana Territory. The signs of expansion were written everywhere, but nowhere so strikingly as along the western plains. There they were such as to kindle projects of a new empire. Aaron Burr, vice-president during Jefferson's first term, but displaced in the second term by George Clinton (1805)—branded, too, with the recent murder of Alexander Hamilton in a duel—was generally avoided amongst his old associates. Turning his face westward, he there drew into his net various men, some of position and some of obscurity, with whose aid he seems to have intended making himself master of the Mississippi valley, or of Mexico, one

or both (1806). Whatever his schemes were, they miscarried. A handful only of followers were gathered round him on the banks of the Mississippi, a hundred miles or more above New Orleans, when he surrendered himself to the government of the Mississippi Territory (January, 1807). Some months afterwards he was brought to trial for high treason before Chief-Justice Marshall, of the supreme court, with whom sat the district judge for Virginia; the reason for trying Burr in that state being the fact that one of the places where he was charged with having organised a military expedition was within the Virginian limits. The trial, like everything else in those days, was made a party question; the administration and its supporters going strongly against Burr, while its opponents were disposed to take his part. He was acquitted for want of proof; and for the same reason he was again acquitted when tried for undertaking to invade the Spanish territories.

### BRITISH AGGRESSIONS

Frowning high above all these domestic events were the aggressions from abroad. If they sank in one direction, they seemed sure to rise the more threateningly in another. It was now the turn of Great Britain. The system of impressment, though protested against by the United States, had never been renounced by Great Britain. On the contrary, it had been extended even to the American navy, of which the vessels were once and again plundered of their seamen by British men-of-war. Another subject on which Great Britain set herself against the claims of the United States was the neutral trade, of which the latter nation engrossed a large and constantly increasing share during the European wars. After various attempts to discourage American commerce with her enemies, Great Britain undertook to put it down by condemning vessels of the United States on the ground that their cargoes were not neutral but belligerent property; in other words, that the Americans transported goods which were not their own, but those of nations at war with Great Britain. It must be allowed that the American shippers played a close game, importing merchandise only to get a neutral name for it, and then exporting it to the country to which it could not be shipped directly from its place of origin. But the sharper the practice, the more of a favourite it seemed to be (1805). A cry went up from all the commercial towns of the United States, appealing to the government for protection. The government could do but little. It passed a law prohibiting the importation of certain articles from Great Britain—the prohibition, however, not to take immediate effect.*f*

### THEODORE ROOSEVELT ON THE RIGHT OF SEARCH [1]

Great Britain's doctrine was "once a subject always a subject." On the other hand, the United States maintained that any foreigner, after five years' residence within her territory, and after having complied with certain forms, became one of her citizens as completely as if he was native-born. Great Britain contended that her war-ships possessed the right of searching all neutral vessels for the property and persons of her foes. The United States, resisting this claim, asserted that "free bottoms made free goods," and that consequently her ships when on the high seas should not be molested on

[1] Reproduced by permission. Copyright, 1882, by G. P. Putnam's Sons.]

any pretext whatever. Finally, Great Britain's system of impressment, by which men could be forcibly seized and made to serve in her navy, no matter at what cost to themselves, was repugnant to every American idea.

Such wide differences in the views of the two nations produced endless difficulties. To escape the press-gang, or for other reasons, many British seamen took service under the American flag; and if they were demanded back, it is not likely that they or their American shipmates had much hesitation in swearing either that they were not British at all, or else that they had been naturalised as Americans. Equally probable is it that the American blockade-runners were guilty of a great deal of fraud and more or less thinly veiled perjury. But the wrongs done by the Americans were insignificant compared with those they received. Any innocent merchant vessel was liable to seizure at any moment, and when overhauled by a British cruiser short of men was sure to be stripped of most of her crew. The British officers were themselves the judges as to whether a seaman should be pronounced a native of America or of Britain, and there was no appeal from their judgment. If a captain lacked his full complement, there was little doubt as to the view he would take of any man's nationality. The wrongs inflicted on our seafaring countrymen by their impressment into foreign ships formed the main cause of the war.

There were still other grievances which are thus presented by the British Admiral Cochrane: "Our treatment of its (America's) citizens was scarcely in accordance with the national privileges to which the young republic had become entitled. There were no doubt many individuals among the American people who, caring little for the federal government, considered it more profitable to break than to keep the laws of nations by aiding and supporting our enemy (France), and it was against such that the efforts of the squadron had chiefly been directed; but the way the object was carried out was scarcely less an infraction of those national laws which we were professedly enforcing. The practice of taking English (and American) seamen out of American ships without regard to the safety of navigating them when thus deprived of their hands has been already mentioned. To this may be added the detention of vessels against which nothing contrary to international neutrality could be established, whereby their cargoes became damaged; the compelling them, on suspicions only, to proceed to ports other than those to which they were destined; and generally treating them as though they were engaged in contraband trade."

The principles for which the United States contended in 1812 are now universally accepted, and those so tenaciously maintained by Great Britain find no advocates in the civilised world. That England herself was afterwards completely reconciled to our views was amply shown by her intense indignation when Commodore Wilkes, in the exercise of the right of search for the persons of the foes of his country, stopped the neutral British ship *Trent;* while the applause with which the act was greeted in America proves pretty clearly another fact—that we had warred for the right, not because it was the right, but because it agreed with our self-interest to do so.[bb]

### AN AMERICAN WAR-SHIP SEARCHED

In April, 1806, a mission, consisting of James Monroe and William Pinkney, was sent to London, to negotiate a new treaty, in which the disputed points should be included. But the mission proved a total failure. In the

first place, the envoys could obtain no satisfaction on the subject of impressment, and next to none on that of the neutral trade. In the next place, the treaty which they signed, notwithstanding these omissions, was at once rejected by President Jefferson, without even a reference to the senate (March, 1807). The tumult of party that ensued was immense. The president was charged with sacrificing the best interests of the country, as well as with violating the plainest provisions of the constitution. Was it he alone who held the treaty-making power—he, too, the republican, who had insisted upon restraining the powers of the executive? But looking back upon the action of Jefferson, we see little in it to have provoked such outcries. He sent envoys to form a new treaty; they had merely reformed an old one. It might be rash to sacrifice the advantages which they had gained; but might it not be ignominious to surrender the claims which they had passed by?

If the nation needed to be convinced of the necessity of some definite understanding with Great Britain on the subjects omitted in the rejected treaty, it soon had an opportunity. The United States frigate *Chesapeake*, sailing from Hampton Roads, was hailed off the capes of Chesapeake Bay, June 22nd, 1807, by the British frigate *Leopard*, the captain of which demanded to search the *Chesapeake* for deserters from the service of Great Britain. Captain Barron, the commander of the *Chesapeake*, refused; whereupon the *Leopard* opened fire. As Barron and his crew were totally unprepared for action, they fired but a single gun, to save their honour, then, having lost several men, struck their flag. The British commander took those of whom he was in search, three of the four being Americans [previously impressed but escaped], and left the *Chesapeake* to make her way back dishonoured, and the nation to which she belonged dishonoured likewise.

The president issued a proclamation ordering British men-of-war from the waters of the United States. Instructions were sent to the envoys at London, directing them not merely to seek reparation for the wrong that had been done, but to obtain the renunciation of the pretensions to a right of search and of impressment, from which the wrong had sprung. The British government recognised their responsibility by sending a special minister to settle the difficulty at Washington. It was four years, however, before the desired reparation was procured. The desired renunciation was never made. One can scarcely credit his eyes when he reads that the affair of the *Chesapeake* was made a party point. But so it was. The friends of Great Britain, the capitalists and commercial classes, generally, murmured at the course of their government, as too decided, "too French," they sometimes called it; as if the slightest resistance to Great Britain were subordination to France.

The aspect of the two nations was very much changed of late years. Bonaparte, the consul of the French Republic, had become Napoleon, the emperor of the French Empire. Regarded by his enemies as a monster steeped in despotism and in blood, he excited abhorrence, not only for himself but for his nation, amongst a large portion of the Americans. On the other hand, Great Britain, formerly scouted at as the opponent of liberty, was now generally considered its champion in Europe. There was but a faint comprehension of the principles involved in the struggle between Great Britain and France, of the real attitude taken by the former in warring against the chosen sovereign of the latter, or of the remorseless ambition by which the one government was quite as much actuated as the other. But there was still a very considerable number in America to sympathise with France, if with either of the contending powers. To these men, the aggressions of

[1807 A.D.]

Great Britain were intolerable; while to the supporters of the British the French aggressions were far the more unendurable.

Both parties had their fill. Before the attack on the *Chesapeake*, the lists had been opened between France and England, to see not merely how much harm they could do to each other, but how much they could inflict upon all allied or connected with each other. Connected with both were the Americans, who were now assailed by both. Great Britain led off by declaring the French ports, from Brest to the Elbe, closed to American as to all other shipping (May 16th, 1806). France retorted by the Berlin Decree, so called because issued from Prussia, prohibiting any commerce with Great Britain (November 21st). That power immediately forbade the coasting trade between one port and another in the possession of her enemies (January 7th, 1807). Not satisfied with this, she went on, by the famous Order in Council, to forbid to neutrals all trade whatsoever with France and her allies, except on payment of a tribute to Great Britain, each vessel to pay in proportion to its cargo (November 11th). Then followed the Milan Decree of Napoleon, prohibiting all trade whatsoever with Great Britain, and declaring such vessels as paid the recently demanded tribute to be lawful prizes to the French marine (December 17th). Such was the series of acts thundering like broadsides against the interests of America. It transformed commerce from a peaceful pursuit into a warlike one, full of peril, of loss, of strife. It did more. It wounded the national honour, by attempting to prostrate the United States at the mercy of the European powers.

There was but one of two courses for the United States to take: peace, or preparation for war. War itself was impossible in the unprovided state of the country; but to assume a defensive, and if need were to get ready for an offensive position, was perfectly practicable. Jefferson thought it enough to order an additional number of gunboats—very different from the gunboats of our time, and yet considered by the administration and its supporters to constitute a navy by themselves.*f*

### JOHN T. MORSE ON JEFFERSON'S WAR POLICY[1]

Obviously Jefferson had forgotten something of what he had once learned concerning the British character. It has been often said that if he had refrained from his prattle about peace, reason, and right, and instead thereof had hectored and swaggered with a fair show of spirit at this crucial period, the history of the next ten years might have been changed and the War of 1812 might never have been fought. Probably this would not have been the case, and England would have fought in 1807, 1808, or 1809 as readily as in 1812. But, however this may be, the high-tempered course was the only one of any promise at all, and, had it precipitated the war by a few short years, at least the nation would have escaped a long and weary journey through a mud slough of humiliation. But it is idle to talk of what might have been had Jefferson acted differently. He could not act differently. Though the people would probably have backed him in a warlike policy, he could not adopt it. A great statesman amid political storms, he was utterly helpless when the clouds of war gathered. He was as miserably out of place now as he had been in the governorship of Virginia during the Revolution. He could not bring himself to entertain any measures looking to so much as preparation for serious conflict.

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A navy remained still, as it had always been, his abhorrence. His extremest step in that direction was to build gunboats. Everyone has heard of and nearly everyone has laughed at these playhouse flotillas, which were to be kept in sheds out of the sun and rain until the enemy should appear, and were then to be carted down to the water and manned by the neighbours, to encounter, perhaps, the fleets and crews which won the fight at Trafalgar, shattered the French navy at the Nile, and battered Copenhagen to ruins. It almost seemed as though the very harmlessness of the craft constituted a recommendation to Jefferson. At least they were very cheap, and he rejoiced to reckon that nearly a dozen of them could be built for $100,000. So he was always advising to build more, while England, with all her fighting blood up, inflicted outrage after outrage upon a country whose ruler cherished such singular notions of naval affairs.[cc]

### THE EMBARGO REVIVES SECESSION DOCTRINES; MADISON'S PRESIDENCY

Jefferson at last hit upon the most self-denying of plans. The aggressions of the European powers were directed against the commerce of America, the rights of owners and of crews. That these might be secured, the president recommended, and congress adopted, an embargo upon all United States vessels and upon all foreign vessels with cargoes shipped after the passage of the act in United States ports (December 22nd, 1807). The date shows that the embargo was laid before the news of the last violent decrees of France and Great Britain. In other words, as commerce led to injuries from foreign nations, commerce was to be abandoned. There was also the idea that the foreign nations themselves would suffer from the loss of American supplies and American prizes. It was a singular way, one must allow, of preserving peace, to adopt a measure at once provoking to the stranger and destructive to the citizen. The latter eluded it, and it was again and again enforced by severe and even arbitrary statutes. The former laughed it to scorn. France, on whose side the violent federalists declared the embargo to be, answered by a decree of Napoleon's from Bayonne, ordering the confiscation of all American vessels in French ports (April 17th, 1808). Great Britain soon after made her response, by an order prohibiting the exportation of American produce, whether paying tribute or not to the European continent (December 21st). So ineffective abroad, so productive of discontent at home, even amongst the supporters of the administration, did the embargo prove that it was repealed (March, 1809).

Thus neither preserving peace nor preparing for war, Jefferson in 1809 gave up the conduct of affairs to his successor, Madison, who kept on the same course. [George Clinton was re-elected vice-president.] In place of the embargo were non-intercourse or non-importation acts in relation to Great Britain and France, as restrictive as the embargo, so far as the designated nations were concerned, but leaving free the trade with other countries. These successors of the embargo, however, were nowise more effectual than that had been. They were reviled and violated in America; they were contemned in Europe. The administration amused itself with suspending the restrictions, now in favour of Great Britain (1809), and now in favour of France (1810), hoping to induce those powers to reciprocate the compliment by a suspension of their own aggressive orders. There was a show of doing so. Napoleon had recently issued a decree from Rambouillet, ordering the sale of more than a hundred American vessels as condemned prizes (March 23rd, 1810).

[1810 A.D.]

But on the news from America, willing to involve the young nation in hostilities with Great Britain, he intimated his readiness to retract the decrees of which the United States complained. But he would not do so, and America, mortified, but not yet enlightened, returned to her prohibitions. They were scoffed at by her own people.

It is not so difficult to describe as to conceive the hue and cry, on the part of the opposition, against the embargo and the subsequent acts. Whatever discontent, whatever nullification had been expressed by the republicans against the war measures of Adams, was rivalled, if not outrivalled, by the federalists against the so-called peace measures of Jefferson and Madison. Town-meetings, state legislatures, even the courts in some places, declared against the constitutionality and the validity of the embargo statutes. The federalists of Massachusetts were charged with the design of dissolving the Union. It was not their intention, but their language had warranted its being imputed to them.

JAMES MADISON
(1751–1836)

Many causes were accelerating the progress of events towards war. Among these, the hostile position of the Indian tribes on the northwestern frontier of the United States was one of the most powerful. They, too, had felt the pressure of Bonaparte's commercial system. In consequence of the exclusion of their furs from the continental markets, the Indian hunters found their traffic reduced to the lowest point. The rapid extension of settlements north of the Ohio was narrowing their hunting-grounds and producing a rapid diminution of game, and the introduction of whisky by the white people was spreading demoralisation, disease, and death among the Indians. These evils, combined with the known influence of British emissaries, finally led to open hostilities. In the spring of 1811 it became certain that Tecumseh, a Shawnee chief, who was crafty, intrepid, unscrupulous, and cruel, and who possessed the qualities of a great leader almost equal to those of Pontiac, was endeavouring to emulate that great Ottawa by confederating the tribes of the Northwest in a war against the people of the United States. Those over whom he and his twin-brother, the Prophet, exercised the greatest control, were the Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots, Miami, Kickapoos, Winnebagos, and Chippewas. During the summer the frontier settlers became so alarmed by the continual military and religious exercises of the savages that General Harrison, then governor of the Indiana

Territory, marched with a considerable force towards the town of the Prophet, situated at the junction of the Tippecanoe and Wabash rivers, in the upper part of Tippecanoe county, Indiana. The Prophet appeared and proposed a conference, but Harrison, suspecting treachery, caused his soldiers to sleep on their arms that night (November 6th, 1811). At four o'clock the next morning the savages fell upon the American camp, but after a bloody battle until dawn the Indians were repulsed. The battle of Tippecanoe was one of the most desperate ever fought with the Indians, and the loss was heavy on both sides. Tecumseh was not present on this occasion, and it is said the Prophet took no part in the engagement.

These events, so evidently the work of British interference, aroused the spirit of the nation, and throughout the entire West, and in the Middle and Southern states, there was a desire for war. Yet the administration fully appreciated the deep responsibility involved in such a step; and having almost the entire body of the New England people in opposition, the president and his friends hesitated. The British orders in council continued to be rigorously enforced; insult after insult was offered to the American flag; and the British press insolently boasted that the United States "could not be kicked into a war." Forbearance was no longer a virtue.[x]

In March, 1811, Pinkney, the American minister, was suddenly recalled from London; and, British ships being stationed before the principal harbours of the United States for the purpose of enforcing the British authority, open acts of hostility took place in May of the same year. The British frigate *Guerrière*, exercising the assumed right of search, carried off three or four natives of the states from some American vessels, whereupon orders came down from Washington to Commodore Rodgers to pursue the British ship and demand their own men. Rodgers sailed from the Chesapeake on the 12th of May, in the frigate *President*, and, not meeting with the offending *Guerrière*, fell in with a smaller vessel, the *Little Belt*, towards evening of the 16th of May. The *President* was a large ship, the *Little Belt* a small one; the *President* hailed, and in return, the Americans declared, a shot was fired. The British, on the other hand, declared that the *President* fired first; however that might be, a severe engagement took place, the guns of the *Little Belt* were silenced, and thirty-two of her men killed and wounded. Through the night the two ships lay at a little distance from each other to repair their damages, the British ship being almost disabled.[y]

It was plain that war was becoming popular in the United States. As for that, it had always been so; when Washington opposed it, he was abused; when Adams favoured it, he was extolled; when Jefferson avoided it, he risked even his immense influence over the nation. Congress now took up the question, and voted one measure after another, preparatory to hostilities with Great Britain (December–March, 1812). The president hesitated. He was no war leader by nature or by principle; the only tendency in that direction came to him from party motives. His party, or at any rate the more active portion of it, was all for arms: when he doubted, they urged; when he inclined to draw back, they drove him forward. It being the time when the congressional caucus was about to nominate for the presidency, Madison received the intimation that if he was a candidate for re-election he must come out for war. Whether it was to force or to his own free will that he yielded, he did yield, and sent a message to congress, recommending an embargo of sixty days. Congress received it, according to its intention, as a preliminary to war, and voted it, though far from unanimously, for ninety days (April 4th, 1812).[z]

### ENGLISH AND AMERICAN DISCREPANCIES

The English historians have, as a class, little disagreement with the American upon the justice and the conduct of the War of Independence. They accept it as indirectly redounding to their own real benefit, and their pages glow with praise of Washington and other patriots. But in the accounts of what has been called "the second War of Independence" there is such fundamental discrepancy between the historians of the two countries that it seems hardly possible they are treating the same conflict. To the Americans the War of 1812 was a combat in which they had no choice; they were goaded into the struggle for very existence. The English historian remembers only the stupendous threat of Napoleon to convert all Europe into one empire; he remembers the overwhelming success of this personified ambition, up to the point where England alone offered up resistance; he remembers the life-and-death struggle of his country. And when he thinks of the United States at all, he can only remember that at this crisis of British existence the United States turned against its own mother country, and threw its armies and its ships into the scale on Napoleon's side.

This very natural feeling colours the whole attitude of the British historians and renders them untrustworthy. Unfortunately, most of the American historians are equally unreliable; largely, no doubt, because the humiliations of the war were such that it was for many years difficult for an historian to resist the temptation to make as respectable a picture as possible, even if the cold facts had to be somewhat coloured. An exception, however, may be made of their accounts of the warfare on the sea, where some of the most notable naval engagements in the world's history took place, and in which the superiority of the American seamen was beyond question.

As to the justification of the war there can hardly be any doubt, unless it be based on a theory that the people who had so long postponed their duties to command self-respect, and had endured unflinchingly such insolent overriding of the laws of common decency, had lost every right of resistance. Some historians maintain that America's real injustice lay not in the declaration of war, but in its declaration against England, it being maintained that it should have been declared either against France alone, or against both England and France, and under no circumstances against England alone. But this theory has little practical basis; for, as events proved, the United States was hardly capable of maintaining war against England alone, to say nothing of bringing upon its shoulders the united weight of England and France; in the second place, England was the ancient enemy of the United States, and France had saved its very existence; in the third place, since the British navy ruled the seas, the British were far the greater sinners against the dignity and commerce of the United States.

Furthermore, it is well to remember that the struggle between Napoleon and Great Britain was not by any means a struggle between a ruthless oppressor and a nation whose hands were entirely clean of oppression. All around the world there were evidences of British land-hunger. The United States had cause enough to declare war against both countries; but such an act would have been mere suicide. Lacking the power to wage a successful combat against both, it was only reasonable that it should choose for an adversary the nation which had done it much the greater injury. The true disgrace of the United States lay in the fact that it had been so long declaring war, and that it waged the inevitable conflict so languidly and so awkwardly.[a]

BEGINNING OF THE WAR OF 1812; INTERNAL FACTIONS

The bill declaring war between the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland and their dependencies, and the United States of America and their territories, was accompanied by a report, setting forth the causes that impelled to war, of which the following is a summary:

(1) For impressing American citizens, while sailing on the seas, the highway of nations, dragging them on board their ships of war, and forcing them to serve against nations in amity with the United States; and even to participate in aggressions on the rights of their fellow citizens when met on the high seas.
(2) Violating the rights and peace of our coasts and harbours, harassing our departing commerce, and wantonly spilling American blood, within our territorial jurisdiction.
(3) Plundering our commerce on every sea, under pretended blockades, not of harbours, ports, or places invested by adequate force, but of extended coasts, without the application of fleets to render them legal, and enforcing them from the date of their proclamation, thereby giving them virtually retrospective effect.
(4) Committing numberless spoliations on our ships and commerce, under her orders in council of various dates.
(5) Employing secret agents within the United States, with a view to subvert our government and dismember our union.
(6) Encouraging the Indian tribes to make war on the people of the United States.

The bill, reported by the committee of foreign relations, passed the house of representatives on the 4th of June, by a majority of thirty, in one hundred and twenty-eight votes, and was transmitted to the senate for its concurrence. In the senate it was passed by a majority of six, in thirty-two votes. On the 18th of June it received the approbation of the president, and on the next day was publicly announced.[dd]

France having again—and this time unconditionally—repealed her aggressive decrees, Great Britain withdrew her arbitrary orders in council just as the war was declared (June 23rd). One of the chief grounds for hostilities, therefore, fell through. The other remained, but only, it was insisted by Great Britain, until the United States would take some measures to prevent British seamen from enlisting in the American service, which being done, there would be no need of search or of impressment by the navy of Great Britain. Proposals of an armistice were rejected by the United States (June-October). "We must fight," cried the war party, "if it is only for our seamen; six thousand of them are victims to these atrocious impressments." The British government had admitted, the year before, that they had sixteen hundred Americans in their service. "But your six thousand," retorted the advocates of peace, "are not all your own; there are foreigners, British subjects, amongst them; and will you fight for these?" "We will," was the reply [and here the sympathy of every generous heart must be theirs, so far as they were sincere]; "the stranger who comes to dwell or to toil amongst us is as much our own as if he were born in America."

The war was what might have been expected from the movements leading to it—the cause of a party, nominally headed by Madison, the president, by James Monroe, the secretary of state, by Albert Gallatin (the same who appeared in the Pennsylvania insurrection of Washington's time), the secretary of the treasury, and by others, officers or supporters of the administration, both in and out of congress; but the real leaders of the war party were younger men, some risen to distinction, like Henry Clay, speaker of the house of representatives, and John C. Calhoun, member of the same body.

The party support which the war received explains the party opposition which it encountered. The signal, given by a protest from the federalist

members of congress, was caught up and repeated in public meetings and at private hearthstones. Even the pulpit threw open its doors to political harangues, and those not of the mildest sort. "The alternative then is," exclaimed a clergyman at Boston, "that if you do not wish to become the slaves of those who own slaves, and who are themselves the slaves of French slaves, you must either, in the language of the day, cut the connection, or so far alter the national constitution as to secure yourselves a due share in the government. The Union has long since been virtually dissolved, and it is full time that this portion of the United States should take care of itself." This single extract must stand here for a thousand others that might be cited. Coming from the source that it did, it is a striking illustration of the sectionality, nay, the personal vindictiveness, with which the opposition was animated. Strongest in New England, where alone the federalist party still retained its power, the hostility to the war spread through all parts of the country, gathering many of otherwise conflicting views around the banner that had so long been trailing in the dust. If we cannot sympathise with the party thus reviving, we need not join in the tumult raised against it on the score of treachery or dishonour. The federalists opposed the war not because they were anti-national, but because they thought it anti-national.

The war began at home. The office of a federalist paper, the *Federal Republican*, conducted by Alexander Hanson, at Baltimore, was sacked by a mob, who then went on to attack dwellings, pillage vessels, and, finally, to fire the house of an individual suspected of partialities for Great Britain (June 22nd, 23rd). Such being the passions, such the divisions, internally, the nation needed more than the usual panoply to protect itself externally. But it had less. The colonies of 1775 did not go to war more unprepared than the United States of 1812. There was no army to speak of. Generals abounded, it is true, Henry Dearborn, late secretary of war, being at the head of the list; but troops were few and far between, some thousands of regulars and of volunteers constituting the entire force. As to the militia, there were grave differences to prevent its efficient employment. In the first place, there was a general distrust of such bodies of troops. In the next place, there were local controversies, between certain of the state authorities and the general government, as to the power of the latter to call out the militia in the existing state of things, the constitution authorising congress "to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions."

If the army was inconsiderable, the navy was hardly perceptible, embracing only eight or ten frigates, as many more smaller vessels, and a flotilla of comparatively useless gunboats. The national finances were in a correspondingly low condition. The revenue, affected by the interruptions to commerce during the preceding years, needed all the stimulants which it could obtain, even in time of peace. It was wholly inadequate to the exigencies of war. Accordingly, resort was had to loans, then to direct taxes and licenses (1813). But the ways and means fell far short of the demands upon them. In fine, whether we take a financial or a military point of view, we find the country equally unfitted for hostilities. It might rely, indeed, upon its own inherent energies, the energies of six millions of freemen; but even these were distracted, and to a great degree paralysed.

Fortunate, therefore, was it that Great Britain was occupied—it may be said absorbed—in Europe. Her mighty struggle with Napoleon was at its height when the United States declared war. To British ears the declaration sounded much the same as the wail of a child amidst the contentions

of men. Very little heed was paid to it, the retraction of the orders in council being considered as likely to end it altogether. But to the astonishment of the British government the Americans persisted. "Let them wait," was the tone, "until Bonaparte is crushed, and they shall have their turn."

### HULL'S SURRENDER RETRIEVED BY PERRY

Notwithstanding the almost entire want of means, the United States government determined to carry the war into the enemy's country. For this purpose, William Hull, general and governor of Michigan Territory, crossed from Detroit to Sandwich in Canada, with about two thousand men (July 12th, 1813). In a little more than a month he had not only retreated, but surrendered, without a blow, to [an inferior force under] General Brock, the governor of Lower Canada (August 16th)*f*. The indignation of the Americans at this cowardly and disgraceful transaction knew no bounds. Expectation had been raised to such a height by the confident language of previous despatches from General Hull that nothing less than the capture of all Upper Canada was expected. The surrender, therefore, of an American army to an inferior force, together with the cession of a large extent of territory, as it had never entered into the calculations of the people, was almost too much for them to bear. As soon as General Hull was exchanged, he was, of course, brought before a court-martial, tried on the charges of treason, cowardice, and unofficer-like conduct, found guilty of the last two, and sentenced to be shot. The president, however, in consequence of his age and former services, remitted the capital punishment, but directed his name to be stricken from the rolls of the army—a disgrace which, to a lofty and honourable spirit, is worse than death.*dd*

The British, already in possession of the northern part of Michigan, were soon masters of the entire territory. So far from being able to recover it, General Harrison, who made the attempt in the ensuing autumn and winter, found it all he could do to save Ohio from falling with Michigan. A detachment of Kentuckians yielded to a superior force of British at Frenchtown, on the river Raisin (January, 1813), whereupon Harrison took post by the Maumee, at Fort Meigs, holding out there against the British and their Indian allies (April, May). The same fort was again assailed and again defended, General Clay being at that time in command. Fort Stephenson, on the Sandusky, was attacked in August, but defended with great spirit and success by a small garrison under Major Croghan. Yet Ohio was still in danger.

It was rescued by different operations from those as yet described. Captain Chauncey, after gathering a little fleet on Lake Ontario, where he achieved some successes, appointed Lieutenant Oliver H. Perry to the command on Lake Erie. Perry's first duty was to provide a fleet; his next, to lead it, when provided, against the British vessels under Captain Barclay.*f*

Early in the spring of this year the attention of the national government had been seriously directed towards the important object of obtaining the command on Lake Erie. The earnest representations of General Harrison had awakened the administration to a proper sense of the necessity of this measure, and great exertions were accordingly made to obtain a force competent to engage the enemy. Two brigs and several schooners were ordered to be built at the port of Erie, under the directions of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry; the building of which that officer carried on with such rapidity that on the 2nd of August he was able to sail in quest of the enemy's squad-

[1813 A.D.]

ron. He found them lying in the harbour of Malden, their force augmented by a new vessel, the *Detroit*. Finding the enemy, however, unwilling to venture out, the American commander returned to Put-in Bay, in South Bass Island.

On the morning of the 10th of September, while the squadron was lying in this harbour, the enemy's fleet was discovered standing out of the port of Malden, with the wind in their favour. The American fleet immediately weighed anchor, and fortunately got clear of the islands near the head of the lake before the enemy approached. At ten o'clock the wind changed, so as to give the former the weather-gauge. Commodore Perry then formed his line of battle, and at a few minutes before twelve the action commenced. The fire from the enemy's long guns proving very destructive to the *Lawrence*, the flagship of the squadron, she bore up, for the purpose of closing with her opponents, and made signals to the other vessels to support her. The wind, however, being very light, and the fire of the enemy well-directed, she soon became altogether unmanageable; she sustained the action, nevertheless, for upwards of two hours, until all her guns were disabled and most of the crew either killed or wounded. In this situation of affairs the American commodore, with singular presence of mind and a gallantry rarely equalled, resolved upon a step which decided the fortune of the day. Leaving his ship, the *Lawrence*, in charge of a lieutenant, he passed in an open boat, under a heavy fire of musketry, to the *Niagara*, which a fortunate increase of wind had enabled her commander, Captain Elliott, to bring up. The latter officer now volunteered to lead the smaller vessels into close action; while Commodore Perry, with the *Niagara*, bore up and passed through the enemy's line, pouring a destructive fire into the vessels on each side. The smaller American vessels, having soon afterwards arrived within a suitable distance, opened a well-directed fire upon their opponents, and after a short but severe contest the whole of the British squadron struck their colours to the republican vessels.

This victory will long be memorable in the annals of the republic, both as being the first victory of a squadron of its vessels over one of an enemy, and as being among the most brilliant and decisive triumphs ever recorded in the annals of naval warfare. The American loss in this engagement was two officers and twenty-five men killed, and ninety-six wounded, among whom were many officers; that of the British, as near as could be ascertained, was three officers and thirty-eight men killed, and nine officers and eighty-five men wounded.

Not merely was the character of the nation raised to the highest pitch of elevation by this signal victory, but the fate of the campaign on the whole northwestern frontier was decided by the destruction of the British squadron. Having heretofore drawn its supplies through the agency of that fleet, the army of the allies would, it was foreseen, be compelled to evacuate, not only its position in the American territory, but the greater part of Upper Canada.[dd]

### THEODORE ROOSEVELT ON THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE [1]

There happened to be circumstances which rendered the bragging of our writers over the victory somewhat plausible. Thus they could say with an appearance of truth that the enemy had sixty-three guns to our fifty-four, and outnumbered us. In reality, as well as can be ascertained

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from the conflicting evidence, he was inferior in number of men; but a few men more or less mattered nothing. Both sides had men enough to work the guns and handle the ships, especially as the fight was in smooth water, and largely at long range. The important fact was that though we had nine guns less, yet, at a broadside, they threw half as much metal again as those of our antagonist. With such odds in our favour it would have been a disgrace to have been beaten. The water was too smooth for our two brigs to show at their best; but this very smoothness rendered our gunboats more formidable than any of the British vessels, and the British testimony is unanimous that it was to them the defeat was primarily due. The American fleet came into action in worse form than the hostile squadron, the ships straggling badly, either owing to Perry having formed his line badly, or else to his having failed to train the subordinate commanders how to keep their places.

The chief merit of the American commander and his followers was indomitable courage and determination not to be beaten. This is no slight merit; but it may well be doubted if it would have insured victory had Barclay's force been as strong as Perry's. Perry made a headlong attack—his superior force, whether through his fault or his misfortune can hardly be said, being brought into action in such a manner that the head of the line was crushed by the inferior force opposed. Being literally hammered out of his own ship, Perry brought up its powerful twin-sister, and the already shattered hostile squadron was crushed by sheer weight. The manœuvres which marked the close of the battle, and which insured the capture of all the opposing ships, were unquestionably very fine.

The British ships were fought as resolutely as their antagonists, not being surrendered till they were crippled and helpless, and almost all the officers and a large portion of the men placed *hors de combat*. Captain Barclay handled his ships like a first-rate seaman. In short, our victory was due to our heavy metal.

Captain Perry showed indomitable pluck, and readiness to adapt himself to circumstances; but his claim to fame rests much less on his actual victory than on the way in which he prepared the fleet that was to win it. Here his energy and activity deserve all praise, not only for his success in collecting sailors and vessels and in building the two brigs, but above all for the manner in which he succeeded in getting them out on the lake. On that occasion he certainly outgeneralled Barclay; indeed, the latter committed an error that the skill and address he subsequently showed could not retrieve.

But it will always be a source of surprise that the American public should have so glorified Perry's victory over an inferior force, and have paid comparatively little attention to McDonough's victory, which really was won against decided odds in ships, men, and metal. It must always be remembered that when Perry fought this battle he was but twenty-seven years old; and the commanders of his other vessels were younger still.[bb]

### THE DISASTROUS LAND WAR

Perry's victory was on a small scale; yet its importance immediately appeared. Taking on board a body of troops from Ohio and Kentucky, under Harrison, Perry transported them to the neighbourhood of Sandwich, on the Canada shore, the same spot against which Hull had marched more than a twelvemonth before. The British having retired, Harrison crossed to Detroit. Recrossing, he advanced in pursuit of the much less numerous enemy, whose rear and whose main body were routed on two successive days

[1813 A.D.]

(October 4th, 5th). The latter action, on the bank of the Thames, was decisive; the British general, Proctor, making his escape with but a small portion of his troops, while his Indian ally, Tecumseh, was slain. Ohio was thus saved, and Michigan recovered; though not entirely, the British still holding the northern extremity of the territory.

All along the frontier between New York and Canada there had been from the first some scattered forces, both American and British. The former pretended to act on the offensive, but amidst continual failures. Chief of these movements without interest and without result was an attack against Queenstown, on the Canada shore of the Niagara river. Advanced parties gained possession of a battery on the bank, but there they were checked, and at length obliged to surrender, for want of support from their comrades on the American side. General Van Rensselaer was the American, General Brock the British commander—the latter falling in battle, the former resigning in disgust after the battle was over (October 13th, 1812). In the following spring General Dearborn and the land troops, in conjunction with Chauncey and the fleet, took York (now Toronto), the capital of Upper Canada, burning the parliament house, and then proceeding successfully against the forts on the Niagara river (April, May, 1813). At this point, however, affairs took an unfavourable turn. The British mustered strong, and though repulsed from Sackett's Harbour by General Brown, at the head of some regular troops and volunteers, they obtained the command of the lake, making descents on various places, and reducing the American forces, both land and naval, to comparative inactivity (June). Months afterwards the land forces, now under the lead of General Wilkinson, started on a long-proposed expedition against Montreal, but, encountering resistance on the way down the St. Lawrence, went straight into winter quarters within the New York frontier. A body of troops under General Hampton, moving in the same direction from Lake Champlain, met with a feint of opposition, rather than opposition itself, from the British; it was sufficient, however, to induce a retreat (November). Both these armies far outnumbered the British, Wilkinson having seventy-five hundred and Hampton forty-five hundred men.

On the western border of New York things went still worse. General M'Clure, left in charge of the Niagara frontier, was so weakened by the loss of men at the expiration of their terms of service, and at the same time so pressed by the enemy, as to abandon the Canada shore, leaving behind him the ruins of Fort George and of the village of Newark. The destruction thus wreaked by orders of the government was avenged upon the New York borders. Parties of British and Indians, crossing the frontier at different places, took Fort Niagara, at the mouth of the river, and swept the adjacent country with fire and sword as far as Buffalo (December). Glutted with success, the invaders retired, save from Fort Niagara, which they held until the end of the war. In the following spring (March, 1814) General Wilkinson emerged from his retreat, and, with a portion of his troops, undertook to carry the approaches to Canada from the side of Lake Champlain. But on coming up with a stone mill held by British troops, he abruptly withdrew. A more helpless group than that of the Americans, whether commanders, officers, or soldiers, on the New York frontier, cannot well be conceived. There were exceptions, of course, as in the fleets of Ontario, and especially of Erie; but on shore there was almost unbroken imbecility. The secretary of war himself, General Armstrong, had been upon the ground; he but confirmed the rule.

As the war, thus pitiably prosecuted, entered into its third year (1814), a concentration of efforts, both American and British, took place upon the Niagara frontier. General Brown, the defender of Sackett's Harbour, obtaining the command, and with such supporters as General Scott and other gallant officers, resolved upon crossing to the Canada side. There, with an army of some thirty-five hundred men, he took Fort Erie (July 2nd), gained the battle of Chippewa (July 5th), and drove the enemy, under General Riall, from the frontier, save from a single stronghold, Fort George. The British, however, on being reinforced, returned under Generals Riall and Drummond, and met the Americans at Lundy's Lane—the most of an action that had as yet been fought during the war. It was within the roar of Niagara that the opposing lines crossed their swords and opened their batteries. Begun by Scott, in advance of the main body, which soon came up under Brown, the battle was continued until midnight, to the advantage of the American army (July 25th). But they were unable to follow up or even to maintain their success, and fell back upon Fort Erie. Thither the British proceeded, and after a night assault laid siege to the place, then under the command of General Gaines. As soon as Brown, who had withdrawn to recover from his wounds, resumed his command at the fort, he at once ordered a sortie, the result being the raising of the siege (September 17th). He was soon after called away to defend Sackett's Harbour, the British having the upper hand on the lake. His successor in command on the Niagara frontier, General Izard, blew up Fort Erie, and abandoned the Canada shore (November).

Meanwhile the American arms had distinguished themselves on the side of Lake Champlain. Thither descended the British general, Prevost, with twelve thousand soldiers, lately arrived from Europe, his object being to carry the American works at Plattsburg, and to drive the American vessels from the waters. He was totally unsuccessful. Captain McDonough, after long exertions, had constructed a fleet, with which he now met and overwhelmed the British squadron. The land attack upon the few thousand regulars and militia under General Macomb was hardly begun before it was given over in consequence of the naval action (September 11th). No engagement in the war, before or after, was more unequal in point of force, the British being greatly the superiors; yet none was more decisive.*f*

Of this victory, won when McDonough was only thirty years old, Theodore Roosevelt says: "The effects of the victory were immediate and of the highest importance. Sir George Prevost and his army at once fled in great haste and confusion back to Canada, leaving our northern frontier clear for the remainder of the war; while the victory had a very great effect on the negotiations for peace. McDonough in this battle won a higher fame than any other commander of the war, British or American. He had a decidedly superior force to contend against, the officers and men of the two sides being about on a par in every respect; and it was solely owing to his foresight and resource that we won the victory. He forced the British to engage at a disadvantage by his excellent choice of position, and he prepared beforehand for every possible contingency. His personal prowess had already been shown at the cost of the rovers of Tripoli, and in this action he helped fight the guns as ably as the best sailor. His skill, seamanship, quick eye, readiness of resource, and indomitable pluck are beyond all praise. Down to the time of the Civil War he is the greatest figure in our naval history. A thoroughly religious man, he was as generous and humane as he was skilful and brave; one of the greatest of our sea captains, he has left a stainless name behind him." *bb*

### NAVAL DUELS AT SEA

The British superiority observable at Lake Champlain and elsewhere requires a word of explanation. Napoleon, fallen some months before, had left the armies and fleets of Great Britain free to act in other scenes than those to which they had been so long confined. The war with the United States had acquired no new importance in sight of the British authorities, but it was time to crush the adversary that had dared to brave them. The troops transported to America—some to Canada, as we have seen, some to other places, as we shall soon see—were superior to the Americans generally in numbers, and always in appointments and in discipline. They were the men to whom France had succumbed; it must have seemed impossible that the United States should resist them.

The apprehensions of the enemy, aroused by some of the operations on land, had been highly excited by some of those at sea. Before the gallant actions upon the lakes, a succession of remarkable exploits had occurred upon the ocean. It had been the policy of the republican administration to keep down the navy which their federalist predecessors had encouraged. But the navy, or that fragment of one which remained, returned good for evil. The frigate *Essex*, under Captain Porter, took the sloop of war *Alert* off the northern coast (August 13th, 1812); the frigate *Constitution*, Captain Isaac Hull, took the frigate *Guerrière* in the gulf of St. Lawrence (August 19th)[1]; the sloop-of-war *Wasp*, Captain Jones, took the brig *Frolic*, both, however, falling prizes to the seventy-four *Poictiers*, not far from the Bermudas (October 13th); the frigate *United States*, Captain Decatur, took the frigate *Macedonian* off the Azores (October 25th); and the *Constitution* again, now under Captain Bainbridge, took the frigate *Java* off Brazil (December 29th). This series of triumphs was broken by but two reverses, the capture of the brig *Nautilus* by the British squadron, and that of the brig *Vixen* by the British frigate *Southampton*, both off the Atlantic coast. Nothing could be more striking than the effect upon both the nations that were at war. The British started with amazement, not to say terror, at the idea of their ships, their cherished instruments of superiority at sea, yielding to an enemy. The Americans were proportionately animated; they were for once united in a common feeling of pride and national honour.

Here, however, the impulse ceased, or began to cease. The navy was too inconsiderable to continue the contest, the nation too inactive to recruit its numbers and its powers. The captures of the succeeding period of the war, though made with quite as much gallantry, were of much less importance; while one vessel after another, beginning with the frigate *Chesapeake*, off Boston harbour (June 1st, 1813), was forced to strike to Shannon. Many of the larger ships were hemmed in by the British blockade, when this, commencing with the war, was extended along the entire coast. The last glimmer of naval victory for the time was the defeat of the sloop-of-war *Avon* by the *Wasp*, Captain Blakely, off the French coast (September 1st, 1814). But a few weeks later the *Wasp* was lost with all its crew, leaving not a single vessel of the United States navy on the seas. Every one that had escaped the perils of the ocean and of war was shut up in port behind the greatly superior squadrons of Great Britain.

[1 A small affair it might appear among the world's battles; it took but half an hour, but in that one half hour the United States of America rose to the rank of a first-class power.—HENRY ADAMS.*ii*]

BRITISH RAVAGES; THE BURNING OF WASHINGTON

The coast, from the first blockaded, and occasionally visited by invading parties of the British, was in an appalling state (1814). Eastport was taken; Castine, Belfast, and Machias were seized, with claims against the whole country east of the Penobscot: Cape Cod, or some of the towns upon it, had to purchase safety; Stonington was bombarded. Fortifications were hastily thrown up wherever they could be by the Americans; the militia was called out by the states, and the general government was urged to despatch its regular troops to the menaced shores. It was officially announced by the British admiral, Cochrane, that he was imperatively instructed "to destroy and lay waste all towns and districts of the United States found accessive to the attack of British armaments." This was not war, but devastation.

The Chesapeake, long a favoured point for the British descents, was now occupied by a large, indeed a double, fleet, under admirals Cochrane and Cockburn, with several thousand land troops and marines under General Ross. This body, landing about fifty miles from Washington, marched against that city, while the American militia retreated hither and thither, making a stand for a few moments only at Bladensburg (August 24th). On the evening following this rout the British took possession of Washington, and next day proceeded to carry out the orders announced by the admiral. Stores were destroyed; a frigate and a sloop were burned; the public buildings, including the Capitol, and even the mansion of the president, were plundered and fired. Against this "unwarrantable extension of the ravages of war," as it is styled by a British writer, the United States had no right to complain, remembering the burning of the parliament house at York, or the destruction of Newark, in the preceding year, although both these outrages had been already avenged on the New York frontier. A few hours were enough for the work of ruin at Washington (August 25th), and the British returned to their ships. On August 29th some frigates appeared off Alexandria, and extorted an enormous ransom for the town. Everything on the American side was helplessness and submission. The president and his cabinet had reviewed the troops, which mustered to the number of several thousands; generals and officers had been thick upon the field; but there was no consistent counsel, no steadfast action, and the country lay as open to the enemy as if it had been uninhabited.

It is a relief to return to Baltimore. Fresh from their marauding victories, the British landed at North Point, some miles below that city. They were too strong for the Americans, who retired, but not until after a bravely contested battle, in which the British commander, General Ross, was slain (September 12th). As the army advanced against the town, the next day, the fleet bombarded Fort McHenry, an inconsiderable defence just below Baltimore. But the bombardment and the advance proving ineffectual, the invaders retreated. They had been courageously met, triumphantly repelled. North Point and Fort McHenry are names which shine out, like those of Erie and Champlain, brilliant amidst encompassing darkness.

As if one war were not enough for a nation so hard pressed, another had broken out. The Indians on the northwest, the followers of Tecumseh, and others besides, were but the allies of the British. Independent foes, fighting altogether for themselves, uprose in the Creeks of the Mississippi Territory, where they surprised some hundreds of Americans at Fort Mims (August, 1813). Numerous bodies of border volunteers at once started for the haunts

of the enemy, chief amongst the number being the troops of Tennessee, under General Jackson. Penetrating into the heart of the Creek country, after various bloody encounters, Jackson at length routed the main body of the foe at a place called Tohopeka [Horseshoe Bend] (March 27th, 1814). A few months after, he concluded a treaty, by which the Creeks surrendered the larger part of their territory.

Enough remained, as has been seen, to keep the nation in sad straits. There were various causes to produce the same effect. To raise the very first essential for carrying on a war, a sufficient army, had been found impossible, notwithstanding all sorts of new provisions to facilitate the operation. It was in vain to increase the bounties, in vain even to authorise the enlistment of minors without the consent of their parents or masters; all allurements failed. The chief reliance of the government was necessarily upon the militia, about which the same controversies continued as those already mentioned between the federal and the state authorities. Yet, to show the extent to which the opposition party indulged itself in embarrassing the government, an alarm was sounded against the national forces, small though they were, as threatening the liberties of the country.

But the army was not the only point of difficulty. To prevent supplies to the forces of the enemy, as well as to cut him off from all advantages of commerce with the United States, a new embargo was laid (December, 1813). So severe were its restrictions, affecting even the coasting trade and the fishery, that Massachusetts called it another Boston port bill, and pronounced it, by her legislature, to be unconstitutional. It was repealed in a few months, and with it the non-importation act, which, in one shape or another, had hung upon the commercial interests of the nation for years (April, 1814). More serious by far were the financial embarrassments of the government. All efforts to relieve the treasury had been wholly inadequate. Loan after loan was contracted, tax after tax was laid, until carriages, furniture, paper, and even watches were assessed, while plans were formed for other means, such as the creation of a national bank, the earlier one having expired according to the provisions of its charter. But the state to which the finances at length arrived was this: that while eleven millions of revenue were all to be counted upon—ten from taxes, and only one from customs duties—fifty millions were needed for the expenditures of the year (1815). It did not ease matters when a large number of the banks of the country suspended specie payments (August, 1814).

The opposition to the war had never ceased. It rested, indeed, on foundations too deep to be lightly moved. Below the points immediately relating to the war itself were the earlier questions arising during the operation of the government, nay, the still earlier ones that arose with the government—the questions of the constitution. All these had been brought out into contrast and into collision by the conflict with Great Britain.*f*

### A. B. HART ON THE SECESSION MOVEMENT IN NEW ENGLAND (1814 A.D.)[1]

Positive and dangerous opposition had been urged in New England from the beginning of the war. Besides the sacrifice of men, Massachusetts furnished more money for the war than Virginia. In the elections of 1812 and 1813 the federalists obtained control of every New England state govern-

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ment, and secured most of the New England members of congress. The temper of this federalist majority may be seen in a succession of addresses and speeches in the Massachusetts legislature. On June 15th, 1813, Josiah Quincy offered a resolution that "in a war like the present, waged without justifiable cause and prosecuted in a manner which indicates that conquest and ambition are its real motives, it is not becoming a moral and religious people to express any approbation of military or naval exploits which are not immediately connected with the defence of our seacoast and soil." As the pressure of the war grew heavier, the tone in New England grew sterner. On February 18th, 1814, a report was made to the Massachusetts legislature containing a declaration, taken almost literally from Madison's Virginia Resolution of 1798, that "whenever the national compact is violated, and the citizens of the state oppressed by cruel and unauthorised laws, this legislature is bound to interpose its power and wrest from the oppressor his victim."

The success of the British attacks in August and September, 1814, seemed to indicate the failure of the war. Congress met on September 19th to confront the growing danger; but it refused to authorise a new levy of troops; it refused to accept a proposition for a new United States Bank; it consented with reluctance to new taxes. The time seemed to have arrived when the protests of New England against the continuance of the war might be made effective. The initiative was taken by Massachusetts, which, on October 16th, voted to raise $1,000,000 to support a state army of ten thousand troops, and to ask the other New England states to meet in convention.

On December 15th, 1814, delegates assembled at Hartford from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, with unofficial representatives from New Hampshire and Vermont. The head of the Massachusetts delegation was George Cabot, who had been chosen because of his known opposition to the secession of that state. As he said himself, "We are going to keep you young hot-heads from getting into mischief." The expectation throughout the country was that the Hartford convention would recommend secession. Jefferson wrote: "Some apprehended danger from the defection of Massachusetts. It is a disagreeable circumstance, but not a dangerous one. If they become neutral, we are sufficient for one enemy without them; and, in fact, we get no aid from them now."

After a session of three weeks, the Hartford convention adjourned, January 14th, 1815, and published a formal report. They declared that the constitution had been violated, and that "states which have no common umpire must be their own judges and execute their own decisions." They submitted a list of amendments to the constitution intended to protect a minority of states from aggressions on the part of the majority. Finally they submitted, as their ultimatum, that they should be allowed to retain the proceeds of the national customs duties collected within their borders. Behind the whole document was the implied intention to withdraw from the Union if this demand were not complied with. To comply was to deprive the United States of its financial power, and was virtually a dissolution of the constitution. The delegates who were sent to present this powerful remonstrance to congress were silenced by the news that peace had been declared.[b]

### ANDREW JACKSON'S VICTORY AT NEW ORLEANS

Late in the summer preceding the Hartford convention a British party landed at Pensacola, whose Spanish possessors were supposed to be inclined to side against the United States. An attack, in the early autumn, upon

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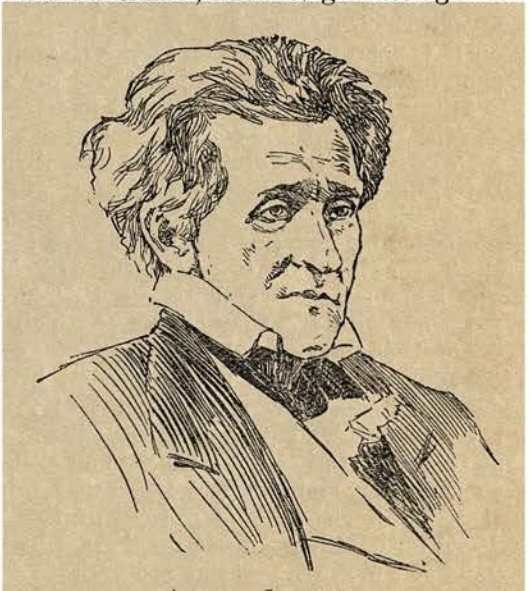
Fort Bowyer, thirty miles from Mobile, was repelled by the small but heroic garrison under Major Lawrence (September 15th). A month or two afterwards General Jackson advanced against Pensacola with a force so formidable that the British withdrew, Jackson then resigning the town to the Spanish authorities, and repairing to New Orleans, against which the enemy was believed to be preparing an expedition (November). There he busied himself in raising his forces and providing his defences, until the British arrived upon the coast. After capturing a feeble flotilla of the Americans, they began their advance against the capital of Louisiana (December). They were ten thousand and upwards; the Americans not more than half as numerous. Jackson, on learning of their approach, marched directly against them, surprising them in their camp by night, and dealing them a blow from which they hardly seem to have recovered (December 23rd). They soon, however, resumed the offensive under Sir Edward Pakenham, advancing thrice against the American lines, but thrice retreating. The last action goes by the name of the battle of New Orleans. It resulted in the defeat of the enemy, with the loss of Pakenham and two thousand besides, the Americans losing less than a hundred (January 8th, 1815). *"* At the close of the battle some five hundred of the British rose unhurt from among the dead and gave themselves up as prisoners. To save their lives, they had dropped down and lain as if dead until the battle was over. *"* The British retired to the sea, taking Fort Bowyer, the same that had resisted an attack the autumn before (February 12th). Louisiana had been nobly defended, and not by the energy of Jackson alone, nor by the resolution of her own people, but by the generous spirit with which the entire Southwest sent its sons to her rescue. [Even the outlawed pirates of Barataria, under Jean Lafitte, refused British advances and aided Jackson.]



ANDREW JACKSON
(1767–1845)

Jackson had hesitated at nothing in defending New Orleans. Upon the approach of the British, he proclaimed martial law; he continued it after their departure. The author of a newspaper article reflecting upon the general's conduct was sent to prison to await trial for life. The United States district judge was arrested and expelled from the city for having issued a writ of habeas corpus in the prisoner's behalf; and on the district attorney's applying to the state court in behalf of the judge, he, too, was banished. On the proclamation of peace, martial law was necessarily suspended. The judge returned, and summoning the general before him imposed a fine of $1,000. The sum was paid by Jackson, but was offered to be repaid to him by a subscription, which proved public opinion to sustain his determined course. Refusing to receive the subscription, he was reimbursed, nearly thirty years afterwards, by order of congress.

### THE NAVY REAPPEARS; THE PEACE OF GHENT

While these events were going on by land, the sea was for a time abandoned, at least by all national vessels. Privateers continued their work of plunder and of destruction—a work which, however miserable to contemplate, doubtless had its effect in bringing the war to a close. But the navy of the nation had disappeared from the ocean. It presently reappeared in the shape of its pride and ornament, the *Constitution*, which, under her new commander, Stewart, got to sea from Boston (December, 1814). The *President*, *Hornet*, and *Peacock* did the same from New York, the *President* being immediately captured, though not without a severe combat, by the British cruisers (January, 1815). Her loss was avenged by the sister vessels; the *Constitution* taking two sloops of war at once—the *Cyane* and the *Levant*—off Madeira (February 20th); the *Hornet* sloop taking the *Penguin* brig off the island of Tristan da Cunha (March 23rd); and the *Peacock* sloop taking the *Nautilus*, an East India's Company's cruiser, off Sumatra (June 30th).[1] All these actions were subsequent to a treaty of peace.

The war had not continued a year when the administration accepted an offer of Russian mediation, and despatched envoys to treat of peace. Great Britain declined the mediation of Russia, but offered to enter into negotiations either at London or at Gottenburg. The American government chose the latter place. But on the news of the triumph of Great Britain and her allies over Napoleon, the demands of the United States were sensibly modified. The administration and its party declared that the pacification of Europe did away with the very abuses of which America had to complain; in other words, that there would be no blockades or impressments in time of peace.

Four months and a half elapsed before coming to terms. The British demands, especially on the point of retaining the conquests made during the war, were altogether inadmissible. A treaty was consequently framed at Ghent, restoring the conquests on either side, and providing commissioners to arrange the boundary and other minor questions between the nations (December 24th). The objects of the war, according to the declarations at its outbreak, were not mentioned in the articles by which it was closed; yet the United States did not hesitate to ratify the treaty (February 18th). Within a week afterwards the president recommended "the navigation of American vessels by American seamen, either natives or such as are already naturalised"; the reason assigned being "to guard against incidents which, during the periods of war in Europe, might tend to interrupt peace." What could not be gained by treaty might be secured by legislation.

Though much was waived for the sake of peace, one principle, if no more, had been maintained for the country. In the first year of the war the British had set out to treat some Irishmen taken while fighting on the American side, not as ordinary prisoners of war but as traitors to Great Britain. On their being sent to be tried for treason in England, congress aroused itself in their behalf, and authorised the adoption of retaliatory measures. An equal number of British captives was presently imprisoned, and when the British retorted by ordering twice as many American officers into confinement, the Americans

[1] "Thus terminated at sea," says the British historian Alison, "this memorable contest, in which the English, for the first time for a century and a half, met with equal antagonists on their own element; and in recounting which, the British historian, at a loss whether to admire most the devoted heroism of his own countrymen or the gallant bearing of their antagonists, feels almost equally warmed in narrating either side of the strife."

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did the same by the British officers in their power. The British government went so far as to order its commanders, in case any retaliation was inflicted upon the prisoners in American hands, to destroy the towns and their inhabitants upon the coast. It was at this juncture that Massachusetts, as already alluded to, appeared in the lines of nullification. All along there had been very little sympathy, among the opposition, for the humane professions of defending the sailor and the stranger, upon which the administration party were apt to discourse rather than to act. The federalist majority in Massachusetts, caring little for the fate of the Irish prisoners, forbade the use of the state prisons for the British officers now ordered to be confined (February, 1814). The matter was set at rest by the retraction of the British government, who consented to treat the Irishmen as prisoners of war. Proclamation was made pardoning all past offences of the sort, but threatening future ones with the penalties of treason—a threat that was never attempted to be fulfilled (July). So the Americans gained their point, a point for which the early settlers had laboured, and for which the true men of the revolution had struggled—the protection of foreigners. Some months after the Treaty of Ghent, a treaty was made with the Indians of the Northwest. Such as had been at war agreed to bury the tomahawk, and to join with such as had been at peace in new relations with the United States (September).

Another treaty had been made by this time. It was with the dey of Algiers, who had gone to war with the United States in the same year that Great Britain did. The United States, however, had paid no attention to the inferior enemy until relieved of the superior. Then was war declared, and a fleet despatched, under Commodore Decatur, by which captures were made, and terms dictated to the Algerine. The treaty not only surrendered all American prisoners, and indemnified all American losses in the war, but renounced the claim of tribute on the part of Algiers (June). Tunis and Tripoli being brought to terms, the United States were no longer tributary to pirates.

There had been strength enough to deal the blow against Algiers. But the nation was in a state of nearly complete exhaustion. This remark is not meant to apply to individual cases of embarrassment and destitution produced by the war; for while many had lost, as many more had gained a competence or a fortune. But the nation, as a whole, was, for the moment, exhausted. Madison had been re-elected president, with Elbridge Gerry as vice-president, in the first year of the war with Great Britain. If he really consented to war as the price of his re-election, he had had his reward. The difficulties of his second term weighed upon him, crushed him. He welcomed peace, as his party welcomed it—in fact, as the whole nation welcomed it—with the same sensations of relief that men would feel in an earthquake, when the earth, yawning at their feet, suddenly closed. To see from what the government and the nation were saved, it is sufficient to read that systems of conscription for the army and of impressment for the navy were amongst the projects pending at the close of a war which had increased the public debt by one hundred and twenty million dollars.[f] Channing[hh] declares that "the war of 1812 settled two great questions within the United States." First, it brought the American people for the first time to a realising sense of nationality, causing the federalist party to lose popularity so steadily that in 1820 it cast not one electoral vote. Secondly, the war taught the American people the danger of foreign complications; it opened their eyes to the fact that they were not a province but a nation. In a sense, then, it is correct, Channing declares, to speak of the war of 1812 as a Second War of Independence.[a]

THEODORE ROOSEVELT ON THE RESULTS OF THE WAR OF 1812[1]

Neither side succeeded in doing what it intended. Americans declared that Canada must and should be conquered, but the conquering came quite as near being the other way. British writers insisted that the American navy should be swept from the seas; and during the sweeping process it increased fourfold.

When the United States declared war, Great Britain was straining every nerve and muscle in a death-struggle with the most formidable military despotism of modern times, and was obliged to intrust the defence of her Canadian colonies to a mere handful of regulars, aided by the local fencibles. But congress had provided even fewer trained soldiers, and relied on militia. The latter chiefly exercised their fighting abilities upon one another in duelling, and, as a rule, were afflicted with conscientious scruples whenever it was necessary to cross the frontier and attack the enemy. Accordingly, the campaign opened with the bloodless surrender of an American general to a much inferior British force, and the war continued much as it had begun; we suffered disgrace after disgrace, while the losses we inflicted, in turn, on Great Britain were so slight as hardly to attract her attention. At last, having crushed her greater foe, she turned to crush the lesser, and, in her turn, suffered ignominious defeat. By this time events had gradually developed a small number of soldiers on our northern frontier, who, commanded by Scott and Brown, were able to contend on equal terms with the veteran troops to whom they were opposed, though these formed part of what was then undoubtedly the most formidable fighting infantry any European nation possessed. The battles at this period of the struggle were remarkable for the skill and stubborn courage with which they were waged, as well as for the heavy loss involved; but the number of combatants was so small that in Europe they would have been regarded as mere outpost skirmishes, and they wholly failed to attract any attention abroad in that period of colossal armies.

In summing up the results of the struggle on the ocean it is to be noticed that very little was attempted, and nothing done, by the American navy that could materially affect the result of the war. Commodore Rodgers' expedition after the Jamaica Plate fleet failed; both the efforts to get a small squadron into the East Indian waters also miscarried; and otherwise the whole history of the struggle on the ocean is, as regards the Americans, only the record of individual cruises and fights. The material results were not very great, at least in their effect on Great Britain, whose enormous navy did not feel in the slightest degree the loss of a few frigates and sloops. But morally the result was of inestimable benefit to the United States. The victories kept up the spirits of the people, cast down by the defeats on land; practically decided in favour of the Americans the chief question in dispute —Great Britain's right of search and impressment—and gave the navy and thereby the country a world-wide reputation. I doubt if ever before a nation gained so much honour by a few single-ship duels; for there can be no question which side came out of the war with the greatest credit. The damage inflicted by each on the other was not very equal in amount, but the balance was certainly in favour of the United States, as can be seen

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by the following tables, for the details of which reference can be made to the various years:

| CAUSED | American Loss | | British Loss | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Tonnage | Guns | Tonnage | Guns |
| By ocean cruisers | 5,984 | 278 | 8,451 | 351 |
| On the lakes | 727 | 37 | 4,159 | 212 |
| By the army | 3,007 | 116 | 500 | 22 |
| By privateers | ..... | ... | 402 | 20 |
| Total | 9,718 | 431 | 13,512 | 605 |

In addition we lost four revenue-cutters, mounting twenty-four guns, and, in the aggregate, of three hundred and eighty-seven tons, and also twenty-five gunboats, with seventy-one guns, and, in the aggregate, of nearly two thousand tons. This would swell our loss to twelve thousand one hundred and five tons and five hundred and twenty-six guns;[1] but the loss of the revenue-cutters and gunboats can fairly be considered to be counterbalanced by the capture or destruction of the various British royal packets (all armed with from two to ten guns), tenders, barges, etc., which would be in the aggregate of at least as great tonnage and gun force, and with more numerous crews.

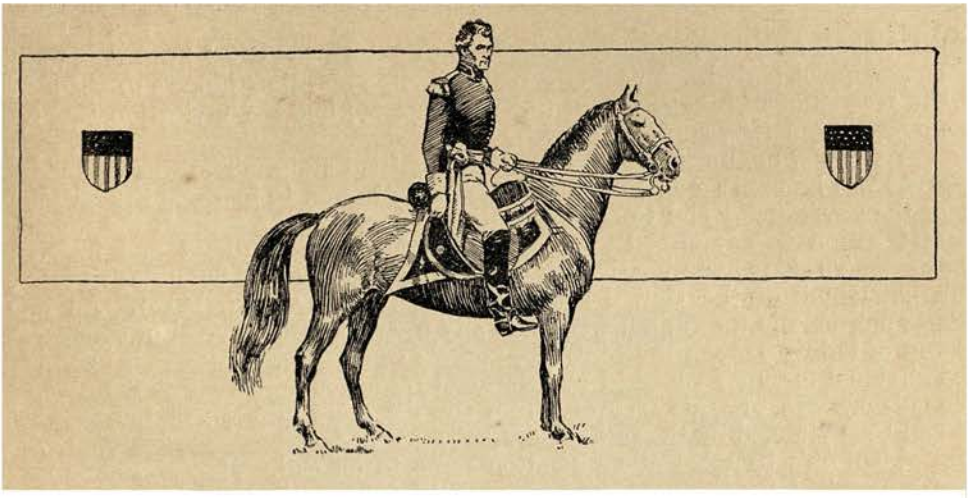
But the comparative material loss gives no idea of the comparative honour gained. The British navy, numbering at the outset a thousand cruisers,

[1] This differs greatly from the figures given by James in his *Naval Occurrences*. He makes the American loss 14,844 tons and 660 guns. His list includes, for example, the "*Growler* and the *Hamilton*, upset in carrying sail to avoid Sir James' fleet"; it would be quite as reasonable to put down the loss of the *Royal George* to the credit of the French. Then he mentions the *Julia* and the *Growler*, which were recaptured; the *Asp*, which was also recaptured; the "*New York*, 46, destroyed at Washington," which was not destroyed or harmed in any way, and which, moreover, was a condemned hulk; the "*Boston*, 42 [in reality 32], destroyed at Washington," which had been a condemned hulk for ten years, and had no guns or anything else in her, and was as much a loss to our navy as the fishing up and burning of an old wreck would have been; and eight gunboats whose destruction was either mythical, or else which were not national vessels. By deducting all these we reduce James' total by 120 guns and 2,600 tons; and a few alterations (such as excluding the swivels in the *President's* tops, which he counts, etc.) brings his number down to that given above—and also affords a good idea of the value to be attached to his figures and tables. The British loss he gives at but 530 guns and 10,273 tons. He omits the 24-gun ship burned by Chauncey at York, although including the frigate and corvette burned by Ross at Washington; if the former is excluded the two latter should be, which would make the balance still more in favour of the Americans. He omits the guns of the *Gloucester*, because they had been taken out of her and placed in battery on the shore, but he includes those of the *Adams*, which had been served in precisely the same way. He omits all reference to the British 14-gun schooner burned on Ontario, and to all 3- and 4-gun sloops and schooners captured there, although including the corresponding American vessels. The reason that he so much underestimates the tonnage, especially on the lakes, I have elsewhere discussed. His tables of the relative loss in men are even more erroneous, exaggerating that of the Americans and greatly underestimating that of the British; but I have not tabulated this, on account of the impossibility of getting fair estimates of the killed and wounded in the cutting-out expeditions and the difficulty of enumerating the prisoners taken in descents, etc. Roughly, about 2,700 Americans and 3,800 British were captured; the comparative loss in killed and wounded stood much more in our favour.

I have excluded from the British loss the brigs *Detroit* and *Caledonia* and schooner *Nancy* (aggregating ten guns and about 500 tons) destroyed on the upper lakes, because I hardly know whether they could be considered national vessels; the schooner *Highflyer*, of eight guns, forty men, and 209 tons, taken by Rodgers, because she seems to have been merely a tender; and the *Dominica*, 15, of seventy-seven men and 270 tons, because her captor, the privateer *Decatur*, though nominally an American, was really a French vessel. Of course both tables are only approximately exact; but at any rate the balance of damage and loss was over four to three in our favour.

had accomplished less than the American, which numbered but a dozen. Moreover, most of the loss suffered by the former was in single fight, while this had been but twice the case with the Americans, who had generally been overwhelmed by numbers. Of the twelve single-ship actions, two (those of the *Argus* and the *Chesapeake*) undoubtedly redounded most to the credit of the British, in two (that of the *Wasp* with the *Reindeer*, and that of the *Enterprise* with the *Boxer*) the honours were nearly even, and in the other eight the superiority of the Americans was very manifest.

In the American navy, unlike the British, there was no impressment; the sailor was a volunteer, and he shipped in whatever craft his fancy selected. Throughout the war there were no "picked crews" on the American side, excepting on the last two cruises of the *Constitution*, James' statement to the contrary being in every case utterly without foundation. One of the standard statements made by the British historians about the war is that our ships were mainly or largely manned by British sailors. This, if true, would not interfere with the lessons which it teaches; and, besides that, it is not true.[bb]



# CHAPTER IX

## THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY

[1814–1848 A.D.]

At last, after a period of five-and-twenty years, the people of the United States were free to attend to their own concerns in their own way, unmolested by foreign nations. From 1793 to 1815 the questions which occupied the public mind were neutral rights, orders in council, French decrees, impressment, embargoes, treaties, non-intercourse acts, admiralty decisions, blockades, the conduct of England, the conduct of France, the insolence of the French Directory, the triumphs, the ambition, and the treachery of Napoleon. Henceforth for many years to come, the questions of the day were to be the state of the currency, the national bank, manufactures, the tariff, internal improvements, interstate commerce, the public lands, the astonishing growth of the West, the rights of the states, extension of slavery, and the true place of the supreme court in the system of government. On the day, therefore, when Madison issued his proclamation announcing peace, a new era in the national history was opened.—John Bach McMaster.[b]

### AFTERMATH OF THE WAR; MONROE'S PRESIDENCY

The idea that the United States emerged from the contest with Great Britain with its citizens self-satisfied, and strangers applauding, is certainly a grateful one. But it is difficult to find the authority upon which it rests. To begin with foreign powers, and with the one most likely to be impressed with American grandeur—Great Britain—she appears absorbed in other interests of much larger importance in her eyes. A commercial convention was framed in the summer following the peace; but it left many matters undetermined, many unsatisfactorily determined. As for the negotiations ordered by the Treaty of Ghent, they were begun upon, yet so idly that conclusions were not reached for years and years. Other nations showed even less inclination to come to terms. France, Spain, Naples, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden were all in arrears on the score of indemnities for spolia-

tions upon American commerce; and most of them remained in arrears until a subsequent period. An act of congress invited maritime powers to abandon the restrictions hitherto placed upon commerce; but the invitation was by no means generally accepted (March, 1815).

At home, affairs were in an equally unsettled state. The war establishment was lowered; a new tariff was adopted at once, to increase the revenue of the government and to encourage the industry of the people; the system of taxation was reformed by the gradual abolition of direct and internal taxes. To aid in restoring the currency, and in directing the finances generally, a new Bank of the United States was chartered (March, 1816). All this was not done in a day; nor was there any instantaneous revival of commerce and of industry. On the contrary, periods of depression recurred, in which individual fortunes vanished and national resources failed. But the general tendency was towards recovery from the disorders into which the country had been plunged by the recent war.

Madison's troubled administration came to an end. James Monroe was the president for the next eight years (1817–1825), with Daniel D. Tompkins as vice-president. Monroe, once an extreme but latterly a moderate republican, so far conciliated all parties as to be re-elected with but one electoral vote against him. Old parties were dying out. The great question of the period, to be set forth presently, was one with which republicans and federalists, as such, had nothing to do.

### THE SEMINOLE WAR AND ACQUISITION OF FLORIDA

The new administration had but just opened, when the Seminole War, as it was styled, broke out with the Creeks of Georgia and Florida. Conflicts between the borderers and some of the Indians lingering in the territory ceded several years before led to a determination of the United States government to clear the country of the hostile tribes (November, 1817). A war, of course, ensued, beginning with massacres on both sides, and ending with a spoiling, burning, slaying expedition, half militia and half Indians, under General Andrew Jackson, the conqueror of the Creeks in the preceding war (March, 1818). On the pretext that the Spanish authorities countenanced the hostilities of the Indians, Jackson took St. Mark's and Pensacola, not without some ideas of seizing even St. Augustine. He also put to death, within the Spanish limits, two British subjects accused of stirring up the Indians (March, May), so that the war, though called the Seminole, might as well be called the Florida War. The Spanish minister protested against the invasion of the Florida Territory, of which the restitution was immediately ordered at Washington, though not without approbation of the course pursued by Jackson.

Florida was a sore spot on more accounts than one. The old trouble of boundaries had never been settled; but that was a trifle compared with the later troubles arising from fugitive criminals, fugitive slaves, smugglers, pirates, and, as recently shown, Indians, to whom Florida furnished not only a refuge but a starting-point. The Spanish authorities, themselves by no means inclined to respect their neighbours of the United States, had no power to make others respect them. Former difficulties, especially those upon American indemnities, were not settled; while new ones had gathered in consequence of South American revolutions, and North American dispositions to side with the revolutionists. The proposal of an earlier time

to purchase Florida was renewed by the United States. A treaty was concluded. On the payment of $5,000,000 by the American government to citizens who claimed indemnity from Spain, that power agreed to relinquish the Floridas, East and West (February 22nd, 1819). It was nearly two years, however, before Spain ratified the treaty, and fully two before Florida Territory formed a part of the United States (1821).

### THE SLAVERY QUESTION; THE MISSOURI COMPROMISES

The state of Connecticut, hitherto content with her charter government, at length adopted a new constitution, in which there was but little improvement upon the old one, except in making suffrage general and the support of a church system voluntary (1818). New constitutions and new states were constantly in process of formation. Indiana (December 11th, 1816), Mississippi (December 10th, 1817), Illinois (December 3rd, 1818), and Alabama (December 14th, 1819), all became members of the Union. The eastern half of the Mississippi Territory had become the territory of Alabama in 1817.

Before the definite accession of Alabama, Missouri was proposed as a candidate for admission. It was a slaveholding territory. But when the preliminary steps to its becoming a state were begun upon in congress, a New York representative, James Tallmadge, moved that no more slaves should be brought in, and that the children of those already there should be liberated at the age of twenty-five. On the failure of this motion, another New York representative, John W. Taylor, moved to prohibit slavery in the entire territory to the north of latitude thirty-six degrees thirty minutes. This, too, was lost. A bill setting off the portion of Missouri Territory to the south of the line just named, as the territory of Arkansas, was passed. But nothing was done towards establishing the state of Missouri (February, March, 1819).

Nothing, unless it were the debate, in which the question at issue became clear. There were two reasons, it then appeared, for making Missouri a free state; one, that it was the turn for a free state, the last (Alabama)[1] having been a slave state; while, of the eight admitted since the constitution, four had been free and four slave states. Another and a broader reason was urged, to the effect that slavery ought not to be permitted in any state or territory where it could be prohibited. On this, the northern views were the more earnest, in that the nation had committed itself by successive acts to a course too tolerant, if not too favourable, towards slavery. First, it will be recollected, came the organisation of the territory south of the Ohio; next, that of the Mississippi Territory; and afterwards, the acquisition and the organisation of Louisiana. All these proceedings were national, and all either acknowledged or extended the area of slavery. Kentucky had been admitted a slave state as a part of Virginia; Mississippi and Alabama as parts of the Mississippi Territory. To carry out the same course would have insured the admission of Missouri as a part of the Louisiana acquisition; and on this the southern members strongly insisted. To this, on the contrary, the North demurred, determined, if possible, to stop the movement that had thus far prevailed.

Greater stress was laid on the constitutional argument. The proposal to oblige Missouri to become a free state, said the advocates of slavery, is

[1] Not yet actually admitted, but authorised to apply for admission in the usual way.

a violation of the constitution. That sovereign authority, they declared, leaves the state itself in all cases to settle the matter of slavery, as well as all other matters not expressly subjected to the general government. To this a twofold answer was returned: first, that Missouri was not a state, but a territory, and therefore subject to the control of congress; and, second, that even if regarded as a state, she would not be one of the original thirteen, to which alone belonged the powers reserved under the constitution. Therefore congress could deal with her as it pleased. It was moreover argued that congress ought to arrest the progress of slavery, as a point upon which the national welfare was staked; a point, therefore, to which the authority of the general government was expressly and indispensably applicable according to the constitution.

Had it been an outbreak of hostilities, had it been a march of one half the country against the other, there could hardly have been a more intense agitation. The attempted prohibition of slavery was denounced in congress as the preliminary to a negro massacre, to a civil war, to a dissolution of the Union. Out of congress, it provoked such language as that used by the aged Jefferson[c]: "The Missouri question," he wrote, "is a breaker on which we lose the Missouri country by revolt, and what more God only knows. From the battle of Bunker Hill to the Treaty of Paris, we never had so ominous a question." [1] Public meetings were held; those at the South to repel the interference of the North, those at the North to rebuke the pretensions of the South. The dispute extended into the tribunals and the legislatures of the states, the northern declaring that Missouri must be for freemen only, the southern that it must be for freemen and for slaves.

So stood the matter as the year drew to a close and congress reassembled. A new turn was then given to the question, by the application of Maine to be received as a state, Massachusetts having consented to the separation. "Here, then, is the free state to match with Alabama," exclaimed the partisans of slavery in Missouri; "now give us our slave state." But the opponents of slavery did not yield; they had planted themselves on principles, they said, not on numbers. At this the South was naturally indignant. It had been a plea all along that a free state was due to the North; and now, when one was forthcoming, two were claimed. If the reply was made that Maine, being but a division of Massachusetts, was no addition to the northern strength, this did not content the South. Feelings of bitterness and of injustice were aroused between both parties; both drew farther apart. If peace did not come, war would, and that soon.

The senate united Maine and Missouri in the same bill and on the same terms, that is, without any restriction upon slavery. But a clause introduced on the motion of Jesse B. Thomas, of Illinois, prohibited the introduction of slavery into any portion of the Louisiana territory as yet unorganised, leaving Louisiana the state and Arkansas the territory, as well as Missouri, just what they were, that is, slaveholding. This was the Missouri Compromise. It came from the North. On the part of the North, it yielded the claim to Missouri as a free state; on the part of the South, it yielded the claim to the immensely larger regions which stretched above and beyond Missouri to the Pacific. The line of 36° 30′, proposed the year before, was again proposed, save only that Missouri, though north of the line, was to be a Southern state. Thus the senate determined, not without opposition from both sides. The house, on the contrary, adopted a bill, admitting

[1 Elsewhere Jefferson said that the outbreak of the slavery agitation came "like a fire-bell in the night."]

Missouri, separately from Maine, and under the northern restriction concerning slavery. Words continued to run high. But the proposal of the compromise augured the return of tranquillity. A committee of conference between the two branches of congress led to the agreement of both senate and house upon a bill admitting Missouri, after her constitution should be formed, free of restrictions, but prohibiting slavery north of the line of 36° 30′ (March 3rd, 1820). Maine was admitted at the same time (March 3rd–15th).

The compromise prohibited slavery in the designated region forever. This was the letter; but it was under different interpretations. When President Monroe consulted his cabinet upon the question of approving the act of congress, all but his secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, inclined to read the prohibition of slavery as applying only to the territories, and not to the states that might arise within the prescribed boundaries. This was not a difference between northern and southern views, but one between strict and liberal constructions of the constitution; the strict construction going against all power in congress to restrict a state, while the liberal took the opposite ground. So with others besides the cabinet. Amongst the very men who voted for the compromise were many, doubtless, who understood it as applying to territories alone. The northern party, unquestionably, adopted it in its broader sense, preventing the state as well as the territory from establishing slavery. That there should be two senses attached to it from the beginning was a dark presage of future differences.

Present differences were not yet overcome. Missouri, rejoicing in becoming a slaveholding state, adopted a constitution which denied even free negroes the rights of citizens. On this being brought before congress towards the close of the year (1820), various tactics were adopted; the extreme southern party going for the immediate admission of the state, while the extreme northern side urged the overthrow of state, constitution, and compromise, together. Henry Clay, at the head of the moderate men, succeeded, after long exertions, in carrying a measure providing for the admission of Missouri as soon as her legislature should solemnly covenant the rights of citizenship to "the citizens of either of the states" (February, 1821). This was done, and Missouri became a state (August 10th).

The United States as a nation were far from insensible to the evils of slavery. Domestic slave trade was permitted and extended. But foreign slave trade, reviving to such a degree that upwards of fourteen thousand slaves were said to have been imported in a single year (1818), provoked general indignation. An act of congress declared fresh and severer penalties to attach to the slave dealer, while to his unhappy victims relief was offered in provisions for their return to their native country (1819). Another act denounced the traffic as piracy (1820). The same denunciation was urged upon foreign governments, one of which, Great Britain, prepared to enter into a convention for the purpose; but the convention fell through (1823–1824).

In the midst of its dissensions and its weakness, the nation was cheered by a visit from La Fayette. He came in compliance with a summons from the government to behold the work which he had assisted in beginning, near half a century before. From the day of his landing (August 16th, 1824) to that of his departure (September 7th, 1825), a period of more than a year, he was, as he described himself, "in a whirlwind of popular kindness of which it was impossible to have formed any previous conception, and in which everything that could touch and flatter one was mingled." To make some amends

for his early sacrifices, pecuniary as well as personal, in the American cause, congress voted La Fayette a township of the public domain, and a grant of $200,000. He deserved all that could be bestowed.

## THE MONROE DOCTRINE [1]

It was time for the nation to assume a more elevated attitude. No longer the solitary republic amidst encompassing domains of distant monarchies, the United States now formed one of a band of independent states, stretching from Canada to Patagonia. The others were the Central and South American colonies of Spain, which had spent years in insurrection and in war before their independence was recognised by their elder sister of the north (1822). Ministers plenipotentiary were at the same time appointed to Mexico, Colombia, Buenos Ayres, and Chili. As if to make amends for its delay, the administration resolved upon stretching out an arm of defence between the nascent states of the south and the threatening powers of Europe. The purpose of the European allies, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, to come to the assistance of Spain, in subduing her insurgent colonies, was well known, when President Monroe, in his seventh annual message (December 2nd, 1823), announced that his administration had asserted in negotiations with Russia, "as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent position which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonisation by any European powers. We owe it," continued the president, "to candour and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

Such was what has since been called the Monroe Doctrine though the author is known to have been the secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, rather than the president. Far from its being intended to make the United States themselves the guardians or the rulers of America, the doctrine, as expounded by its real author, Adams, proposed "that each [American state] will guard by its own means against the establishment of any future European colony within its borders." The declaration of the president was designed simply to show that the nation undertook to countenance and to support the independence of its sister nations. As such, it was an honourable deed. Congress, however, declined to sustain it by any formal action.

Some time afterwards, when the author of the Monroe Doctrine had risen to the presidency, an invitation was received by the government from some of the Central and South American states to unite in a congress at Panama. The objects, ranging from mere commercial negotiations up to the Monroe

[1 On this subject see also the essay in the present volume by A. B. Hart.]

Doctrine, were rather indefinite; but Adams appointed two envoys, whom the senate confirmed, and for whom the house made the necessary appropriations, though not without great opposition (December, 1825–March, 1826). One of the envoys died, the other did not go upon his mission; so that the congress began and ended without any representation from the United States (June–July). It adjourned to meet at Tacubaya, near Mexico, in the beginning of the following year. The ministers of the United States repaired to the appointed place, and at the appointed time, but there was no congress. Thus terminated the vision of an American league. We can hardly estimate the consequences of its having been realised—on one side the perils to which the United States would have been exposed, and on the other the services which they might have rendered, amongst such confederates as those of Central and of South America.

### PRESIDENCY OF J. Q. ADAMS; TARIFF COMPROMISE, AND NULLIFICATIONS

John Quincy Adams, the son of the second president, was elected by the house of representatives—the electoral college failing to make a choice—to succeed Monroe (1825). Andrew Jackson, a rival candidate, was chosen by the people at the next election (1829). John C. Calhoun was vice-president under both. Two men more unlike than Adams and Jackson, in associations and in principles, could hardly have been found amongst the politicians of the period. They resembled each other, however, in the resolution with which they met the dangers of their times.

The great question before the country for several years was one as old as the constitution; older, even, inasmuch as it occupied a chief place in the debates of the constitutional convention. It was the subordination of the state to the nation. The first occasion to revive the question and to invest it with fresh importance was a controversy between the national government and the government of Georgia. Many years had passed since that state consented to cede her western lands, including the present Alabama and Mississippi, on condition that the government would extinguish the Indian title to the territory of Georgia itself. Of twenty-five millions of acres then held by the Creek nation, fifteen had been bought up by the United States, and transferred to Georgia. Half of the remaining ten millions belonged to the Cherokees, and half to the Creeks, a nominal treaty with the latter of whom declared the United States possessors of all the Creek territory within the limits both of Georgia and of Alabama (1825). This treaty, however, agreed to by but one or two of the chiefs, provoked a general outbreak on the part of the Creeks. To pacify them, or rather to do common justice to them, the government first suspended the treaty, and then entered into a new one, by which the cession of land was confined to the Georgian territory. A longer time was also allowed for the removal of the Indians from the ceded country (April, 1826). What satisfied the Creeks dissatisfied the Georgians or their authorities. Governor Troup accused the administration of violating the law of the land, in the shape of the earlier treaty, hinting at anti-slavery motives for the course that had been taken, and calling upon the adjoining states to "stand by their arms." Not confining himself to protests or defensive measures, Troup sent surveyors into the Indian territory. President Adams communicated the matter to congress, asserting his intention "to enforce the laws and fulfil the duties of the nation by all the force committed for that purpose to his charge." Whereat the governor wrote to the secretary of war,

"From the first decisive act of hostility, you will be considered and treated as a public enemy" (1827). [He also reported to the legislature that the slave states should "confederate."] Fortunately, the winds ceased. The state that had set itself against the nation more decidedly than had ever yet been done returned to its senses. As for the unhappy Indians, not only the Creeks, but all the other tribes that could be persuaded to move, were gradually transported to more distant territories in the West.

Other causes were operating to excite the states, or some of them, against the general government. Amidst the vicissitudes of industry and of trade through which the nation was passing, repeated attempts were made to steady affairs by a series of tariffs in favour of domestic productions. The first measure, intended to serve for protection rather than for revenue, was adopted in 1816. It was a duty, principally, upon cotton fabrics from abroad. Some years afterwards a new scale was framed, with provision against foreign woollens, as well as cottons (1824). This not turning out as advantageous to the home manufactures as was anticipated, an effort for additional protection was made; but at first in vain. On one side were the manufacturers, not merely of cotton and of woollen goods, but of iron, hemp, and a variety of other materials, clustered in the northern and central states; on the other were the merchants, the farmers, and the artisans of the same states, with almost the entire population of the agricultural South.

A convention of the manufacturing interests, attended by delegates from New England, the middle states, Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, and Kentucky, was held at Harrisburg, in Pennsylvania. "We want protection," was the language used by the delegates, "and it matters not if it amounts to prohibition"; in which spirit they pressed what they called the American system upon the federal government (July–August, 1827). The administration, by the report of the secretary of the treasury, commended the subject to the favourable attention of congress. That body took it up, and after protracted discussions, consented, May 15th, 1828, to a tariff in which the system of protection was carried to its height. Its adversaries called the bill the "Bill of Abominations," many of which, however, were introduced by themselves, with the avowed intention of making the measure as odious and as short-lived as possible.[d]

The tariff law was very obnoxious to the southern people. They denounced it as oppressive and unconstitutional, and it led to menaces of serious evils in 1831 and 1832. The presidential election took place in the autumn of 1828, when the public mind was highly excited. For a long time the opposing parties had been marshalling their forces for the contest. The candidates were John Quincy Adams and General Andrew Jackson. The result was the defeat of Mr. Adams, and the election of General Jackson. John C. Calhoun,[1] of South Carolina, was elected vice-president, and both had very large majorities. During the contest the people appeared to be on the verge of civil war, so violent was the party strife, and so malignant were the denunciations of the candidates. When it was over perfect tranquillity prevailed, and the people acquiesced in the result. President Adams retired from office on the 4th of March, 1829. He left to his successor a legacy of unexampled national prosperity, peaceful relations with all the world, a greatly diminished

[1] John C. Calhoun was born in South Carolina in 1782. He first appeared in congress in 1811, and was always distinguished for his consistency, especially in his support of the institution of slavery and the doctrine of state rights. He was a sound and incorruptible statesman, and commanded the thorough respect of the whole country. He died at Washington city, while a member of the United States senate, in March, 1850.

[1829 A.D.]

national debt, and a surplus of more than $5,000,000 in the public treasury. There were incidents of peculiar interest connected with the inauguration of Andrew Jackson,[1] the seventh president of the United States.[e]

## WOODROW WILSON ON THE NEW JACKSONIAN ERA[2]

Many circumstances combine to mark the year 1829 as a turning-point in the history of the United States. The revolution in politics which signalises the presidency of Andrew Jackson as a new epoch in the history of the country was the culmination of a process of material growth and institutional expansion. The new nation was now in the first flush of assured success. It had definitively succeeded in planting new homes and creating new states throughout the wide stretches of the continent which lay between the eastern mountains and the Mississippi.

The election of Andrew Jackson marked a point of significant change in American politics—a change in *personnel* and in spirit, in substance and in method. Colonial America, seeking to construct a union, had become national America, seeking to realise and develop her united strength, and to express her new life in a new course of politics. The states which had originally drawn together to form the Union now found themselves caught in a great national drift, the direction of their development determined by forces as pervasive and irresistible as they were singular and ominous. Almost immediately upon entering the period of Jackson's administrations, the student finds himself, as if by a sudden turn, in the great highway of legislative and executive policy which leads directly to the period of the civil war, and, beyond that, to the United States of our own day. More significant still, a new spirit and method appear in the contests of parties. The "spoils system" of appointment to office is introduced into national administration, and personal allegiance is made the discipline of national party organisation. All signs indicate the beginning of a new period.

The old school of politicians had been greatly thinned by death, and was soon to disappear altogether. The traditions of statesmanship which they had cherished were to lose neither dignity nor vigour in the speech and conduct of men like Webster and the better New England federalists; but they were to be constrained to adapt themselves to radically novel circumstances. Underneath the conservative initiative and policy of the earlier years of the government there had all along been working the potent leaven of democracy, slowly but radically changing conditions both social and political, foreshadowing a revolution in political method, presaging the overthrow of the

[1] Andrew Jackson was born in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, in March, 1767. His parents were from the north of Ireland, and belonged to that Protestant community known as Scotch-Irish. In earliest infancy he was left to the care of an excellent mother, by the death of his father. He first saw the horrors of war and felt the wrongs of oppression when Colonel Buford's troops were massacred in his neighbourhood in 1780. He entered the army and suffered in the cause of freedom by imprisonment and the death of his mother while she was on an errand of mercy. He studied law, and became one of the most eminent men in the western district of Tennessee, as an advocate and a judge. He was ever a controlling spirit in that region. He assisted in framing a state constitution for Tennessee, and was the first representative of that state in the federal congress. He became United States senator in 1797, and was soon afterwards appointed judge of the supreme court of his state. He settled near Nashville, and for a long time was chief military commander in that region. When the War of 1812 broke out he took the field, and in the capacity of major-general he did good service in the southern country till its close. He was appointed the first governor of Florida in 1821, and in 1823 was again in the United States senate.

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"money-power" of the federalist mercantile classes, and antagonism towards all too conspicuous vested interests.

The federal government was not by intention a democratic government. In plan and structure it had been meant to check the sweep and power of popular majorities. The senate, it was believed, would be a stronghold of conservatism, if not of aristocracy and wealth. The president, it was expected, would be the choice of representative men acting in the electoral college, and not of the people. The federal judiciary was looked to, with its virtually permanent membership, to hold the entire structure of national politics in nice balance against all disturbing influences, whether of popular impulse or of official overbearance. Only in the house of representatives were the people to be accorded an immediate audience and a direct means of making their will effective in affairs. The government had, in fact, been originated and organised upon the initiative and primarily in the interest of the mercantile and wealthy classes.

Hamilton, not only the chief administrative architect of the government, but also the author of the graver and more lasting parts of its policy in the critical formative period of its infancy, had consciously and avowedly sought to commend it by its measures first of all and principally to the moneyed classes—to the men of the cities, to whom it must look for financial support. That such a policy was eminently wise there can of course be no question. But it was not eminently democratic. There can be a moneyed aristocracy, but there cannot be a moneyed democracy. There were ruling classes in that day, and it was imperatively necessary that their interest should be at once and thoroughly enlisted. But there was a majority also, and it was from that majority that the nation was to derive its real energy and character. During the administrations of Washington and John Adams the old federal hierarchy remained virtually intact; the conservative, cultivated, propertied classes of New England and the South practically held the government as their own. But with Jefferson there came the first assertion of the force which was to transform American politics—the force of democracy.

The old federalist party, the party of banks, of commercial treaties, of conservative tradition, was not destined to live in a country every day developing a larger "West," tending some day to be chiefly "West." For, as was to have been expected, the political example of the new states was altogether and unreservedly on the side of unrestricted popular privilege. In all of the original thirteen states there were at first important limitations upon the suffrage. In this point their constitutions were not copied by the new states; these from the first made their suffrage universal. And their example reacted powerfully upon the East. Constitutional revision soon began in the old states, and constitutional revision in every case meant, among other things, an extension of the suffrage. Parties in the East speedily felt the change. No longer protected by a property qualification, aristocracies like that of New England, where the clergy and the lawyers held respectable people together in ordered party array, went rapidly to pieces, and popular majorities began everywhere to make their weight tell in the conduct of affairs.

Monroe's terms of office served as a sort of intermediate season for parties —a period of disintegration and germination. Apparently it was a time of political unity, an "era of good feeling," when all men were of one party and of one mind. But this was only upon the surface.

By the presidential campaign of 1824 party politics were given a more definite form and direction. New England made it known that her candidate was John Quincy Adams; Clay was put forward by political friends in the

legislatures of Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, Illinois, and Ohio; the legislators of Tennessee and many state conventions in other parts of the country put Andrew Jackson in nomination. The results of the election were not a little novel and startling. It had been a great innovation that a man like Andrew Jackson should be nominated at all. No other candidate had ever been put forward who had not served a long apprenticeship and won honourable reputation as a statesman in the public service. There had even been established a sort of succession to the presidency. Jefferson had been Washington's secretary of state; Madison, Jefferson's; Monroe, Madison's. In this line of succession John Quincy Adams was the only legitimate candidate, for he was secretary of state under Monroe. Jackson had never been anything of national importance except a successful soldier. It was absolutely startling that he should receive more electoral votes than any of the other candidates. And yet so it happened. Jackson received 99 votes, while only 84 were cast for Adams, 41 for Crawford, 37 for Clay. It was perhaps significant, too, that these votes came more directly from the people than ever before. No one of the candidates having received an absolute majority of the electoral vote, the election went into the house of representatives, where, with the aid of Clay's friends, Adams was chosen. It was then that the significance of the popular majority received its full emphasis. The friends of Jackson protested that the popular will had been disregarded, and their candidate shamefully, even corruptly, they believed, cheated of his rights. The dogma of popular sovereignty received a new and extraordinary application, fraught with important consequences. Jackson, it was argued, being the choice of the people, was "entitled" to the presidency. From a constitutional point of view the doctrine was nothing less than revolutionary. It marked the rise of a democratic theory very far advanced beyond that of Jefferson's party, and destined again and again to assert itself as against strict constitutional principle.

The supporters of Jackson did not for a moment accept the event of the election of 1825 as decisive. The "sovereignty of the people"—that is, of the vote cast for Jackson—should yet be vindicated. The new administration was hardly seven months old before the legislature of Tennessee renewed its nomination of Jackson for the presidency. The "campaign of 1828" may be said to have begun in 1825. For three whole years a contest, characterised by unprecedented virulence, and pushed in some quarters by novel and ominous methods, stirred the country into keen partisan excitement. A new discipline and principle of allegiance was introduced into national politics. In New York and Pennsylvania there had already sprung into existence that machinery of local committees, nominating caucuses, primaries, and conventions with which later times have made us so familiar; and then, as now, this was a machinery whose use and reason for existence were revealed in the distribution of offices as rewards for party service. The chief masters of its uses were "Jackson men," and the success of their party in 1828 resulted in the nationalisation of their methods.*f*

### JACKSON AND THE SPOILS SYSTEM

Jackson came into office to devote himself at first to those who had elected him. Never before had the nation been under so professedly a party rule. Its subjection was proved by the removals from office of such as had served under the previous administrations. In all the forty years that had elapsed

since the opening of the government, the successive presidents had removed just sixty-four public officers, and no more. Jackson turned out the servants of the government by the hundred. This imprinting a partisan character upon the administration was far from being unacceptable to the majority of the nation. It was but just, they argued, that the inferior officers should be of the same views as the superior; otherwise there could be no harmony. A great deal of stress, moreover, was laid upon the necessity of reforming the administration, the alleged extravagance of Adams' time having been sounded all over the land by the partisans of Jackson. The clamour of the opposition against either cause of removal can be conceived.

The great question between the power of the state and the power of the nation was still open. Jackson entered into it with concessions to the state. When the Creeks of Georgia were disposed of, there still remained the Cherokees of the same and the neighbouring states. This tribe, far from being inclined to leave its habitations, was so much inclined to settling where it was, as to adopt a formal constitution (1827). At this, Georgia lost patience, and asserted her jurisdiction over the Cherokees, at the same time dividing their territory, and annexing it in portions to the counties of the state (1828–1830). Much the same course was taken by Alabama and Mississippi in relation to the Indians within their borders (1829–1830). In these circumstances, the position of the general government was this: that it had always undertaken to treat with the Indians, to protect or to molest them, as the case might be, but in no event leaving them to the action of any separate part of the nation. Instead of maintaining this position in relation to the southern Indians, the president, supported by congress, yielded it altogether, upon the ground that the Cherokee constitution was the erection of a new state within the limits of Georgia and Alabama. It would have been well had Georgia contented herself with the Indians thus surrendered to her. But she must needs interfere with the whites, the very missionaries of the Indian territory, and imprison them in her penitentiary for not taking the oath of allegiance which she demanded (1831). Their case was carried before the United States supreme court, which decided against the course of Georgia with regard to both missionaries and Indians (1832). But the Indians obtained no redress; nor did the missionaries, until they abandoned their proceedings against the sovereign state (1833).

More serious points in relation to the question between the states and the general government had arisen. The first message of President Jackson (December, 1829) suggested a modification of the tariff adopted the year before. It was another concession, on his part, to the state claims. But it was not made without cause. The system of protection, once opposed and favoured by the North and by the South together, had come to be a favourite of the North, and an object of opposition to the South. But the result for the present, so far as the tariff was concerned, consisted in a few unimportant modifications (May, 1830).

### THE WEBSTER-HAYNE DEBATE; NULLIFICATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA

At the same time a resolution before the senate was indefinitely postponed, after having elicited a remarkable debate upon the points at issue before the country. It had been brought forward by Senator Foot, of Connecticut, just at the close of the previous year (December 29th, 1829), with a view to some arrangement concerning the sale of the public lands. But the public

[1830-1832 A.D.]

lands were soon lost sight of in a discussion involving the relative powers of the states and the national government. Robert Y. Hayne, a senator from South Carolina, took the ground that a state possessed the right of nullifying any act of congress which it should consider unconstitutional, inasmuch as the government, whereof congress was a part, resulted from a compact amongst the states. The opposite theory, that the government was established by the people of the United States as a whole, and not by the states as separate members, was taken chiefly by Daniel Webster, some years before a representative of his native New Hampshire, at present a senator from his adopted Massachusetts. The great speech of Webster (January 26th-27th, 1830) was, without contradiction, the ablest plea that had ever been made for the national character as well as the national government. It decided the fact, so far as argument in the senate chamber could do, that the general government, in its proper functions, is independent of all local institutions. As a necessary consequence, the claim of a state to nullify an act of congress fell to the ground. "I trust," said Webster, near the beginning of the following year, "the crisis has in some measure passed by." It was not the last time, however, that he had to raise his powerful voice in the defence of the constitution.

A year or more elapsed before the subject of the tariff was called up again. It was then decided by congress and the president to revise the provisions against which the South was still contending. Without abandoning the protective system, which, on the contrary, was distinctly maintained, the duties upon many of the protected articles were reduced, in order to satisfy the opponents of protection (July, 1832). Far from diverting the storm, the action upon the tariff did but hasten its approach. The legislature of South Carolina summoned a convention of the state, which met at Columbia, under the presidency of Governor Hamilton (November 19th). A few days sufficed to pass an ordinance declaring:

> That the several acts, and parts of acts, purporting to be laws for the imposing of duties on importation are unauthorised by the constitution of the United States, and violate the true intent and meaning thereof, and are null and void, and no law, nor binding upon the state of South Carolina, its officers and citizens; and that it shall be the duty of the legislature to adopt such measures and pass such acts as may be necessary to give full effect to this ordinance, and to prevent the enforcement and arrest the operation of the said acts, and parts of acts, of the congress of the United States within the limits of the state.

In all this there was nothing new to the nation. From the time when Kentucky and Virginia began upon a similar course, from the time when Massachusetts and Connecticut continued it, down to the more recent acts of Georgia and of South Carolina herself, nullification, in nominal if not in actual existence, had stalked throughout the land. A state that felt itself aggrieved by the general government was very apt to take to resolutions, often to positive statutes, against the laws or the measures of the Union. But South Carolina went further than any of her predecessors:

> We, the people of South Carolina [concluded the ordinance of the convention] do further declare that we will not submit to the application of force, on the part of the federal government, to reduce this state to obedience, but that we will consider the passage by congress of any act to enforce the acts hereby declared to be null and void, otherwise than through the civil tribunals of the country, as inconsistent with the longer continuance of South Carolina in the Union; and that the people of this state will forthwith proceed to organize a separate government.

This was something more than nullification; it was secession. It has been very common to exclaim against the conduct of South Carolina. But with

the principles which she professed, supporting the claims of the state to be a sovereign member of a national confederacy, it is difficult to see how she could have acted otherwise. If we would censure anything, it must be the principles which led to nullification and to secession, rather than these, the mere and the inevitable results. In itself, as an instance of resolution against what was deemed injustice and oppression, the attitude of South Carolina is no object of indignation. On the contrary, there is something thrilling in the aspect of a people perilling their all to sustain their rights, even though they were mistaken as to what their rights really were. "The die has been at last cast," the governor informed the legislature, assembled a day or two after the adoption of the ordinance by the convention, "and South Carolina has at length appealed to her ulterior sovereignty as a member of this confederacy." The legislature unhesitatingly responded to the convention in a series of acts prohibiting the collection of duties, and providing for the employment of volunteers, or, if need were, of the entire militia, in the defence of the state.

If the state was resolute, the general government was no less so. The president was in his element. A crisis which he was eminently adapted to meet had arrived. It called forth all his independence, all his nationality. Other men—more than one of his predecessors—would have doubted the course to be pursued; they would have stayed to inquire into the powers of the constitution, or to count the resources of the government; nay, had they been consistent, they would have inclined to the support, rather than to the overthrow, of the South Carolina doctrine. Jackson did not waver an instant. He took his own counsel, as he was wont to do, and declared for the nation against the state; then ordered troops and a national vessel to the support of the government officers in South Carolina.

> No act of violent opposition to the laws has yet been committed [thus the president declared in a proclamation]; but such a state of things is hourly apprehended; and it is the intent of this instrument to proclaim not only that the duty imposed on me by the constitution, to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, shall be performed, but to warn the citizens of South Carolina that the course they are urged to pursue is one of ruin and disgrace to the very state whose right they affect to support.

The appeal to the South Carolinians was the more forcible in coming from one of themselves, as it were; Jackson being a native of their state. Addressing congress in an elaborate message (January 16th, 1833), the president argued down both nullification and secession, maintaining that "the result of each is the same; since a state in which, by a usurpation of power, the constitutional authority of the federal government is openly defied and set aside, wants only the form to be independent of the Union." Congress responded, after some delay, by an enforcing act, the primary object of which was to secure the collection of the customs in the South Carolina ports. Thus united stood the government in sustaining itself against the state by which it was defied. Nor did it stand alone. One after another, the states, by legislative or by individual proceedings, came out in support of the national principle. The principle of state sovereignty, that might have found support but for the extremity to which it had been pushed, seemed to be abandoned. South Carolina was left to herself, even by her neighbours, usually prone to take the same side. Only Virginia came forward, appealing to the government as well as to South Carolina to be done with strife.

The tariff was openly condemned by North Carolina, Alabama, and Georgia; the last state proposing a southern convention, to take some measures of resistance to the continuance of a system so unconstitutional. It

became plainer and plainer that if South Carolina was to be brought to terms by any other way than by force, or if her sister states of the South were to be kept from joining her sooner or later, it must be by some modification of the tariff. A bill was brought forward in the house, but without any immediate result. Henry Clay took the matter up in the senate. He had distinguished himself as the advocate of the Missouri Compromise. He was the author, in consultation with others, of the tariff compromise. This proposed that the duties on all imports exceeding twenty per cent. should be reduced to that rate by successive diminutions through the next ten years (till June 30th, 1842). "I wish," said Clay, "to see the tariff separated from the politics of the country, that business men may go to work in security, with some prospect of stability in our laws." Had there been no other motive for his course, this would have been enough to stamp it with wisdom. Others felt as he did. Unlike the Missouri question, the tariff question was disposed of without protracted struggles. The measure was supported by very general approval, not excepting the representatives of South Carolina, at the head of whom was Calhoun, lately surrendering the vice-presidency in order to represent his state in the senate. The compromise became a law (March 2nd), and South Carolina returned to her allegiance. "The lightning," as one of Clay's correspondents wrote to him, was "drawn out from the clouds which were lowering over the country."

Like all other compromises, the tariff compromise did not bring about an absolute decision of the points of controversy. To the opponents of protection it abated the amount of protection. To the champions of the protective system it secured the right of laying duties, but at the same time decided against the expediency, if not the right, of excessive duties. As for the subject that lay behind the tariff, not concealed, but overtopping it by an immensity of height, this, too, was decided in the same general way. The subordination of the state to the nation was not defined. But it was established on principles which no nullification could disturb, and no secession break asunder, except in national ruin.

### JACKSON'S STRUGGLE WITH THE BANK AND THE FINANCIAL DISORDERS

Few matters are more important to a nation—especially to a money-making nation—than its finance. This being in a sound condition, the course of government and of the people is so far smoothed and secured. But if it is disturbed, either by those in authority or by those engaged in speculations of their own, the whole country suffers. Time and again had these things been proved in the United States; a fresh and a fearful proof was soon to occur. The administration of Jackson had but just begun (1829), when an attempt was made to interfere with the appointments in the United States Bank. The resistance of the bank is supposed to have excited the displeasure of the president, who, at all events, took occasion in his first message to throw out suggestions against the renewal of the bank charter, although this was not to expire for six or seven years to come. Congress, instead of complying with the presidential recommendation, showed a decided determination to sustain the bank. The next congress voted to renew the charter, but the president immediately interposed with a veto (July, 1832). Amidst many sound objections on his part was mingled much that must be set down as prejudice, not to say extravagance; he even went so far as to suppose the bank to be dangerous "to our liberty and independence."

Not content with opposing the rechartering of the bank, the president determined to humble it before its charter expired. To this, it must be confessed, he was in some degree goaded by the unsparing bitterness with which his veto had been assailed. On the other hand, the triumphant re-election of Jackson in 1832 by a large majority over Henry Clay, and with his right-hand man, Martin Van Buren, for vice-president, assured him of a support which would not fail him in any measures he might pursue. In his next message (December, 1832) he recommended the removal of the treasury deposits from the custody of the bank, but without obtaining the co-operation of congress. Things went on as they were until the early autumn of the following year, when (September, 1833) the president announced to his cabinet his resolution to remove the deposits on his own responsibility, assigning for his principal reasons the electioneering procedures against his administration, of which the bank was suspected, and the necessity of providing for some new method of managing the public revenue before the expiration of the charter incapacitated the bank from serving as it had hitherto done. The terms of the charter provided that the power of recalling the deposits lay with the secretary of the treasury. The secretary then in office, William J. Duane, declined to have anything to do with the removal. Two days afterwards he was displaced to make room for Roger B. Taney, then attorney-general, and subsequently chief-justice of the United States. The new secretary, not sharing the scruples of his predecessor, issued the proper order for the removal of the deposits at the time indicated by the president (October 1st).

Of the agitation attending these events it is difficult to conceive at this distance of time. If we account for the suspicions of the president against the bank, there still remain the accusations from the bank and from its friends against the president to be explained. Had Jackson declared himself the lord and master of the United States, there could scarcely have been a greater uproar. In the senate, at the instigation of Henry Clay, a resolve was adopted, "that the president, in the late executive proceeding in relation to the public revenue, has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the constitution and laws, but in derogation of both" (March, 1834). The same day Daniel Webster remarked, "Let all who mean to die as they live, citizens of a free country, stand together for the supremacy of the laws." Against the sentence of the senate, passed upon him without a hearing, the president issued a protest, as a "substitute for that defence which," said he, "I have not been allowed to present in the ordinary form" (April). So one extreme led to another, until, near three years later, it was made a party measure to expunge from the records of the senate the resolution of censure (January, 1837).

As for the bank itself, it "waged war," said the president afterwards, "upon the people, in order to compel them to submit to its demands." It certainly appeared to do so; but the course taken by it was quite as much a defensive as an offensive one. The loss of the deposits involved a contraction of loans. These contractions affected other banks, which were obliged to curtail their own operations, until credit sank, capitalists failed, and labourers ceased to be employed. The sufferers turned against both sides—a part against the bank, which was represented as a monstrous despotism; a part against the president, who was represented as an equally monstrous despot. We seem to read of a nation gone wild, in reading of these things as they are told by their contemporaries.

While individuals were suffering, the government was in a state of repletion. Not only was the public debt entirely paid off (1835), but a large balance

was left in the banks to which the public moneys had been transferred from the United States Bank. It was resolved by the administration to deposit, as the phrase went, all but a reserve of $5,000,000 with the states, to be used according to their different circumstances (1836). A sum of $28,000,000 was thus distributed, the states generally understanding that the share which each received was its own, not merely to be employed but to be retained (1837). Nothing was ever recalled by the government, great as its embarrassments soon became.

Into the old fissure between the North and the South a new wedge was driven during the present period. The action, hitherto confined to meetings and memorials, extended itself in publications, pamphlets, and newspapers, of which the movements were no longer occasional, but continuous and systematic (1832). This was abolitionism, so called from its demands that slavery should be abolished, and this immediately, without reference to the constitution or the institutions of the South, to the claims of the master or the fortunes of the slave. Whatever its motives, its course was professedly unscrupulous, sparing neither the interests against which it was directed nor those which it was intended to sustain. An immediate reaction arose in the North. Meetings were held, mobs were gathered against the places where the abolitionists met and the offices whence they issued their productions (1834). Then the tumult spread to the South. The mails thither were burdened with papers intended to excite a general insurrection, or at least a general alarm. As a natural consequence, the post-offices were broken into and the obnoxious publications destroyed (1835). That portion of the South which had begun of its own accord to move towards the abolition of slavery was at once arrested; while that other portion, always attached to slavery, began to talk of non-intercourse and of disunion. The matter was taken up by government, beginning with the president, who recommended a law to prohibit the use of the mail for the circulation of incendiary documents. So embittered did congress become as to refuse to receive memorials upon the subject of slavery, a subject often before provocative of angry passages, but never until now considered too delicate to be approached (1836). Abolitionism had resulted in conservatism, and that of a stamp as yet unknown to the most conservative.

Relations with the Indians were frequently disturbed. The process of removing them to the west of the Mississippi continued a cause of disorder and of strife. A war with the Sacs and Foxes, under Black Hawk, broke out on the northwest frontier, but was soon brought to an end by a vigorous campaign on the part of the United States troops and the militia, under Generals Scott and Atkinson (1832). Another war arose with the Seminoles, under their chief Osceola, in Florida. It was attended by serious losses from the beginning (1835). On the junction of the Creeks with the Seminoles, affairs grew still worse, the war extending into Georgia and Alabama (1836). The Creeks were subdued under the directions of General Jessup; but the Seminoles continued in arms amidst the thickets of Florida for many years.

Occasional disturbances occurred in foreign relations, especially respecting the indemnities still due on account of spoliations of American commerce. These were gradually arranged, Denmark (1830) and Naples (1834) meeting the claims of long standing against them; the more recent demands against Portugal and Spain being also satisfied, though not by immediate payments (1832, 1834).

The relations with France were more precarious. After twenty or thirty years' unavailing negotiation with the governments of Napoleon and his

Bourbon successors, a treaty was concluded with the government of Louis Philippe, acknowledging the American claims to the amount of about $5,000,000 (July, 1831). Three years afterwards the French chambers rejected the bill for the execution of the treaty (1834). Meantime the United States government had drawn a draft for the amount of the first instalment proposed to be paid by France, but only to have the draft protested. Thus doubly aggrieved, the administration proposed to congress the authorisation of reprisals upon French property, in case immediate provision for the fulfilment of the treaty should not be made by the French chambers (December, 1834). The mere proposal, though unsupported by any action of congress, was received as an affront in France, the French minister at Washington being recalled, and the American minister at Paris being tendered his passports. At this crisis Great Britain offered her mediation. It was accepted; but, without waiting for its exercise, the French government resolved to execute the treaty. The news came in May, 1836, that the $5,000,000 were paid.[d]

A treaty of reciprocity had been concluded with Russia and Belgium, and everywhere the American flag commanded the highest respect. Two new states (Arkansas and Michigan) had been added to the Union. The original thirteen had doubled, and great activity prevailed in every part of the republic. Satisfaction with the administration generally prevailed, and it was understood that Van Buren would continue the policy of his predecessor, if elected. He received a large majority; but the people, having failed to elect a vice-president, the senate chose Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, who had been a candidate with Van Buren, to fill that station.

Much excitement was produced and bitter feelings were engendered towards President Jackson by his last official act. A circular was issued from the treasury department on the 11th of July, 1836, requiring all collectors of the public revenue to receive nothing but gold and silver in payment. This was intended to check speculations in the public lands, but it also bore heavily upon every kind of business. The "specie circular" was denounced, and so loud was the clamour that towards the close of the session in 1837 both houses of congress adopted a partial repeal of it. Jackson refused to sign the bill, and by keeping it in his possession until after the adjournment of congress prevented it becoming a law. On the 4th of March, 1837, he retired from public life, to enjoy that repose which an exceedingly active career entitled him to. He was then seventy years of age.[e]

### JAMES PARTON'S PORTRAIT OF ANDREW JACKSON

People may hold what opinions they will respecting the merits or importance of this man, but no one can deny that his invincible popularity is worthy of consideration; for what we lovingly admire, that, in some degree, we are. It is chiefly as the representative man of the Fourth-of-July, or combative-rebellious period of American history, that he is interesting to the student of human nature. And no man will ever be able quite to comprehend Andrew Jackson who has not personally known a Scotch-Irishman. More than he was anything else, he was a North-of-Irelander. His father, his forefathers, his relatives in Carolina, had all walked the lowlier paths of life, and aspired to no other. This poor, gaunt, and sickly orphan places himself at once upon the direct road to the higher spheres. He lived in an atmosphere of danger and became habituated to self-reliance. Always escaping, he learned to confide implicitly in his star.

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THE FIRST RAILWAY TRAIN IN AMERICA

(From the painting by E. L. Henry, in the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington)

[1837 A.D.]

General Jackson's appointment-and-removal policy I consider an evil so great and so difficult to remedy, that if all his other public acts had been perfectly wise and right, this single feature of his administration would suffice to render it deplorable rather than admirable. I must avow explicitly the belief that, notwithstanding the good done by General Jackson during his presidency, his elevation to power was a mistake on the part of the people of the United States. The good which he effected has not continued, while the evil which he began remains.

Men of books contemplate with mere wonder the fact that during a period when Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Wirt, and Preston were on the public stage, Andrew Jackson should have been so much the idol of the American people that all those eminent men united could not prevail against him in a single instance. Autocrat as he was, Andrew Jackson loved the people, the common people, the sons and daughters of toil, as truly as they loved him, and he believed in them as they believed in him. He was in accord with his generation. He had a clear perception that the toiling millions are not a class in the community. He knew and felt that government should exist only for the benefit of the governed; that the strong are strong only that they may aid the weak; that the rich are rightfully rich only that they may so combine and direct the labours of the poor as to make labour more profitable to the labourer. He did not comprehend these truths as they are demonstrated by Jefferson and Spencer, but he had an intuitive and instinctive perception of them. And in his most autocratic moments he really thought that he was fighting the battle of the people and doing their will while baffling the purposes of their representatives. If he had been a man of knowledge as well as force, he would have taken the part of the people more effectually, and left to his successors an increased power of doing good, instead of better facilities for doing harm. He appears always to have meant well. But his ignorance of law, history, politics, science, of everything which he who governs a country ought to know, was extreme. He was imprisoned in his ignorance, and sometimes raged round his little, dim inclosure like a tiger in his den.

The calamity of the United States has been this: the educated class have not been able to accept the truths of the democratic creed. They have followed the narrow, conservative, respectable Hamilton—not the large, liberal, progressive Jefferson. But the people have instinctively held fast to the Jeffersonian sentiments. Hence, in this country, until very recently, the men of books have had little influence upon public affairs. To this most lamentable divorce between the people and those who ought to have been worthy to lead them, and who would have led them if they had been worthy, we are to attribute the elevation to the presidency of a man whose ignorance, whose good intentions, and whose passions combined to render him, of all conceivable human beings, the most unfit for the office. But those who concur in the opinion that the administration of Andrew Jackson did more harm than good to the country—the harm being permanent, the good evanescent—should never for a moment forget that it was the people of the United States who elected him to the presidency.[9]

## VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION; THE PANICS OF 1837

Martin Van Buren, the eighth president of the United States, seemed to stand, at the time of his inauguration—on the 4th of March, 1837—at the opening of a new era. All of his predecessors in the high office of chief magis-

trate of the republic had been descended of Britons, and were engaged in the old struggle for independence. Van Buren was of Dutch descent, and was born after the great conflict had ended and the birth of the nation had occurred. But at the moment when Mr. Van Buren entered the presidential mansion as its occupant the business of the country was on the verge of a terrible convulsion and utter prostration. The distressing effects of the removal of the public funds from the United States Bank, in 1833 and 1834, and the operations of the "specie circular," had disappeared, in a measure, but as the remedies for the evil were superficial, the cure was only apparent. The chief remedy had been the free loaning of the public money to individuals by the state deposit banks; but a commercial disease was thus produced, more disastrous than the panic of 1833–1834. A sudden expansion of the paper currency was the result. The state banks which accepted these deposits supposed they would remain undisturbed until the government should need them for its use. Considering them as so much capital, they loaned their own funds freely. But in January, 1836, congress, as we have seen, had authorised the secretary of the treasury to distribute all the public funds, except $5,000,000, among the several states, according to their representation. The funds were accordingly taken from the deposit banks, after the 1st of January, 1837, and these banks being obliged to curtail their loans, a serious pecuniary embarrassment was produced.

The immediate consequences of such multiplied facilities for obtaining bank loans were an immensely increased importation of foreign goods, inordinate stimulation of all industrial pursuits and internal improvements, and the operation of a spirit of speculation, especially in real estate, which assumed the features of a mania, in 1836. A hundred cities were founded and a thousand villages were "laid out" on broad sheets of paper, and made the basis of vast money transactions. Borrowed capital was thus diverted from its sober, legitimate uses to the fostering of schemes as unstable as water, and as unreal in their fancied results as dreams of fairy-land. Overtrading and speculation, which had relied for support upon continued bank loans, were suddenly checked by the necessary bank contractions, on account of the removal of the government funds from their custody; and during March and April, 1837, there were mercantile failures in the city of New York alone to the amount of more than $100,000,000.[1] Fifteen months before [December, 1835], property to the amount of more than $20,000,000 had been destroyed by fire in the city of New York, when 529 buildings were consumed. The effects of these failures and losses were felt to the remotest borders of the Union, and credit and confidence were destroyed.

Early in May, 1837, a deputation from the merchants and bankers of New York waited upon the president, and solicited him to defer the collection of duties on imported goods, rescind the "specie circular," and to call an extraordinary session of congress to adopt relief measures. The president declined to act on their petitions. When his determination was known, all the banks in New York suspended specie payments (May 10th, 1837), and their example was speedily followed throughout the country. On the 16th of May the legislature of New York passed an act authorising the suspension of specie payments for one year. The measure embarrassed the general government, and it was unable to obtain gold and silver to discharge its own obligations. The public good now demanded legislative relief, and an extraordinary session of congress was convened by the president on the

[1] In two days houses in New Orleans stopped payment, owing an aggregate of $27,000,000; and in Boston 168 failures took place in six months.

4th of September. During a session of forty-three days it did little for the general relief, except the passage of a bill authorising the issue of treasury notes, not to exceed in amount $10,000,000.[1]

### REPUDIATION IN MISSISSIPPI

While the national finances were slowly recovering themselves, the state finances, with some exceptions, appeared to be on the brink of ruin. The states had run a race of extravagance and hazard unparalleled in American history. In the two years preceding the commercial crisis the issue of state stocks—that is, the amount of money borrowed by the states—was nearly $100,000,000. The inevitable consequences followed. While such as had anything to support their credit were deeply bowed, those that had nothing —those that had borrowed not so much to develop their resources as to supply the want of resources—fell, collapsed and shattered. Some states—Maryland (January, 1842) and Pennsylvania (August, 1842)—paid the interest on their debts only by certificates, and by those only partially. Others—Indiana (July, 1841), Arkansas (July, 1841), and Illinois (January, 1842)—made no payment at all. Two—Michigan (January, 1842) and Louisiana (December, 1842)—ceased not merely to pay but in part to acknowledge their dues, alleging that the frauds or failures of their agents, from which they had unquestionably suffered, released them from at least a portion of their obligations.

But in this, as in every other respect, in extent as well as in priority of insolvency, Mississippi took the lead. As early as January, 1841, Governor McNutt suggested to the legislature the "repudiating the sale of five millions of the bonds of the year 1838, on account of fraud and illegality." Even if the sale was a fraudulent one, which many in as well as out of Mississippi denied, the penalty attached not to the bondholders, who had paid their money in good faith that it would be returned to them, but to the bank commissioners by whom the bonds were sold, or to the bank itself, by which the commissioners had been appointed. At all events, Mississippi deliberately repudiated her debts (1842). Her example was imitated at the same time by the neighbouring territory of Florida.

Eight states and a territory were thus sunk into bankruptcy, some of them into what was worse than bankruptcy. It was not, of course, without dishonour or without injury to the Union of which they were members. When a national loan was attempted to be effected abroad, not a bidder could be found for it, or for any part of it, in all Europe (1842). This was but a trifle, however, amid the storm of reproach that swelled against the United States. "I do not wonder," wrote the Boston clergyman William Ellery Channing, "that Europe raises a cry of indignation against this country; I wish it could come to us in thunder." Nor did it seem undeserved by the nation, as a whole, when Florida, still repudiating its debt as a territory, was admitted as a state (1845). Against this sign of insensibility on the part of the nation there were happily to be set some proofs of returning honour on the part of the states, Pennsylvania taking the lead in wiping away her debts and her stains (1845).

[1] In his message to congress at this session the president proposed the establishment of an independent treasury for the safe-keeping of the public funds and their entire and total separation from banking institutions. This scheme met with vehement opposition. The bill passed the senate, but was lost in the house. It was debated at subsequent sessions, and finally became a law on the 4th of July, 1840. This is known as the Sub-Treasury Scheme.

### TEXAS SECEDES FROM MEXICO

One of the later communications of President Jackson to congress had been upon the subject of Texas and its independence. He was decided in recommending caution, for reasons which will presently appear (December, 1836). But, congress declaring its recognition of the new state, Jackson assented in the last moments of his administration. A quarter of a century before, parties from the United States began to cross over to join in the Mexican struggle against Spain (1813). It was then uncertain whether Texas formed a part of Mexico or of Louisiana, the boundary being undetermined until the time of the treaty concerning Florida (1819–1821). At that time Texas was distinctly abandoned to Spain, from whose possession it immediately passed to that of her revolted province of Mexico. Soon after, on Mexican invitation, a number of colonists from the United States, under the lead of Stephen F. Austin, of Missouri, undertook to settle the still unoccupied territory (1821). It was no expedition to plunder or to destroy, but what it professed to be—to colonise. Notwithstanding the difficulties of the enterprise itself, as well as those created by the continual changes in the Mexican government, it prospered to such a degree that several thousand settlers were gathered in during the ten years ensuing.

Strong in their numbers, stronger still in their energies, the Texans aspired to a more definite organisation than they possessed. Without any purpose, at least professed, of revolution, they formed a constitution, and sent Austin to ask the admission of Texas, as a separate state, into the Mexican republic (1833). This was denied, and Austin thrown into prison. But no outbreak followed for more than two years. Then the Mexican government, resolving to reduce the Texans to entire submission, despatched a force to arrest the officers under the state constitution, and to disarm the people. The Texan Lexington was Gonzales, where the first resistance was made (September 28th, 1835). The Texan Philadelphia was a place called Washington, where a convention declared the independence of the state (March 2nd, 1836) and adopted a constitution (March 17th). The Texan Saratoga and Yorktown, two in one, was on the shores of the San Jacinto, where General Houston, commander-in-chief of the insurgents, gained a decisive victory over the Mexican president, Santa Anna (April 21st). Six months afterwards Houston was chosen president of the republic of Texas. In his inaugural speech he expressed the desire of the people to join the United States. Nothing could be more natural. With few exceptions, they were emigrants from the land to which they wished to be reunited. The cession of the Louisiana claims to Texas in the Florida treaty had been vehemently opposed by many who would therefore be earnest to recover the territory then surrendered. Again and again was the effort made by the United States to get back from Mexico what had been ceded to Spain (1825–1835). But the very fact that slavery existed in Texas was a strong reason with another considerable party in the North to oppose its admission to the Union. In their eyes, the Texans seemed a wild and lawless set, unfit to share in the established institutions of the United States. To these objections must be added one, very generally entertained, on account of the claim of Mexico to the Texan territory. Notwithstanding various complications, the independence of Texas was recognised by the United States, as has been mentioned, leaving the project of annexation to the future. When Texas, soon after the opening of Van Buren's administration, presented herself for admission to the Union, her offers were declined, and then withdrawn (1837).

### TROUBLES WITH CANADA

The attention of the country was turned in another direction. An insurrection in Canada was immediately supported by American parties, one of whom, in company with some Canadian refugees, after pillaging the New York arsenals, seized upon Navy Island, a British possession in the Niagara river. The steamer *Caroline*, engaged in bringing over men, arms, and stores to the island, was destroyed, though at the time on the American shore, by a British detachment (December, 1837). The deed was instantly avowed by the minister of Great Britain at Washington as an act of self-defence on the British side. Three years afterwards (November, 1840) one Alexander McLeod, sheriff of Niagara, in Canada, and as such a participator in the destruction of the *Caroline*, was arrested in New York on the charge of murder, an American having lost his life when the steamer was destroyed. The British government demanded his release, in doing which they were sustained by the United States administration, on the ground that McLeod was but an agent or soldier of Great Britain. But the authorities of New York held fast to their prisoner, and brought him to trial. Had harm come to him, his government stood pledged to declare war; but he was acquitted for want of proof (1841). Congress subsequently passed an act requiring that similar cases should be tried only before United States courts. The release of McLeod did not settle the affair of the *Caroline;* this still remained. There were, or there had been, other difficulties upon the Maine frontier, where the boundary line had never yet been run. Collisions took place, and others, between the Maine militia and the British troops, had been but just prevented.[d]

### HARRISON'S AND TYLER'S ADMINISTRATION

A national whig convention had been held at Harrisburg, in Pennsylvania, on the fourth of December (1839), when General William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, the popular leader in the northwest, in the War of 1812, was nominated for president, and John Tyler, of Virginia, for vice-president. Never before was the country so excited by an election, and never before was a presidential contest characterised by such demoralising proceedings.[1] The government, under Mr. Van Buren, being held responsible by the opposition for the business depression which yet brooded over the country, public speakers arrayed vast masses of the people against the president, and Harrison and Tyler were elected by overwhelming majorities. And now, at the close of the first fifty years of the republic, the population had increased from three and a half millions, of all colours, to seventeen millions. A magazine writer of the day, in the *Democratic Review*, in comparing several administrations, remarked that "the great events of Mr. Van Buren's administration, by which it will hereafter be known and designated, are the divorce of bank and state in the fiscal affairs of the federal government, and the return, after half a century of deviation, to the original design of the constitution."

[1] Because General Harrison lived in the West and his residence was associated with pioneer life, a log-cabin became the symbol of his party. These cabins were erected all over the country, in which meetings were held; and, as the hospitality of the old hero was symbolised by a barrel of cider, made free to all visitors or strangers, who "never found the latch-string of his log-cabin drawn in," that beverage was dealt out unsparingly to all who attended the meetings in the cabins. These meetings were scenes of carousal, deeply injurious to all who participated in them, and especially to the young. Thousands of drunkards in after years dated their departure from sobriety to the "hard-cider" campaign of 1840.

Harrison was then an old man, having passed almost a month beyond the age of sixty-eight years. Precisely one month after he uttered his oath of office the new president died, on the 4th day of April, 1841.

In accordance with the provisions of the constitution the vice-president became the official successor of the deceased president, and on the 6th of April the oath of office was administered to John Tyler. He retained the cabinet appointed by President Harrison until September following, when all but the secretary of state resigned.

The extraordinary session of congress called by President Harrison commenced its session on the appointed day (May 31st, 1841) and continued until the 13th of September following. The Sub-Treasury Act was repealed and a general Bankrupt Law was enacted. This humane law accomplished a material benefit. Thousands of honest and enterprising men had been crushed by the recent business revulsion, and were so laden with debt as to be hopelessly chained to a narrow sphere of action. The law relieved them; and while it bore heavily upon the creditor class, for a while, its operations were beneficent and useful. When dishonest men began to make it a pretence for cheating, it was repealed. But the chief object sought to be obtained during this session, namely, the chartering of a bank of the United States, was not achieved. Two separate bills for that purpose were vetoed by the president, who, like Jackson, thought he perceived great evils to be apprehended from the workings of such an institution. The course of the president was vehemently censured by the party in power, and the last veto led to the dissolution of his cabinet. Mr. Webster patriotically remained at his post, for great public interests would have suffered by his withdrawal at that time.

The year 1842 was distinguished by the return of the United States exploring expedition under Lieutenant Wilkes, the settlement of the northeastern boundary question by the Ashburton Treaty, essential modifications of the tariff, and domestic difficulties in Rhode Island.[c]

The Treaty of Washington, [or Ashburton Treaty] ratified by the senate (August 20th), embraced almost every subject of dissension with Great Britain. It settled the northeastern boundary; it put down the claim to a right of visit, and in such a way as to lead to the denial of the claim by European powers who had previously admitted it. Such were the advantages gained by the United States on both these points, the leading ones of the treaty, that it was styled in England the Ashburton Capitulation. The treaty also provided for the mutual surrender of fugitives from justice; an object of great importance, considering the recent experiences on the Canada frontier. For the affair of the *Caroline*, an apology, or what amounted to one, was made by the British minister. Even the old quarrel about impressment was put to rest, not by the treaty, but by a letter from Webster to Ashburton, repeating the rule originally laid down by Jefferson that "the vessel being American shall be evidence that the seamen on board are such," adding, as the present and future principle of the American government, that "in every regularly documented American merchant vessel, the crew who navigate it will find their protection in the flag which is over them." In short, every difficulty with Great Britain was settled by the treaty, or by the accompanying negotiations, except one, the boundary of Oregon, on which no serious difference had as yet appeared.[d]

Difficulties in Rhode Island originated in a movement to adopt a state constitution of government, and to abandon the old charter given by Charles II, in 1663, under which the people had been ruled for one hundred and eighty years. Disputes arose concerning the proper method to be pursued in making

the change, and these assumed a serious aspect. Two parties were formed, known, respectively, as the "suffrage" or radical party, the other as the "law-and-order" or conservative party. Each formed a constitution, elected a governor and legislature, and finally armed (May and June, 1843) in defence of their respective claims. The "suffrage" party elected Thomas W. Dorr governor, and the "law-and-order" party chose Samuel W. King for chief magistrate. Dorr was finally arrested, tried for and convicted of treason, and sentenced to imprisonment for life. The excitement having passed away, in a measure, he was released in June, 1845, but was deprived of all the civil rights of a citizen. These disabilities were removed in the autumn of 1853. The state was on the verge of civil war, and the aid of federal troops had to be invoked to restore quiet and order. A free constitution, adopted by the "law-and-order" party in November, 1842, to go into operation on the first Tuesday in May, 1843, was sustained, and became the law of the land.[e]

## THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS

Other states were organising themselves more peaceably. Arkansas, the first state admitted since Missouri (June 15th, 1836), was followed by Michigan (January 26th, 1837). Wisconsin, organised as a single territory (1836), was presently divided as Wisconsin and Iowa (1838). Then Iowa was admitted a state (March 3rd, 1845); again in 1846, but not actually entering until 1848. Florida also in 1845 became a member of the Union.

All the while Texas remained the object of desire and of debate. The administration continued its negotiations, now with Mexico, deprecating the continuance of hostilities with Texas, and then again with Texas itself, proposing new motives of alliance and new means of annexation with the United States. President Tyler was strongly in favour of consummating the annexation. But the North was growing more and more adverse to the plan.

The annexation of Texas was regarded as necessary to the interests of slavery, both in that country and in the United States. Not only was an immense market for slaves closed, but an immense refuge for slaves was opened, in case Texas should cease to be slaveholding. "Annexation," wrote John C. Calhoun, then secretary of state, "was forced on the government of the United States in self-defence" (April, 1844). Such, then, was the motive of the secretaries and the president, all southern men, and devotedly supported by the south, in striving for an addition to the slaveholding states in the shape of Texas. The more they strove on this ground, the more they were opposed in the free states. It was the Missouri battle over again. It was more than that: in that, said the North, we contended against the admission of one of our own territories, but in this contest we are fighting against the admission of a foreign state.

Like all the other great differences of the nation, this difference concerning Texas was susceptible of compromise. Both senate and house united in joint resolutions (March 1st, 1845). Texas assented to the terms of the resolutions (July 4th), and was soon after formally enrolled amongst the United States of America (December 29th). The democratic party, espousing the project of annexation before it was fulfilled, carried the election of James K. Polk as president and George M. Dallas as vice-president. They found the annexation of Texas accomplished. But the consequences were yet to be seen and borne.

## WAR WITH MEXICO

Mexico had all along declared the annexation of Texas by the United States would be an act of hostility. As soon as congress resolved upon it, the Mexican minister at Washington demanded his passports (March 6th, 1845), and the Mexican government suspended intercourse with the envoy of the United States (April 2nd). The cause was the occupation of a state which they still claimed as a province of their own, notwithstanding it had been independent now for nine years, and as such recognised by several of the European powers in addition to the United States. With the United States, the preservation of Texas was not the only cause of war. Indeed, for the time, it was no cause at all, according to the administration. If there was any disposition to take up arms, it came from what the president styled "the system of insult and spoliation" under which Americans had long been suffering; merchants losing their property, and sailors their liberty, by seizures on Mexican waters and in Mexican ports. In spite of a treaty, now fourteen years old (1831), the wrongs complained of had continued.

In annexing Texas, the United States government understood the territory to extend as far as the Rio Grande. For considering this the boundary there were two reasons: one, that the Texans had proclaimed it such; and the other, that it was apparently implied to be such in the treaty ceding the country west of the Sabine to Spain, a quarter of a century before. Accordingly, American troops were moved to Corpus Christi (August, 1845), and, six months afterwards (March, 1846), to the Rio Grande, with orders "to repel any invasion of the Texan territory which might be attempted by the Mexican forces." On the other side, Mexico protested altogether against the line of the Rio Grande. The river Nueces, according to Mexican authority, was the boundary of Texas. Even supposing Texas surrendered by the Mexicans, which it was not, they still retained the territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande—a territory containing but few settlements, and those not Texan, but purely Mexican. In support of this position, the Mexican general Arista was ordered to cross the Rio Grande and defend the country against the invader (April, 1846).

During these movements a mission was sent from the United States to Mexico (November, 1845). The minister went authorised to propose and to carry out an adjustment of all the difficulties between the two countries. But he was refused a hearing—the Mexican government, fresh from one of its revolutions, insisting that the question of Texas must be disposed of, and on Mexican terms, before entering upon any general negotiations. The bearer of the olive branch was obliged to return (March, 1846). As the American troops, some three thousand strong, under General Taylor, approached the Rio Grande, the inhabitants retired, at one place, Point Isabel, burning their dwellings. This certainly did not look much like being on American or on Texan ground. But Taylor, obedient to his orders, kept on, until he took post by the Rio Grande, opposite the Mexican town of Matamoros (March 28th, 1846). There, about a month later (April 24th), he was thus addressed by the Mexican general Arista: "Pressed and forced into war, we enter into a struggle which we cannot avoid without being unfaithful to what is most sacred to men." A Mexican force was simultaneously sent across the stream, to what the Americans considered their territory. A squadron of dragoons, sent by Taylor to reconnoitre the Mexicans, fell in with a much superior force, and, after a skirmish, surrendered. The next

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day but one, Taylor, as previously authorised by his government, called upon the states of Texas and Louisiana for five thousand volunteers. As soon as the news reached Washington, the president informed congress that "war exists, and exists by the act of Mexico herself" (May 11th). Congress took the same ground, and gave the president authority to call fifty thousand volunteers into the field (May 13th). It was ten days later, but of course before any tidings of these proceedings could have been received, that Mexico made a formal declaration of war (May 23rd). The question as to which nation began hostilities must forever depend upon the question of the Texan boundary. If this was the river Nueces, the United States began war the summer before. If, on the contrary, it was the Rio Grande, the Mexicans, as President Polk asserted, were the aggressors. But there is no possible way of deciding which river it was that formed the actual boundary. The assertion of Mexico that it was the Nueces is as reasonable as the declaration of Texas, supported by the United States, that it was the Rio Grande.

The forces between which hostilities commenced were both small, the United States army being the smaller of the two.. But this disparity was as nothing compared with that between the nations. The United States went to war with Mexico very much as they would have gone to war with one or more of their own number. Mexico, broken by revolutions, had neither government nor army to defend her; there were officials, there were soldiers, but there was no strength, no efficiency in either. Doubtless Mexico trusted to the divisions of her enemy, to the opposition which parties in the United States would make to the war. But the parties of the United States were one, in contrast with the parties of Mexico.

On another point the Mexicans could build up better founded hopes. At the very time that hostilities opened between the United States and Mexico there was serious danger of a rupture between the United States and Great Britain. It sprang from conflicting claims to the distant territory of Oregon. Those of the United States were based, first, upon American voyages to the Pacific coast, chiefly upon one made by Captain Gray, in the *Columbia*, from which the great river of the northwest took its name (1792); secondly, upon the acquisition of Louisiana with all the Spanish rights to the western shores (1803); and thirdly, upon an expedition under Captain Lewis and Lieutenant Clark, of the United States army, by whom the Missouri was traced towards its source, and the Columbia descended to the Pacific Ocean (1803–1806). Against these the British government asserted various claims of discovery and occupancy. Twice the two nations agreed to a joint possession of the country in dispute (1818, 1827); twice the United States proposed a dividing line, once under Monroe, and again under Tyler. The rejection of the latter proposal had led to a sort of war-cry,[1] during the presidential election then pending (1844), that Oregon must be held. President Polk renewed the offer, but on less favourable terms, and it was rejected (1845). Agreeably to his recommendation, a twelve-months' notice, preliminary to the termination of the existing arrangements concerning the occupation of Oregon, was formally given by the United States government (1846). Meanwhile emigration to Oregon had been proceeding on so large a scale during the few years previous that there were some thousands of Americans settled upon the territory. It was a grave juncture, therefore, that had arrived. But it was happily terminated on proposals, now emanating from Great Britain, by which the line of forty-nine degrees was constituted the boundary; the

[1 "Fifty-four forty or fight," referring to the boundary claimed at 54° 40′.]

right of navigating the Columbia being secured to the British (June 15th, 1846). Thus vanished the prospect of a war with Great Britain, in addition to the war with Mexico. But its existence, if only for a time, explains a part at least of the confidence with which the Mexicans entered into the strife. It does away, on the other hand, with the apparent want of magnanimity in the Americans to measure themselves with antagonists so much their inferiors.

The Mexican general Arista commenced the bombardment of the American position, afterwards called Fort Brown from its gallant defender, Major Brown (May 3rd). General Taylor was then with the bulk of his troops at Point Isabel. Having made sure of that post, he marched back to the relief of Fort Brown, and on the way engaged with the enemy at Palo Alto (May 8th) and at Resaca de la Palma (May 9th). With a force so much inferior that the most serious apprehensions had been excited for its safety, the Americans came off victors in both actions. Such was the effect upon the Mexicans that they at once recrossed the Rio Grande, and even retreated to some distance on their side of the river. Taylor followed, carrying the war into the enemy's country, and occupying Matamoros (May 18th). A long pause ensued, to wait for reinforcements, and indeed for plans, the war being wholly unprepared for on the American side. But the news of the first victories aroused the whole nation. Even the opponents of the war yielded their principles so far as to give their sympathies to the brave men who had carried their arms farther from the limits of the United States than had ever before been done by an American army. Volunteers gathered from all quarters in numbers for which it was positively difficult to provide.

At length, with considerably augmented forces, Taylor set out again, supported by Generals Worth and Wool among many other eminent officers. Monterey, a very important place in this part of Mexico, was taken after a three days' resistance under General Ampudia (September 21st–23rd). An armistice of several weeks followed. Subsequently Taylor marched southward as far as Victoria; but on the recall of a portion of his troops to take part in other operations, he fell back into a defensive position in the north (January, 1847). There, at Buena Vista, he was attacked by a comparatively large army under Santa Anna, then generalissimo of Mexico, who, deeming himself secure of his prey, sent a summons of surrender, which Taylor instantly declined. The dispositions for the battle had been made in great part by General Wool, to whom, with many of the other officers, the victory achieved by the Americans deserves to be ascribed, as well as to the resolute commander. It was a bloody engagement, continuing for two successive days (February 22nd, 23rd). Taylor was never more truly the hero than when he wrote to Henry Clay, whose son had fallen in the fight, that, in remembering the dead, "I can say with truth that I feel no exultation in our success." Santa Anna, meanwhile, was in full retreat, leaving the Americans in secure possession of all the northeastern country. Six months later Taylor sent a large number of his remaining men to act elsewhere (August); then, leaving General Wool in command, he returned to the United States (November).

Soon after the fall of Monterey a force under General Wool was detached to penetrate into the northern province of Chihuahua. It did not go by any means so far. But at about the same time an expedition from the north, headed by Colonel Doniphan, marched down upon the province, taking possession first of El Paso (December 27th), and then, after a battle with the Mexicans, under Heredia, at the pass of Sacramento (February 28th, 1847),

of Chihuahua, the capital (March 1st). Doniphan presently evacuated his conquest (April). Early in the following year Chihuahua became the object of a third expedition, under General Price, who, coming from the same direction as Doniphan, again occupied the town (March 7th, 1848), defeating the Mexicans at the neighbouring Santa Cruz de las Rosales (March 16th). The whole story of the Chihuahua expeditions is that of border forays rather than of regular campaigns.

### THE CONQUEST OF NEW MEXICO AND CALIFORNIA

Both Doniphan and Price made their descents from New Mexico, which had been taken possession of by the Americans under General Kearny in the first months of the war (August, 1846). So scanty and so prostrate was the population as to offer no resistance, not even to the occupation of the capital, Santa Fé (August 18th). But some months after, when Kearny had proceeded to California, and Doniphan, after treating with the Navajo Indians, had gone against Chihuahua, an insurrection, partly of Mexicans and partly of Indians, broke out at a village fifty miles from Santa Fé. The American governor, Charles Bent, and many others, both Mexicans and Americans, were murdered; battles also were fought, before the insurgents were reduced, by Price (January, 1847).

Ere the tidings of the war reached the Pacific coast, a band of Americans, partly trappers and partly settlers, declared their independence of Mexico at Sonoma, a town of small importance not far from San Francisco (July 4th, 1846). The leader of the party was John C. Frémont, a captain in the United States engineers, who had recently received instructions from his government to secure a hold upon California. A few days after their declaration Frémont and his followers joined the American commodore Sloat, who, aware of the war, had taken Monterey (July 7th), and entered the bay of San Francisco (July 9th). Sloat was soon succeeded by Commodore Stockton; and he, in conjunction with Frémont, took possession of Ciudad de los Angeles, the capital of Upper California (August 13th). All this was done without opposition from the scattered Mexicans of the province, or from their feeble authorities. But some weeks later a few braver spirits collected, and, driving the Americans from the capital, succeeded likewise in recovering the greater part of California (September, October). On the approach of General Kearny from New Mexico, a month or two afterwards, he was met in battle at San Pasqual (December 6th), and so hemmed in by the enemy as to be in great danger, until relieved by a force despatched to his assistance by Commodore Stockton. The commodore and the general, joining forces, retook Ciudad de los Angeles, after two actions with its defenders (January 10th, 1847). A day or two later Frémont succeeded in bringing the main body of Mexicans in arms to a capitulation at Cowenga (January 13th).

California was again, and more decidedly than before, an American possession. Its conquerors, having no more Mexicans to contend with, turned against one another, and quarrelled for the precedence as vigorously as they had struggled for victory. Lower California was afterwards assailed, but under different commanders. La Paz and San José, both inconsiderable places, were occupied in the course of the year. On the opposite shore, Guaymas was taken by a naval force under Captain Lavalette (October), and Mazatlan by the fleet under Commodore Shubrick (November). From time to time the Mexicans rallied against the invaders, but without success.

It was all a series of skirmishes, fought in the midst of lonely mountains and on far-stretching shores, rather than of ordinary battles, that had reduced California beneath the American power.

### THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO

And now to return to the eastern side. From the first, a blockade of the ports in the gulf of Mexico was but poorly maintained. Then the American fleet embarked upon various operations. Twice was Alvarado, a port to the south of Vera Cruz, attacked by Commodore Conner, and twice it was gallantly defended (August 7th, October 15th, 1846). Then Commodore Perry went against Tabasco, a little distance up a river on the southern coast; but, though he took some prizes and some hamlets, he did not gain the town (October 23rd–26th). The only really successful operation was the occupation of Tampico, which the Mexicans abandoned on the approach of their enemies (November 15th).

Early in the following spring the fleet and the army combined in an attack upon Vera Cruz. Anticipations of success, however high amongst the troops and their officers, were not very generally entertained even by their own countrymen, Vera Cruz, or its castle of San Juan de Ulúa, having been represented over and over again, in Europe and in America, as impregnable. Nevertheless, a bombardment of a few days obliged the garrison, under General Morales, to give up the town and the castle together (March 23rd–26th, 1847). Once masters there, the Americans beheld the road to the city of Mexico lying open before them; but here again their way was supposed to be beset by insurmountable difficulties. They pressed on, nine or ten thousand strong, General Scott at their head, supported by Generals Worth, Pillow, Quitman, and Twiggs, with many officers of tried and of untried reputation. However skilful the leaders, or however valiant the men, it was a daring enterprise to advance upon the capital. In other directions, along the northern boundary, the war had been carried into remote and comparatively unpeopled portions of the country. Here the march lay through a region provided with defenders and with defences, where men would fight for their homes, and where their homes, being close at hand, would give them aid as well as inspiration. The march upon Mexico was by all means the great performance of the war.

Its difficulties soon appeared. At Cerro Gordo, sixty miles from Vera Cruz, Santa Anna posted thirteen thousand of his Mexicans in a mountain pass, to whose natural strength he had added by fortification. It took two days to force a passage, the Americans losing about five hundred, but inflicting a far greater loss on their brave opponents (April 18th–19th). Here, however, they paused; a part of the force was soon to be discharged, and Scott decided that he would make his dismissals and wait for the empty places to be filled. He accordingly advanced slowly to Puebla, while the Mexicans kept in the background, or appeared only as guerillas (May 28th). The guerilla warfare had been prognosticated as the one insuperable obstacle to the progress of the American army; it proved harassing, but by no means fatal. During the delay ensuing on land, the fleet in the gulf, under Commodore Perry, took Tuspan and Tabasco, both being but slightly defended (April 18th–June 15th). At length, reinforcements having reached the army, making it not quite eleven thousand strong, it resumed its march, and entered the valley of Mexico (August 10th).

There the Mexicans stood, Santa Anna still at their head, thirty-five

thousand in their ranks, regular troops and volunteers, old and young, rich and poor, men of the professions and men of the trades—all joined in the defence of their country, now threatened at its very heart. They wanted much, however, that was essential to success. Hope was faint, and even courage sank beneath the errors and the intrigues of the commanding officers, to whom, speaking generally, it was vain to look for example or for guidance. Behind the army was the government, endeavouring to unite itself, yet still rent and enfeebled to the last degree. Even the clergy, chafed by the seizure of church property to meet the exigencies of the state, were divided, if not incensed. It was a broken nation, and yet all the more worthy of respect for the last earnest resistance which it was making to the foe. Never had armies a more magnificent country to assail or to defend than that into which the Americans had penetrated. They fought in defiles or upon plains, vistas of lakes and fields before them, mountain heights above them, the majesty of nature everywhere mingling with the contention of man.

Fourteen miles from the city, battles began at Contreras, where a Mexican division under General Valencia was totally routed (August 19th–20th). The next engagement followed immediately at Churubusco, or Cherebusco, six miles from the capital, Santa Anna himself being there completely defeated (August 20th). An armistice suspended further movements for a fortnight, when an American division under Worth made a successful assault on a range of buildings called Molino del Rey, close to the city. This action, though the most sanguinary of the entire war—both Mexicans and Americans surpassing all their previous deeds—was without results (September 8th). A few days later the fourth and final engagement in the valley took place at Chapultepec, a fortress just above Molino del Rey. Within the lines was the Mexican Military College, and bravely did the students defend it, mere boys outvying veterans in feats of valour. In vain, nevertheless; the college and the fortress yielded together (September 12th–13th). The next day Scott, with sixty-five hundred men, the whole of his army remaining in the field, entered the city of Mexico (September 14th).

Santa Anna retired in the direction of Puebla, which he vainly attempted to take from Colonel Childs. The object of the Mexican general was to cut off the communication between Scott and the seaboard; but he did not succeed. A few last actions of an inferior character, a few skirmishes with bands of partisans, and the war was over in that part of the country. The American generals betook themselves to quarrels and arrests; Scott being some months afterwards superseded by General Butler (February, 1848).

Now that their exploits have been described, the United States armies are to be understood for what they were. It was no regular force, prepared by years of discipline to meet the foe, that followed Taylor, Scott, and the other leaders to the field. The few regiments of United States troops were lost, in respect to numbers, though not to deeds, amid the thousands of volunteers that came swarming from every part of the Union. To bring these irregular troops into any effective condition was more difficult than to meet the Mexicans. On the other hand, there was an animation about them, a personal feeling of emulation and of patriotism, which made the volunteers a far more valuable force than might have been supposed.[1] After all, however, it was to the officers, to the pupils of West Point, to the intelligent and, in many cases, devoted men, who left their occupations at home to

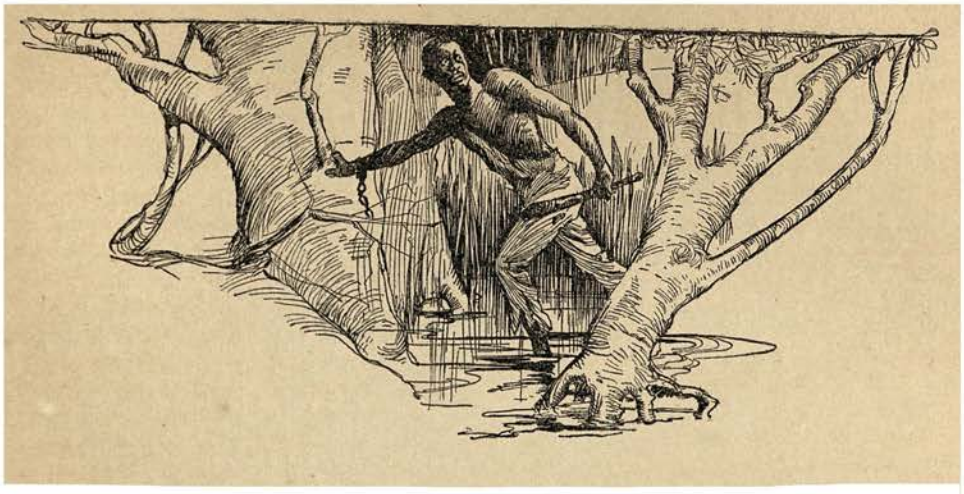
[1 The skill and daring of the officers and the discipline, endurance, and courage of the men during the war with Mexico were as noticeable as the absence of these qualities during the War of 1812.—J. R. SOLEY.h]

sustain what they deemed the honour of their country abroad, that the successes of the various campaigns are chiefly to be ascribed. The effect of the war was to give the nation a much more military character than it had hitherto sustained, even in its own eyes.

The war had not continued three months when the United States made an overture of peace (July, 1846). It was referred by the Mexican administration to the national congress, and there it rested. In announcing to the American congress the proposal which he had made, President Polk suggested the appropriation of a certain sum as an indemnity for any Mexican territory that might be retained at the conclusion of the war. In the debate which followed, an administration representative from Pennsylvania, David Wilmot, moved a proviso to the proposed appropriation: "That there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any territory on the continent of America which shall hereafter be acquired by or annexed to the United States by virtue of this appropriation, or in any other manner whatsoever." The proviso was hastily adopted in the house, but it was too late to receive any action in the senate before the close of the session (August). In the following session the proviso again passed the house, but was abandoned by that body on being rejected by the senate.

The Mexicans were reluctant to yield any territory, even that beyond the Rio Grande which had been claimed as a part of Texas. It went especially against their inclinations to open it to slavery, the instructions of the commissioners being quite positive on the point that any treaty to be signed by them must prohibit slavery in the ceded country. "No president of the United States," replied Commissioner Trist, "would dare to present any such treaty to the senate."

The result of battles rather than of negotiations was a treaty signed at Guadalupe-Hidalgo, a suburb of the capital. By this instrument Mexico ceded the whole of Texas, New Mexico, and Upper California, while the United States agreed to surrender their other conquests, and to pay for those retained the sum of $15,000,000, besides assuming the old claims of their own citizens against Mexico to the amount of more than $3,000,000 (February 2nd, 1848). The treaty contained other provisions, some of which were modified at Washington, and altered accordingly at Queretaro, where the Mexican congress was called to ratify the peace. Ratifications were finally exchanged at Queretaro (May 30th), and peace proclaimed at Washington (July 4th). The Mexican territory—that is, the portion which remained—was rapidly evacuated. Thus ended a conflict of which the motives, the events, and the results have been very variously estimated. But this much may be historically said—that on the side of the United States the war had not merely a party but rather a sectional character. What sectional causes there were to bring about hostilities we have seen in relation to the annexation of Texas. What sectional issues there were to proceed from the treaty we have yet to see.[d]



# CHAPTER X

## CIVIL DISCORD

[1848–1865 A.D.]

> The Civil War, described by Mommsen as "the mightiest struggle and most glorious victory as yet recorded in human annals," is one of those gigantic events whose causes, action, and sequences will be of perennial concern to him who seeks the wisdom underlying the march of history. — RHODES.[e]

THE presidential campaign of 1848 was significant because of the very evident desire on the part of both parties to evade committing themselves upon the vital questions of the day. The democratic national convention met first at Baltimore, May 22nd, 1848. Lewis Cass of Michigan led from the start in the balloting, his two principal competitors being James Buchanan of Pennsylvania and Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire. President Polk received no support whatever. Cass, who was preferred by Southern delegates on account of his opposition to the Wilmot Proviso, was named on the fourth ballot, and General William O. Butler of Kentucky received the nomination for vice-president. A resolution declaring that non-intervention with slavery in either states or territories was "true republican doctrine" was overwhelmingly rejected, and was taken as an expression of the general desire of the party to evade the slavery question. The platform adopted was simply a reiteration of the principles declared for in 1840 and 1844.

The whig convention met at Philadelphia on June 7th. Their choice of a presidential candidate was significant of their desire to follow the example of their democratic competitors. Both Clay and Webster were passed over and General Zachary Taylor of Louisiana, a slave-holder, whose political beliefs were practically unknown, was selected. The second place on the ticket was given to Millard Fillmore, a former New York congressman with a fair record.

In June the faction of New York democrats known as Barnburners met with dissatisfied representatives from several other states and named ex-President Martin Van Buren for the presidency. The Barnburners,

mostly followers of Silas Wright, and including such able young leaders as John A. Dix, Preston King, and Samuel J. Tilden, were opposed to the extension of slavery to the territories. Their opponents within their own party in New York, known as Hunkers, were led by William L. Marcy. The Barnburners nomination of Van Buren was ratified in August by a convention held at Buffalo. There was born the Free-soil party, whose platform declared for "free soil for a free people," and against the extension of slavery to the territories. With them now united the remnants of the Liberty party of 1844.

The democratic defection in New York state determined the result of the election. Outside of New York the Free-soil movement drew from Taylor: in New York from Cass. As a result Taylor carried New York and was elected; that state's thirty-six votes in the electoral college, where the vote stood 163 to 127, being exactly his plurality over Cass. Van Buren received in the nation 291,263 votes, sufficient to prevent either Cass or Taylor from obtaining a majority of the popular vote.

ZACHARY TAYLOR
(1784–1850)
Twelfth President of United States

### SLAVERY AND THE TERRITORIES

Every day it was becoming more and more certain that some solution of the problem of slavery must be reached if the Union was not to be endangered. The campaign just closed had shown the serious disintegration of parties over the question. As the Free-soil spirit of the North rose, so did the pro-slavery aggressiveness of the South. The sectional lines of the contest were becoming daily more marked.

Calhoun had introduced in the senate in 1847 a set of resolutions declaring that congress had no constitutional power to exclude slavery from the territories. This ground the Southern members were now disposed to insist upon. "As yet," says Woodrow Wilson, "the real purposes of parties had not reached their radical stage. As yet the abolitionists with their bitter contempt for the compromises of the constitution, their ruthless programme of abolition whether with or without constitutional warrant, and their readiness for separation from the Southern States should abolition prove impossible, had won but scant sympathy from the masses of the people, or from any wise leaders of opinion. The Free-soilers were as widely separated from them as possible both in spirit and in opinion. They had no relish for revo-

lution, no tolerance for revolutionary doctrine. The issue was not yet the existence of slavery within the states, but the admission of slavery into the territories. The object of the extreme Southern men was to gain territory for slavery; the object of the men now drawing together into new parties in the North was to exclude slavery altogether from the new national domain in the West."

The discovery of gold in California in January, 1848, tended to bring the question to a position where a decision could not be evaded. The unprecedented rush of immigration to the gold-fields gave a population of eighty thousand to the region by 1850. Before congress had decided under what conditions California should be organised as a territory she was already seeking to be admitted as a state. The emigrants were from all sections of the country, but Northern men and foreigners were largely in the majority.

President Taylor's policy favoured letting the new communities form their own constitutions, and decide for themselves what attitude they should take regarding slavery. In accordance with this policy he sent a confidential agent to California to urge the settlers to organise and apply at once for admission as a state. This plan was followed, and in the fall of 1849 a constitution prohibiting slavery was adopted. When congress met in December, 1849, President Taylor resolutely urged upon them the acceptance of his policy, confident that it was a safe solution of the perplexing problem. But congress, controlled by party leaders who lacked Taylor's clean-cut way of looking at the matter, hesitated.[a]

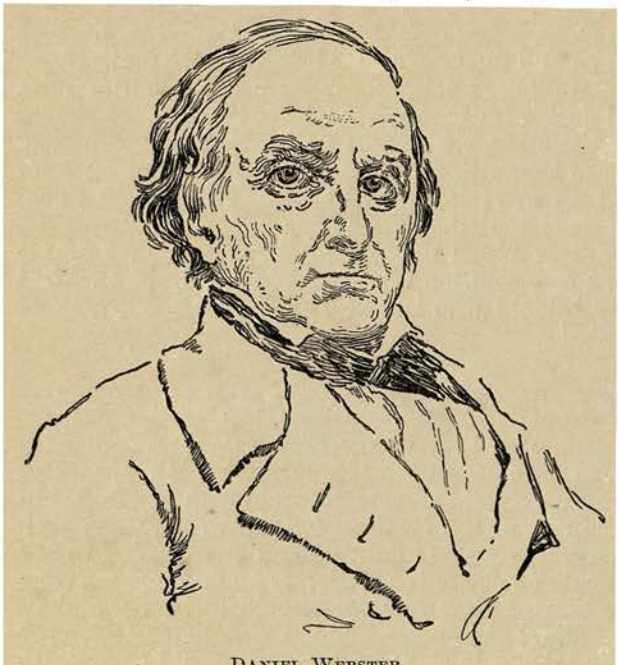
## CLAY'S COMPROMISE PROPOSALS[1]

It was under these circumstances that Henry Clay came forward, with the dignity of age upon him, to urge measures of compromise. He proposed, January 29th, 1850, that congress should admit California with her free constitution; should organise the rest of the Mexican cession without any provision at all concerning slavery, leaving its establishment or exclusion to the course of events and the ultimate choice of the settlers; should purchase from Texas her claim upon a portion of New Mexico; should abolish the slave trade in the District of Columbia, but promise, for the rest, non-interference elsewhere with slavery or the interstate slave trade; and should concede to the South an effective fugitive slave law. The programme was too various to hold together. There were majorities, perhaps, for each of its proposals separately, but there was no possibility of making up a single majority for all of them taken in a body. After an ineffectual debate, which ran through two months, direct action upon Mr. Clay's resolutions was avoided by their reference to a select committee of thirteen, of which Mr. Clay was made chairman. On May 8th this committee reported a series of measures, which it proposed should be grouped in three distinct bills. The first of these — afterwards dubbed the Omnibus Bill, because of the number of things it was made to carry — proposed the admission of California as a state, and the organisation of Utah and New Mexico as territories, without any restriction as to slavery, the adjustment of the Texas boundary line, and the payment to Texas of $10,000,000 by way of indemnity for her claims on a portion of New Mexico. The second measure was a stringent Fugitive Slave Law. The third prohibited the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

[1] Reprinted from Woodrow Wilson's *Division and Reunion* (Epochs of American History), by permission of Longmans, Green, & Company. Copyright, 1893, by Longmans, Green, & Company.]

### THE COMPROMISE DEBATED

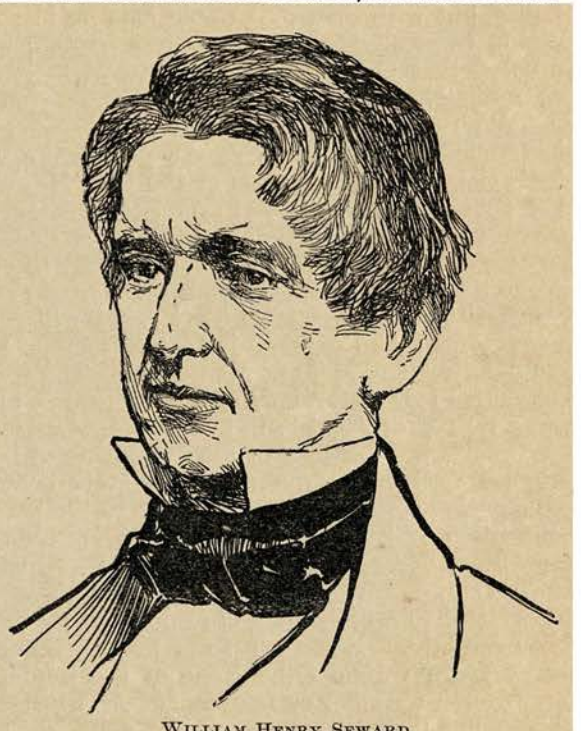
This group of bills of course experienced the same difficulties of passage that had threatened Mr Clay's group of resolutions. The Omnibus Bill, when taken up, was so stripped by amendment in the senate that it was reduced, before its passage, to a few provisions for the organisation of the territory of Utah, with or without slavery, as events should determine; and Clay withdrew, disheartened, to the sea-shore to regain his strength and spirits. Both what was said in debate and what was done out of doors seemed for a time to make agreement hopeless. Clay, although he abated nothing of his conviction that the federal government must be obeyed in its supremacy, although bolder and more courageous than ever, indeed, in his avowal of a determination to stand by the Union and the constitution in any event, nevertheless put away his old-time imperiousness, and pleaded as he had never pleaded before for mutual accommodation and agreement. Even Webster, slackened a little in his constitutional convictions by profound anxiety for the life of the constitution itself, urged compromise and concession.[b] His position was clearly stated in his great "Seventh of March Speech," which proved a turning point in the action of congress, in popular sentiment, and in the history of the country. "The speech produced a wonderful sensation," says Rhodes[c], "none other in our annals produced an immediate effect so mighty and striking." Yet a careful examination of the speech scarcely discloses a reason for the harsh reception it received at the North. From 1846 to 1848 the prohibition of slavery in the territory to be acquired, or already acquired, from Mexico, seemed to the North of the most vital importance, for the latitude of the country gave reason to believe that its products would be those of the slave states, and that it would naturally gravitate toward them politically. By 1850, however, the situation had completely changed. California, receiving an extraordinary increase in its population through the discovery of gold, had organised a state government and adopted a constitution which prohibited slavery. New Mexico, then comprising parts of the later New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Utah, and Nevada, was by that time found to differ greatly from the Southern States as to climate and products, and to be economically much more closely connected with the North. Indeed, no longer than two months after Webster's speech



DANIEL WEBSTER
(1782–1852)

was delivered, a state government was formed by the people of the territory which declared for the absolute prohibition of slavery. "It certainly is no lack of consistency in a public man," says Rhodes,[c] "to change his action in accordance with the change in circumstances. To insist upon a rigid principle when it is no more applicable or necessary is not good politics; yet great blame has been attached to Webster because he did not (in this speech) insist on the Wilmot Proviso." [a]

Calhoun, equally anxious to preserve the constitution, but convinced of the uselessness to the South of even the constitution itself, should the institutions of southern society be seriously jeopardized by the action of congress in the matter of the territories, put forth the programme of the Southern party with all that cold explicitness of which he was so consummate a master. The maintenance of the Union, he solemnly declared, depended upon the permanent preservation of a perfect equilibrium between the slave holding and the free states: that equilibrium could be maintained only by some policy which would render possible the creation of as many new slave states as free states; concessions of territory had already been made by the South, in the establishment of the Missouri compromise line, which rendered it extremely doubtful whether that equilibrium could be preserved; the equilibrium must be restored, or the Union must go to pieces; and the action of congress in the admission of California must determine which alternative was to be chosen. He privately advised that the fighting be forced now to a conclusive issue; because, he said, "we are stronger now than we shall be hereafter, politically and morally."



WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD
(1801–1872)

## SEWARD AND CHASE: TAYLOR'S ATTITUDE [1]

Still more significant, if possible — for they spoke the aggressive purposes of a new party — were the speeches of Senator Seward of New York and Senator Chase of Ohio, spokesmen respectively of the Free-soil whigs and Free-soil democrats. Seward demanded the prompt admission of California, repudiated all compromise, and, denying the possibility of any equilibrium between the sections, declared the common domain of the country to be

[1] Reprinted by permission of Longmans, Green, & Company. Copyright, 1893, by Longmans, Green, & Company.]

devoted to justice and liberty by the constitution not only, but also by "a higher law than the constitution." While deprecating violence or any illegal action, he avowed his conviction that slavery must give way "to the salutary instructions of economy and to the ripening influences of humanity"; that "all measures which fortify slavery or extend it tend to the consummation of violence — all that check its extension and abate its strength tend to its peaceful extirpation." Chase spoke with equal boldness to the same effect.

Seward was the president's confidential adviser. General Taylor had surrounded himself in his cabinet, not with the recognised masters of whig policy, but with men who would counsel instead of dictating to him. Several of these advisers were Seward's friends; and the president, like Seward, insisted that California be admitted without condition or counterbalancing compromise.

The Texan authorities, when they learned of the action of New Mexico in framing a constitution at the president's suggestion, prepared to assert their claims upon a portion of the New Mexican territory by military force; the governor of Mississippi promised assistance; and Southern members of congress who called upon the president expressed the fear that Southern officers in the federal army would decline to obey the orders, which he had promptly issued, to meet Texan force with the force of the general government. "Then," exclaimed Taylor, "I will command the army in person, and any man who is taken in treason against the Union I will hang as I did the deserters and spies at Monterey." The spirited old man had a soldier's instinctive regard for law, and unhesitating impulse to execute it. There was a ring as of Jackson in this utterance.[b]

Despite the hostility of the extremists of both sections the idea of compromise eventually triumphed. A state convention in Mississippi in the previous year had issued an address to the people of the South proposing a convention of Southern delegates at Nashville in June. As the date set drew near, however, there was seen to be little interest in it, outside Mississippi and South Carolina. The fears of the union men throughout the nation were raised to a high pitch of excitement by the thought of what the assembly might do. But their fears proved unjustified. Delegates from nine states met on June 3rd. None of the border states were represented nor were North Carolina or Louisiana. And instead of adopting a fiery address threatening disunion, it expressed a confident hope for some sort of a compromise. It proved to be, as Rhodes[c] says, "not a wave, but only a ripple of Southern sentiment."

### DEATH OF TAYLOR. COMPROMISE EFFECTED

One very potent factor still remained in opposition to the measures of Clay's committee. And this was President Taylor himself. Neither the persuasion nor warnings of Clay could move him. All the influence of the administration was exerted against the compromise. But before there was any necessity or opportunity for an open rupture the president was removed by death. He had imprudently exposed himself to the sun on the 4th of July, illness developing into typhoid fever followed, and on the 9th he died. Throughout the North and in the border states the sorrow and regret at his death were felt by all irrespective of party. Never a partisan in any sense of the word, he had accepted the whig nomination with the declaration that "he would not be the president of a party, but the president of the whole people." He had tried courageously to live up to this ideal, and although

[1850 A.D.]

he could not, any more than Clay or Webster, have stayed the hand of destiny, still had he lived to finish his work his measure of success might have been greater than theirs.

For the second time in its history the whig party had to face the situation presented by the accession of a vice-president who was not in accord with the late administration's policy. For Millard Fillmore, a whig of the Webster school, like the Massachusetts statesman, was an advocate of compromise. He had told President Taylor privately that in case it devolved upon him to give the casting vote on the Clay measures in the senate he should vote for them. The country at large did not know officially what his stand would be, but it was felt instinctively that there would be a reversal of policy. Clay saw new hope for the success of his schemes in the change in the executive. Seward, who knew his old rival in New York politics, lamented that "Providence had at last led the man of hesitation and double opinions to the crisis where decision and singleness are indispensable."

President Fillmore did not thwart his party as Tyler had done, but the immediate reconstruction of his cabinet with Webster as secretary of state left room for no doubt as to what his policy on compromise was to be. In rapid succession the committee's compromise measures were now pushed through senate and house, and at once received the approval of the president. The compromise of 1850 was at last complete.[a]

The result was to leave the Missouri compromise line untouched — for the line still ran all of its original length across the Louisiana purchase of 1803—but to open the region of the Mexican cession of 1848 to slavery, should the course of events not prevent its introduction. The slave trade was abolished in the District of Columbia, but the North was exasperated by the Fugitive Slave Law, which devoted the whole executive power of the general government within the free states to the recapture of fugitive slaves. This part of the compromise made it certain that antagonisms would be hotly excited, not soothingly allayed. Habits of accommodation and the mercantile spirit, which dreaded any disturbance of the great prosperity which had already followed on the heels of the discovery of gold in California, had induced compromise; but other forces were to render it ineffectual against the coming crisis.[b]

### THE CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY

It was while the compromise measures were before congress, while the nation was absorbed in watching the outcome of the great domestic drama, that a treaty of great importance was signed (April 19th, 1850) at Washington by Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, the British minister, and the secretary of state, John M. Clayton. The discovery of gold in California had been followed by an unprecedented rush of population to the Pacific Coast. One of the most frequented routes of travel lay across the Central American isthmus, and already both British and American companies were seeking from Nicaragua permission to dig a canal from ocean to ocean through her territory. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, as it was called, established a joint Anglo-American protectorate over any ship-canal that might be constructed across the isthmus, either by way of Nicaragua, Panama, or Tehuantepec. The treaty is regarded by so competent a critic as Rhodes[c] as favouring an unrestricted commercial intercourse, and therefore as being in line with American traditional policy. He admits, however, that it gave rise to many disputed questions, since England and the United States very naturally viewed the matter from

different standpoints. Even at home it was severely criticised in the senate. It is not strange, therefore, that it should soon after have become the subject of controversy with England.[a]

### NORTH AND SOUTH IN 1850

The abolitionists had never ceased to din the iniquity of slavery into the ears of the American people. Calhoun, Webster, and Clay, with nearly all the other political leaders of 1850, had united in deploring the wickedness of these fanatics, who were persistently stirring up a question which was steadily widening the distance between the sections. They mistook the symptom for the disease. Slavery itself had put the South out of harmony with its surroundings, and still more out of harmony with the inevitable lines of the country's development. Even in 1850, though they hardly yet knew it, the two sections had drifted so far apart that they were practically two different countries.

The case of the South was one of arrested development. The South remained very much as in 1790; while other parts of the country had developed, it had stood still. The remnants of colonial feeling, of class influence, which advancing democracy had wiped out elsewhere, retained all their force here, aggravated by the effects of an essentially aristocratic system of employment. The ruling class had to maintain a military control over the labouring class and a class influence over the poorer whites. It had even secured in the constitution provision for its political power in the representation given to three-fifths of the slaves. The twenty additional members of the house of representatives were not simply a gain to the South; they were still more a gain to the "black districts," where whites were few, and the slave-holder controlled the district. Slave-owners and slave-holders together, there were but 350,000 of them; but they had common interests, the intelligence to see them and the courage to contend for them. The first step of a rising man was to buy slaves; and this was enough to enroll him in the dominant class. From it were drawn the representatives and senators in congress, the governors, and all the holders of offices over which the "slave power," as it came to be called, had control. Not only was the South inert; its ruling class, its ablest and best men, were united in defence of tendencies which were alien and hostile to those of the rest of the country.

Immigration into the United States was not an important factor in its development until about 1847. In 1847 it rose to 235,000, in 1849 to 300,000, and in 1850 to 428,000; all told, more than two and a quarter million persons from abroad settled in the United States between 1847 and 1854. The wealth-increasing influence of such a stream of immigration may be calculated. Its political effects were even greater and were all in the same direction. Leaving out the dregs of the immigration, which settled down in the seaboard cities, its best part was a powerful nationalising force. It had not come to any particular state, but to the United States; it had none of the traditional prejudices in favour of a state, but a strong feeling for the whole country; and the new feelings which it brought in must have had their weight not only on the gross mass of the people, but on the views of former leaders. And all the influences of this enormous immigration were confined to the North and West, whose divergence from the South thus received a new impetus. The immigration avoided slave soil as if by instinct. And, as the sections began to differ further in aims and policy, the North began to gain heavily in ability to ensure its success.

POLITICAL TENDENCIES TOWARD DISUNION

Texas was the last slave state ever admitted; and, as it refused to be divided, the South had no further increase of numbers in the senate. Until 1850 the admission of a free state had been so promptly balanced by the admission of a slave state that the senators of the two sections had remained about equal in number; in 1860 the free states had thirty-six senators and the slave states only thirty. As the representation in the house had changed from thirty-five free-state and thirty slave-state members in 1790 to one hundred and forty-seven free-state and ninety slave-state in 1860, and as the electors are the sum of the numbers of senators and representatives, it is evident that political power had passed away from the South in 1850. If at any time the free states should unite they could control the house of representatives and the senate, elect the president and vice-president, dictate the appointment of judges and other federal officers, and make the laws what they pleased. If pressed to it, they could even control the interpretation of the laws by the supreme court. No federal judge could be removed except by impeachment, but an act of congress could at any time increase the number of judges to any extent, and the appointment of the additional judges could reverse the opinion of the court. All the interests of the South depended on the one question whether the free states would unite or not.

In circumstances so critical a cautious quiescence and avoidance of public attention was the only safe course for the "slave power," but that course had become impossible. The numbers interested had become too large to be subject to complete discipline; all could not be held in cautious reserve; and, when an advanced proposal came from any quarter of the slave-holding lines, the whole army was shortly forced up to the advanced position. Every movement of the mass was necessarily aggressive; and aggression meant final collision. If collision came, it must be on some question of the rights of the states; and on such a question the whole South would move as one man. Everything thus tended to disunion.

The Protestant churches of the United States had reflected in their organisation the spirit of the political institutions under which they lived. Acting as purely voluntary associations, they had been organised into governments by delegates, much like the "conventions" which had been evolved in the political parties. The omnipresent slavery question intruded into these bodies and split them. The Baptist church was thus divided into a Northern and a Southern branch in 1845, and the equally powerful Methodist church met the same fate the following year. Two of the four great Protestant bodies were thus no longer national; it was only by careful management that the integrity of the Presbyterian church was maintained until 1861.

The political parties showed the same tendency. Each began to shrivel up in one section or the other. The notion of "squatter sovereignty," attractive at first to the Western democracy, and not repudiated by the South, enabled the democratic party to pass the crisis of 1850 without losing much of its Northern vote, while Southern whigs began to drift in, making the party continually more pro-slavery. This could not continue long without beginning to decrease its Northern vote, but this effect did not become plainly visible until after 1852. The efforts of the whig party to ignore the great question alienated its anti-slavery members in the North while they did not satisfy its Southern members. The whig losses were not at first heavy, but they were enough to defeat the party almost everywhere in the presidential election of 1852.[e]

### WEBSTER'S DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE

Webster's tenure of the office of secretary of state was marked by two diplomatic episodes of something more than ordinary interest. The first, which occurred in the fall of 1850, culminated in his famous Hülsemann letter, one of the most striking of all his state papers. During the previous year President Taylor had despatched a special agent to Europe to watch and report upon the progress of events in Hungary, where the revolution under Louis Kossuth was then in progress. This action had angered the Austrian government and a diplomatic correspondence ensued. Hülsemann, the Austrian *chargé d'affaires,* sent a haughty, dictatorial letter to Webster, who jumped at the opportunity it gave him, and replied in a letter which terminated the controversy. In this reply which, as Rhodes[c] aptly says, was little more than "a stump-speech in disguise," Webster asserted the right of the United States, compared with which "all the possessions of the house of Hapsburg were but as a patch on the earth's surface," to "watch" revolutions wherever they occurred, declared the sympathy of America for any people "struggling for a constitution like our own," and assured the Austrian representative that the nation had no thought now of departing from its traditional policy of keeping out of European embroilments. The letter was received with enthusiasm by all parties, and possibly accomplished for the moment the purpose for which Webster said he had written it — namely, "to touch the national pride, and make a man feel sheepish and look silly who should speak of disunion."

The other diplomatic question with which Webster was engaged was of a very different sort. It grew directly out of the Lopez expedition to Cuba in the summer of 1851. Lopez led an army of Americans and adventurers into the island but was taken and garroted. The capture and execution of some of his American followers led to a riot in New Orleans in which the house of the Spanish consul was sacked and the Spanish flag torn in tatters. Spain at once protested, but Webster conducted the affair to a happy conclusion, with a promise of a military salute for the Spanish flag, and a cash indemnity, subsequently voted by congress.

### UNCLE TOM'S CABIN

During the summer of 1852 appeared a subtle but powerful influence which was to play a more important part in arousing and creating anti-slavery sentiment in the North than any amount of abolition pamphlets or political tirades. This was Harriet Beecher Stowe's moving and pathetic novel of slavery, *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* Unquestionably overdrawn, in that it related as of ordinary occurrence incidents that were probably exceptional, its powerful and vivid portrayal of the horrors and wrongs of slavery stirred the sympathetic hearts of the North to their profoundest depths. Perhaps never has a work of fiction exerted such a wide and lasting influence. Within the year over three hundred thousand copies were sold. Strangely enough its popularity was not confined to the North alone; its sales in the South indicated that even in the land of slavery it was widely read. The book was at once dramatised and produced on the stage with unprecedented success.

The slave-holders were not long, however, in awaking to the realisation that it was an increasingly dangerous menace to their cherished institution, and scores of publications of varying merit were rushed through the press in

the attempt to discredit or deny the truth of Mrs. Stowe's story. That the essential features of her picture were correct has now been generally accepted. It is the ground held by Rhodes,[c] one of the fairest and most impartial of American historians, who says: "If we bear in mind that the novelist, from the very nature of the art, deals in characteristics and not with average persons, the conclusion is resistless that Mrs. Stowe realised her ideal." Channing[d] pithily suggests the book's tremendous influence with the remark that "the Northern boys who read Uncle Tom's Cabin in 1852–1858 were the voters of 1860 and the soldiers of 1861–1865."[a]

### THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW[1]

For a short time after the passage of the compromise measures the country was tranquil. But the quiet was not a healthful quiet: it was simply the lethargy of reaction. There was on all hands an anxious determination to be satisfied — to keep still, and not arouse again the terrible forces of disruption which had so startled the country in the recent legislative struggle; but nobody was really satisfied. That the leaders who had made themselves responsible for the compromise were still profoundly uneasy was soon made abundantly evident to everyone. Mr. Webster went about anxiously reproving agitation. These measures of accommodation between the two sections, he insisted, were a new compact, a new stay and support for the constitution; and no one who loved the constitution and the union ought to dare to touch them. Mr. Clay took similar ground. Good resolutions were everywhere devoted to keeping down agitation. Party magnates sought to allay excitement by declaring that there was none.

But the Fugitive Slave Law steadily defeated these purposes of peace. The same section of the constitution which commanded the rendering up by the states to each other of fugitives from justice had provided also that persons "held to service or labour in one state under the laws thereof, escaping into another," should be delivered up on the claim of the party to whom such service might be due; and so early as 1793 congress had passed a law intended to secure the execution of this section with regard to both classes of fugitives. Apparently it had been meant to lay the duty of returning both fugitives from justice and fugitives from service upon the state authorities; but while considerations of mutual advantage had made it easy to secure the interstate rendition of criminals, there had been a growing slackness in the matter of rendering up fugitive slaves. The supreme court of the United States, moreover, had somewhat complicated the matter by deciding, in the case of Prigg *versus* Pennsylvania (1842), that the federal government could not impose upon state officials the duty of executing a law of the United States, as it had sought to do in the legislation of 1793. Local magistrates, therefore, might decline to issue warrants for the arrest or removal of fugitive slaves. In view of the increasing unwillingness of the free states to take any part in the process, the Southern members of congress insisted that the federal government should itself make more effective provision for the execution of the constitution in this particular; and it was part of the compromise accommodation of 1850 that this demand should be complied with.

Doubtless it would have been impossible to frame any law which would have been palatable to the people of the free states. But the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 seemed to embrace as many irritating provisions as possible. In

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order to meet the views of the supreme court the whole duty of enforcing the act was put upon officers of the United States. Warrant for the arrest or removal of a fugitive slave was to proceed in every case from a judge or commissioner of the United States; this warrant was to be executed by a marshal of the United States, who could not decline to execute it under a penalty of $1,000, and who would be held responsible under his official bond for the full value of any slave who should escape from his custody; all good citizens were required to assist in the execution of the law when called upon to do so, and a heavy fine besides civil damages to the owner of the slave was to be added to six months' imprisonment for any assistance given the fugitive or any attempt to effect his rescue; the simple affidavit of the person who claimed the negro was to be sufficient evidence of ownership, sufficient basis for the certificate of the court or commissioner; and this certificate was to be conclusive as against the operation of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

### RESISTANCE AND MISUNDERSTANDING

The law, moreover, was energetically and immediately put into operation by slave owners. In some cases negroes who had long since escaped into the Northern states, and who had settled and married there, were seized upon the affidavit of their former owners, and by force of the federal government carried away into slavery again. Riots and rescues became frequent in connection with the execution of process under the law. One of the most notable cases occurred in Boston, where, in February, 1851, a negro named Shadrach was rescued from the United States marshal by a mob composed for the most part of negroes and enabled to escape into Canada.

It was impossible to quiet feeling and establish the compromise measures in the esteem of the people while such a law, a part of that compromise, was being pressed to execution in such a way. Neither section, moreover, understood or esteemed the purpose or spirit of the other. "Many of the slaveholding states," Clay warned his fellow whigs in the North, when they showed signs of restlessness under the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law, "and many public meetings of the people in them, have deliberately declared that their adherence to the Union depends upon the preservation of that law, and that its abandonment would be the signal of the dissolution of the Union." But most Northern men thought that the South had threatened chiefly for effect, and would not venture to carry out half her professed purpose, should she be defeated. Southern men, on their part, esteemed very slightingly the fighting spirit of the North. They regarded it disdainfully as a section given over to a self-seeking struggle for wealth, and they knew commercial wealth to be pusillanimous to a degree when it came to meeting threats of war and disastrous disturbances of trade.[b]

### THE CAMPAIGN OF 1852

Such were the conditions under which the presidential campaign of 1852 took place. The democratic convention met at Baltimore on June 1st. The principal candidates for the presidential nomination were General Lewis Cass of Michigan, Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, who had been Polk's secretary of state, and former gov-

[1852 A.D.]

ernor William L. Marcy of New York. The two-thirds rule, however, rendered the choice of any one of these candidates impossible, and on the fifth day Virginia pointed the way to a solution of the problem by giving her votes to Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, a man who had scarcely been mentioned before the convention. He gained steadily until the forty-eighth ballot, when a stampede gave him the nomination. Pierce was a handsome man in the prime of life, who had represented his state in both houses of congress and had served as a brigadier-general under General Scott in the Mexican War. But, as a recent historian well says, in none of these positions had he won distinction for anything so much as for a certain grace and candour of bearing. Nathaniel Hawthorne, a college mate and boyhood friend, has left a pleasant picture of Pierce in the campaign life which he loyally wrote in his support; but the novelist's epitome of the candidate's qualifications for the presidency gave little promise of any ability to cope with the problems he would be called upon to solve if elected. William R. King of Alabama was named for vice-president.

The whig convention which met two weeks later in the same place was divided in its support of President Fillmore, Webster, his secretary of state, and General Winfield Scott, whose sole claim to the nomination was his successful campaign in the Mexican War. After balloting for three days the Southern delegates, who had at first almost unanimously voted for Fillmore, threw their support to Scott, who was nominated by a majority vote on the fifty-third ballot. The nomination for vice-president went to William A. Graham of North Carolina.

The platforms put forward by the two parties were significant of the peculiar political situation, for in addition to their ordinary declarations of principles both added a strong assertion of their complete acceptance of the compromise measures of 1850, and their determination to take them as a final settlement of the question of slavery extension. The democratic platform went even further and declared for a faithful adherence to the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798 and 1799 as one of the main foundations of its political creed.

The Free-soil party, in its convention held at Pittsburg in August, boldly denounced the shrinking cowardice of the two great parties in refusing to consider the question of slavery extension a vital one, and announced their programme as "No more slave states, no more slave territories, no nationalised slavery, and no national legislation for the extradition of slaves." John P. Hale of New Hampshire was named as their candidate for the presidency and George W. Julian of Indiana for the vice-presidency.

The campaign was not a spirited one. After the first glow of enthusiasm it was characterised by apathy. Thousands of whigs, repelled by both their party's platform and candidates, but still not ready to unite with a third party, showed little interest in the election. The democrats, feeling themselves again united, were confident of victory. The Free-soil party did not muster its full strength. People felt that it was not so much a contest for principles as for spoils. Before election day the two great champions of compromise had passed away. Henry Clay died on June 29th, and Webster, broken-spirited over what he felt to be a final end of all his ambitions, on October 23rd. Democratic confidence proved not to be misplaced. Pierce, although his popular majority was small, carried every state except four, and received two hundred and fifty-four electoral votes to forty-two for Scott. At the same time the democratic majorities were increased in both houses of congress. The defeat was the death knell of the whig party. Its

vacillating, wavering policy; its failure to take up boldly the cause of liberty; its inability to cope with national problems when it had the opportunity, had lost it the confidence and faith of its supporters. Before another four years had passed it had been supplanted as one of the great national parties by a party not then born — the republican.

### THE FIRST YEAR OF THE PIERCE ADMINISTRATION

Franklin Pierce was inaugurated March 4th, 1853, the youngest man up to that time to assume the office of president. In his inaugural address he made a vigorous appeal for the Union; he assured the country of his unequivocal adherence to the principles of the compromise of 1850, and declared that its provisions should be "unhesitatingly carried into effect." As the only portion of the compromise that called for executive action was the Fugitive Slave Act it was well understood that although it was not mentioned by name this phrase applied to that law. His assertion that "the acquisition of certain possessions not within our jurisdiction" was "eminently important for our protection," and that his administration would not be controlled "by any timid forebodings of evil from expansion," was taken to point clearly to the possible annexation of Cuba, which the pro-slavery men favoured in order to offset the formation of new free states in the northwest.

The new president's cabinet and diplomatic appointments demonstrated even more certainly than his inaugural address what influences guided him. The state portfolio was first offered to John A. Dix of New York, but his association with the Free-soil movement in 1848 made him an object of distrust to the Southern democrats, and William L. Marcy finally received the appointment. The appointment as secretary of war of Jefferson Davis, the most extreme of the Southern state-rights leaders and one of the bitterest foes of the compromise, was received with a shock by Union men of all sections. Nor did the selection of the shifty Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts bring assurance to New England and the North. The diplomatic appointments pointed plainly toward the acquisition of Cuba. Buchanan was sent to England, where it was thought he might be able to overcome that country's known jealousy of American designs on the island. The assignment of the Madrid mission to Pierre Soulé of Louisiana, who had gone on record as a believer that Cuba might be and ought to be obtained by other means than purchase, was a source of annoyance to the Spanish court, and was commonly commented upon as a gratuitous insult to a friendly power.

A noteworthy diplomatic event of the first year of Pierce's administration was Secretary Marcy's vigorous assertion of the protecting power of American citizenship in foreign lands in relation to the case of Martin Koszta. Koszta was a Hungarian revolutionist of 1848, who had escaped to the United States, where he had taken out his first citizenship papers. Returning to Smyrna on a business trip, he was there kidnapped and carried on board an Austrian brig-of-war, whose captain placed him in irons. Captain Ingraham of the American sloop-of-war *Saint Louis*, demanded his release as an American citizen, and as a compromise he was delivered, pending a settlement, into the custody of the French consul-general. The Austrian government demanded reparation for what it termed an outrage. Secretary Marcy, with his eye on the democratic presidential nomination, set out to write a reply that would strike the public chord as Webster's famous Hülsemann letter had done. His judicious exposition of the American theory of citizenship, and his declaration of the right of the United States to afford

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protection to those who had become "clothed with the national character," as Koszta had, was received with great favour by Americans of both parties, and has been sustained and followed by his successors in the state department.

It was admitted before the year was far gone by the best friends of the administration that the president needed all the glory a vigorous foreign policy could bring him. For the promise of his inaugural had not been fulfilled. His complete lack of executive ability, his deficiency in initiative power, his fatal indecision of character, were daily proving his unfitness to cope with the great problems of the nation. "No one," says Rhodes,[c] "could deny that he had grown less by his elevation, like a little statue on a great pedestal." Still to the outward eye the democratic party seemed to be more solidly intrenched in power than almost any party since the foundation of the Union, the state elections of 1853 increased its hold on the nation, and there appeared to be no cloud on the horizon that could threaten its continued supremacy for a long period of time. But forces were already actively at work which were soon to bring it to a rude awakening.

### THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL (1854 A.D.)

Congress met on December 3rd, 1853. The message which President Pierce addressed to that body congratulated the country that anti-slavery agitation had ceased, and that both parties had agreed to uphold the compromises of 1820 and 1850 by which the status of slavery appeared to be definitely settled on every inch of American territory. A bill for the organisation of Nebraska Territory, which was to comprise what was then known as the "Platte country"—Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, and Montana, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming—had passed the house at the previous session and had been reported to the senate. This same bill, in which there was no reference whatever to slavery, was now (December, 1853) reintroduced in the senate and referred to the committee on territories, of which the chairman was Stephen A. Douglas. On January 4th, 1854, Senator Douglas reported the bill to the senate in a new form, which must be considered nothing more nor less than a personal bid for Southern democratic support in the coming presidential campaign. In its new form the bill expressly provided that any states subsequently made up out of the Nebraska territory should decide for themselves whether they should be slave or free states in entire disregard of the prohibition contained in the Missouri Compromise (1820). After recommitment the measure known to history as the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was reported. It provided for two territories instead of one, the southern lying between 37° and 40° to be known as Kansas, the northern section to be called Nebraska. The bill proposed further that in extending the federal laws to these territories an exception should be made of that section (the 8th) of the act by which Missouri was admitted, "which being inconsistent with the principles of non-intervention by congress with slavery in the states and territories, as recognised by the legislation of 1850, commonly called the compromise measures, is hereby declared inoperative and void." Thus was the Missouri Compromise, which the anti-slavery men had long considered an immovable bulwark in the path of the aggressions of the "slave power," to be summarily repealed. And in its place was to be adopted the principles of "squatter or popular sovereignty" first advanced by Cass during the discussion of the Oregon question in 1846–1847. A final clause provided for the extension of the Fugitive Slave Law to the new territories.[a]

### FUTILE OPPOSITION: EFFECTS OF THE ACTS

No bolder or more extraordinary measure had ever been proposed in congress; and it came upon the country like a thief in the night, without warning or expectation, when parties were trying to sleep off the excitement of former debates about the extension of slavery. Southern members had never dreamed of demanding a measure like this, expressly repealing the Missouri Compromise, and opening all the territories to slavery; and no one but Douglas would have dared to offer it to them — Douglas, with his strong, coarse-grained, unsensitive nature, his western audacity, his love of leading, and leading boldly, in the direction whither, as it seemed to him, there lay party strength. Mr. Pierce, it seems, had been consulted about the measure beforehand, and had given it his approbation, saying that he deemed it founded "upon a sound principle, which the compromise of 1820 infringed upon," and to which such a bill would enable the country to return.[b]

Seward, Chase, Sumner, and Wade bravely led a band of anti-slavery senators in opposition. But their efforts were of no avail. Northern democrats carried away with the idea that the new principle of "squatter sovereignty" could be made to weld the democrats of all sections together into an irresistible political force that would sweep the whig party from the arena of national politics, gave their united support to Douglas' bill. The opposition could muster hardly more than a dozen votes, and the measure passed the senate by thirty-four to fourteen. In the house it was carried through by a narrower margin, forty-four Northern democrats refusing to support it, but was eventually passed by a vote of 113 to 100. President Pierce signed the bill on May 30th and it became a law. "This," says Alexander Johnston,[c] "was the greatest political blunder in American history." For the Kansas-Nebraska Act took a vast region, the character of which for over a generation had been considered as finally fixed as far as slavery was concerned, "and threw it into the arena as a prize for which the sections were to struggle; and the struggle always tended to force as the only arbiter." Rhodes[c] calls it the most momentous measure that had ever passed congress, and his summary of its effects well bears out this judgment. He considers that it sealed the doom of the whig party, and led directly to the formation of a new party pledged to the principle of no extension of slavery. It had a share also in rousing Lincoln and giving definiteness to his political ambitions. To some extent, also, it gained over the Germans to the republican point of view, and unified the party spirit of New England. In the North-west it was instrumental in advancing the ideas of the new republican party.

### FOREIGN RELATIONS: THE OSTEND MANIFESTO

The foreign relations of the United States during the Pierce administration were marked by two events that had a more or less direct bearing on the domestic struggle for slavery extension. On June 30th, 1854, Mexico and the United States exchanged ratifications of a treaty by which the southwestern boundary was finally fixed, and the United States, upon payment of the sum of $10,000,000, gained the Mesilla valley, a district comprising about twenty million acres of land in the southern part of what is now Arizona and New Mexico. The district, known as the Gadsden Purchase, from James Gadsden, the American minister to Mexico who negotiated the settlement, was scarcely fit for cultivation. But at the North the acquisition was generally accepted as an indication of the steadily growing force

of the idea of territorial aggrandisement, particularly in the direction where the regions acquired would be likely to be slave rather than free territory.

The next incident showed the tendency even more clearly marked. Pierre Soulé, who had been sent as minister to Spain, had achieved considerable notoriety at Madrid by fighting a duel with the marquis de Turgot, the French ambassador, in which the latter was crippled for life. In communications with the Spanish government over the seizure by Cuban authorities of the American ship *Black Warrior* he had, by overstepping his instructions, come dangerously near to bringing about a break in diplomatic relations between Spain and the United States. However inadequately the American minister represented the American nation, he certainly was a fit representative of the growing desire of the South to add new slave territory to the United States. In the spring and summer of 1854, however, new developments hurried the two countries to the verge of hostilities. These were the indiscreet filibustering schemes of the radical pro-slavery leaders of whom Governor Quitman of Mississippi was chief, which aimed at wresting Cuba from Spanish rule, and its annexation as a slave state or states. The strong feeling aroused at the north by the Kansas-Nebraska Act probably alone prevented the leaders of the Southern propaganda from forcing the president and congress into war. But the counsels of Secretary Marcy and other Northern democrats prevailed in the end, and the president issued a proclamation (June 1st) warning the filibusterers that infractions of the neutrality laws would be punished. The arrest of Quitman who was placed under bonds to keep the peace, actually followed and gave assurance that the administration was in earnest.

A palace revolution in Spain, the chief result of which was a change in ministry, held out hopes to the friends of Cuban annexation in the United States, and pressure was brought to bear on the president with the result that Buchanan, Mason, and Soulé, the American ministers to England, France, and Spain respectively, were directed to meet and discuss the Cuban question. They came together at Ostend, Belgium, and there, October 18th, 1854, they drew up the report known as the Ostend Manifesto.

The joint decision of the diplomats was that an earnest effort should at once be made for the purchase of Cuba, for which they thought the sum of $120,000,000 would be a liberal payment. The purchase, they declared, would not only be advantageous to the United States; but, in their belief, the Union would "never enjoy repose nor possess public security as long as Cuba is not embraced within its boundaries." Therefore, they argued, if Spain should refuse to sell the island, the United States, proceeding on the "great law" that "self preservation is the first law of nature with states as well as with individuals," would be fully justified in wresting it by force of arms from Spanish control.

The real purport of the manifesto was perhaps not absolutely clear at the moment. Rhodes[c] declares that the anti-Nebraska men regarded it as the recommendation of an offer to Spain of $120,000,000 to give up the agitation for emancipation of slaves in Cuba. They also thought it implied the overt intention to add two or three slave states to the Union; virtually giving notice that if peaceful purchase would not effect the extension of slavery, other and more violent measures must be resorted to. The policy set forth in the manifesto was indeed promptly disavowed by Secretary Marcy and his sharp reply was followed by the immediate resignation of Soulé. But the action of the democratic party in subsequently nominating for president

the first signer of the document caused it to be labelled in the public mind as one of the cardinal sins of the Pierce administration.

### THE STRUGGLE IN KANSAS

"The Kansas-Nebraska Act," remarks Woodrow Wilson, "sowed the wind; the whirlwind was not long in coming." The storm broke first in the very region the act had opened to slavery. Seldom had there been a case in the history of the nation where the charge of broken faith and violated guarantees could be with so much justice brought forward. In a few short months the political situation was entirely changed, and the anti-slavery men of the north were drawn nearer together than they ever had been before. Greeley declared that Pierce and Douglas had made more abolitionists in three months than Garrison and Wendell Phillips could have made in half a century. And it was a characteristic of this newly created anti-slavery power that it cast aside the timidity that had hitherto paralysed the northern politicians of both great parties; and eagerly sought an opportunity to measure strength with its southern adversaries. The ambiguity of the act gave the opportunity and the trial of strength took place on the plains of Kansas with very little delay.

The ambiguity of the law lay in the fact that no provision was made as to when or how the "squatter sovereigns" of the new territories should make their choice as to whether they would accept or prohibit slavery. But North and South saw at once that under the circumstances the first on the field would have a decided advantage, and both sections prepared to occupy the disputed land. The slave-holders were earliest on hand, for they had only to cross the Missouri, and in bands of a hundred or more they poured across the border, armed and equipped as though for a military expedition. Hard on their heels came crowds of settlers from the free states sent out by the emigrant aid societies that had sprung up in every northern state from Maine to Iowa almost as soon as congress had passed the act. In the diverse character of these two streams of settlers lay the secret of the ultimate triumph of the free-state idea. The slave-holders, or very much the greater part of them, were not bona fide settlers at all. In entering Kansas they had no idea of giving up their residence in Missouri, or Arkansas, or Mississippi, from which states most of them came. Their only idea was to organise the state and secure its admission as a slave state. They never intended to make it their home. The free-state settlers, on the other hand — or by far the majority of them — carried their families and household goods with them, and looked forward to building homes for themselves in the new commonwealth. They were more energetic, more intelligent than their adversaries. And the greater mobility of the northern industrial population aided materially in the result. Finally, the spirit that led them on was higher and the ties that bound them to their new homes were necessarily stronger. In the long run they were sure to win.

The initial advantage, however, as might have been expected, was with the pro-slavery men. The law was scarcely in force ere most of the best land along the west shore of the Missouri had been staked out by slave-holders from Missouri. The first party of New England settlers was sent out by the Emigrant Aid Society in July. For the most part the North had taken up the challenge which the act contained. They intended to accept the new principle of popular sovereignty without more ado and, by sending

more settlers into the territory than their adversaries, thereby win the state for the cause of freedom.

The first territorial governor sent out by President Pierce was Andrew H. Reeder, a Pennsylvania democrat with Southern leanings, and a firm believer in "popular sovereignty." The election of a territorial delegate in November, 1854, was scarcely contested by the free-state men, and resulted in a pro-slave triumph with the aid of seventeen hundred Missourians, members of the organisations known as "Blue Lodges," who crossed the river for the purpose of voting.

Five thousand armed Missourians, imported for election day, easily carried the election for members of the territorial legislature for the pro-slavery cause in March, 1855. Seven months' contact with the lawless methods of the Southern party had revolutionised Governor Reeder's opinions, and made him an ardent free-state man. The new legislature unseated the few free-state men who had been elected and proceeded to adopt a code of laws, utterly out of tune, as Rhodes[c] points out, with republican government in the nineteenth century. The protests of Jefferson Davis and other ultra-southern leaders prevailed with the president, and Reeder was superseded as governor by Wilson Shannon. Meanwhile the free-state men, largely reinforced by new settlers, proceeded to organise an effective opposition. In October, 1855, Reeder was chosen unanimously as their delegate to congress, and through their convention at Topeka they formed themselves into a state, and framed and adopted a constitution which prohibited slavery. In January, 1856, Charles S. Robinson was elected governor under the Topeka constitution. There were thus two state governments directly opposed to each other. Then followed what is known as the "Wakarusa War," in which an armed attack on the free-state capital, Lawrence, was only prevented by the prudence of the free-state men and the politic counsels of the pro-slavery leader, David R. Atchison.

### THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

The first great result of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act was to throw political parties into an unprecedented confusion. And at the very first succeeding national election the majority which had put the act through the house was overturned. As by a common impulse, all "anti-Nebraska" men of all parties drew away from their old associates and began to search for a common ground where they could act in unison. The largest single element in this new category were whigs who naturally hesitated to affiliate at once with their former Free-soil adversaries. Their first step, therefore, was to identify themselves with the Know-Nothings, who now, as a recent historian has aptly said, "volunteered with reference to the slavery question to be Do-Nothings." The American party, or Know-Nothings, as they were called because of their evasive replies to all questions concerning their membership and purposes, was a secret, oath-bound organisation pledged to oppose the nomination for office of foreign-born citizens, and to combat the influences of the Catholic church. It had been successful in some municipal elections in the east, and had made a fair showing of strength in several state elections. Its ambition now was to become a national party and take the place in the political world formerly occupied by the whigs. Every inducement was therefore held out to whigs to join the organisation.[a]

A desperate attempt was made to create a diversion, and by sheer dint of will to forget the slavery question altogether. Southern whigs for a time

retained their party name, and tried to maintain also their party organisation; but even in the South the Know-Nothings were numerously joined, and for a brief space it looked as if they were about to become in fact a national party. In the elections of 1854 they succeeded in electing, not only a considerable number of congressmen, but also their candidates for the governorship in Massachusetts and Delaware. Before the new house met in December, 1855, the Know-Nothings had carried New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Kentucky, and California, and had polled handsome votes which fell very little short of being majorities in six of the Southern States.[b]

Already in 1854, however, the foundations had been laid of a new party that was to offer a far better opportunity for political action to anti-Nebraska men than could be offered by any oath-bound society, whose character, despite its cry of "America for the Americans," was in its very essence undemocratic and un-American. In February and March, while the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was still before congress, two meetings of whigs, democrats, and Free-soilers took place at Ripon, Wisconsin, at the second of which preliminary measures were taken for the formation of a new coalition party, the keystone of which should be opposition to the aggressions of the slave power. The name "Republican" was suggested as an appropriate one for the new party. Other similar meetings soon followed in other parts of the North, entirely disassociated with the Wisconsin movement. The most notable of the subsequent meetings was that held at Jackson, Michigan, on July 6th, 1854. It was the first state convention held in the interest of the new anti-slavery party. A full state ticket was nominated, and the name Republican, proposed by Jacob M. Howard, was adopted as the official name of the organisation. In Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Vermont, state conventions of the "Anti-Nebraska" men were held on July 13th, the anniversary of the enactment of the Ordinance of 1787. In the two last named states, Michigan's lead in adopting the name Republican for the new party was followed.[a]

Within the first year of its existence it obtained popular majorities in fifteen states, elected, or won over to itself, one hundred and seventeen members of the house of representatives, and secured eleven adherents in the senate. Representatives of all the older parties came together in its ranks, in novel agreement, their purposes mastered and brought into imperative concert by the signal crisis which had been precipitated upon the country by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. It got its programme from the Free-soilers, whom it bodily absorbed; its radical and aggressive spirit from the Abolitionists, whom it received without liking; its liberal views upon constitutional questions from the whigs, who constituted both in numbers and in influence its commanding element; and its popular impulses from the democrats, who did not leave behind them, when they joined it, their faith in their old party ideals.[b]

### THE ASSAULT ON SUMNER

Meanwhile the affairs of Kansas had occupied a large proportion of the time of congress. Feeling ran high on both sides, and the debates were characterised by an intense bitterness. On May 19th Senator Sumner began his great speech on *The Crime against Kansas*. It was a forcible arraignment of the administration and the pro-slavery leaders, but it was marred by intemperate language and stinging characterisations of certain democratic leaders, particularly Douglas and Senator Butler of South Carolina, whom he

likened to Don Quixote and Sancho Panza. Although the speech produced a great sensation, it is doubtful, had it not been for its almost tragic sequel, whether it would have had as much weight or influence as the really masterful arguments of Seward, Hale, Wade, and Collamer who preceded him. "The whole speech," says Channing,[d] "shows to what depth a scholar can descend when thoroughly aroused. The sequel showed some of the effects produced by slavery on civilisation."

Two days after Sumner's speech was delivered the senator, while sitting in his seat in the senate chamber during a recess, was set upon by Preston Brooks, a South Carolina congressman and a nephew of Senator Butler, and before he could rise to defend himself was hammered into insensibility by the crushing blows from the vengeful South Carolinian's heavy cane. Sumner's iron constitution alone prevented fatal results, but it was found that he had sustained a severe injury to his spinal column. For three years and a half his seat remained vacant as a mute protest against the barbarous methods of the extreme Southern party.

At once throughout the North Sumner was looked upon as a martyr to the cause of human liberty. Five hundred thousand copies of *The Crime against Kansas* were printed and distributed. The assault of Brooks was condemned as a dastardly and cowardly act by the press, the pulpit, and in the very halls of congress. In the South, on the other hand, Brooks was universally heralded as the champion of Southern rights and liberties; he was lauded as the chivalrous defender of his state's honour. He became the recipient of numerous testimonials, mostly in the shape of gold-headed canes, appropriately inscribed. An investigating committee of the house reported in favour of his expulsion, but the pro-slavery majority would go no further than a vote of censure. Brooks thereupon resigned his seat and was at once re-elected by his constituents almost unanimously. Remarks in the senate led to Brooks challenging Senator Henry Wilson and Representative Anson Burlingame to duels. The senator refused, but Burlingame, probably to the surprise of Brooks and most Southern members, accepted. The duel was never fought, however, for when the Canadian side of the Niagara was suggested as the meeting place, Brooks took the opportunity to withdraw on the ground that he could not, in the existing state of public feeling, safely cross the Northern States to Canada.

Perhaps the greatest importance of this unhappy affair lay in its influence on politics; for, as Senator Wilson[f] points out, "it entered largely into the presidential campaign that soon commenced and became one of the battle-cries of freedom and of the new party that then appealed for the first time for the suffrages of the nation."

### "BLEEDING KANSAS"

While congress was busy debating the Kansas situation in the spring of 1856, the problem was taking on a more serious aspect in Kansas itself. Both sides realized that open civil war was imminent and prepared accordingly. Among the new free-state immigrants came a colony from New Haven, armed with Sharpe's rifles, supplied them largely through the energies of Henry Ward Beecher, whence these fire-arms become known by the name of Beecher's Bibles. From the South came Colonel Buford with a well-trained band of fighting men who looked upon service in Kansas as a crusade. At the suggestion of Lecompte, the pro-slavery chief justice of the territory, the grand jury found indictments for treason against ex-Governor Reeder, Governor

Robinson of the free-state government, and Colonel James Lane. Robinson was arbitrarily arrested at Lexington, Missouri, on his way east. Reeder escaped in disguise.

On May 21st — the day before Brooks' attack on Sumner — the United States marshal, Donaldson, with the bands of Atchison, Buford, and Stringfellow, which he had enrolled as a posse to carry out his commands, swooped down upon Lawrence, confiscated cannon, arms, and ammunition of the free-state settlers and destroyed printing offices, hotels, and private residences. The coincidence of this attack with the assault on Sumner aroused the spirit of the North as nothing else had done, and the determination to make Kansas a free state was greatly strengthened. In Kansas the feeling of dismay among free-state men that followed the sack of their capital gave way to a renewed determination to win, in which, with many, the idea of retaliation or revenge was not wanting. Principal among those who were moved to action by the events at Lawrence was John Brown, "a zealot of the Covenanting or Cromwellian stamp" Goldwin Smith[g] calls him, who had settled at Ossawatomie with his two sons. Brown was an ascetic and fanatic of an extreme type. He had long brooded over the wrongs of slavery. Drawing his inspiration from the Old Testament, he took as his favourite text the declaration that "without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sin." Imbued with the determination of killing a number of pro-slavery adherents, equal to the number — five as he counted it — who had already lost their lives in the free-state cause, he organised a secret retaliatory expedition which he led into the Pottawottomie valley, and there carried out his purpose by a series of brutal murders, that goes by the name of the "Pottawottomie massacre." Without attempting to justify these atrocities Rhodes[c] points out that "we should hesitate before measuring the same condemnation to the doer and the deed. John Brown's God was the God of Joshua and Gideon. To him, as to them, seemed to come the word to go out and slay the enemies of his cause."

The outrage was denounced by both parties, and the free-state men were quick to disavow any connection or sympathy with its perpetrators. But the fires already kindled could not be stayed, and at once Kansas was in all the horrors of a bloody civil war. The whole territory armed for the fray. Guerilla bands of both parties wandered over the country, laying waste the settlements and fighting whenever they met. The free-state legislature which met at Topeka on July 4th was dispersed by Colonel E. V. Sumner with a body of federal troops.

Four days earlier the majority of the special congressional committee sent to investigate the situation in the territory reported that the pro-slavery elections had been carried by fraud, recommended that neither party's delegates should be seated, and declaring it as their opinion that the Topeka constitution embodied the will of a majority of the people. Throughout the summer of 1856 the civil war continued unabated. Governor Shannon, despairing of ever bringing order out of the chaos and disgusted at the attitude of the pro-slavery party whom he had sought to aid, resigned. Late in August his place was filled by the appointment of John W. Geary, a Pennsylvania democrat, with a record for gallantry in the Mexican War. Governor Geary was by far the ablest executive yet sent to the territory. He at once set himself to the task of establishing order; he dealt harshly with all breakers of law irrespective of party. By the end of September he was able to report to Washington, "Peace now reigns in Kansas."

But an impartial administration was the last thing in the world the pro-slavery men in Kansas wanted, and before another month had passed they

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were denouncing him on every side, some going to the length of threatening assassination. The clamour for his removal extended over the entire South. Finally, when Geary had come to the conclusion that he was not being supported by the administration, he resigned in disgust.

### PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1856

The presidential campaign which opened while the bloody struggle in Kansas was at its height was a four-cornered contest. The first party to place a presidential ticket in the field was the American, or "Know-Nothing," the national convention of which assembled at Philadelphia, February 22nd, 1856. Ex-President Fillmore was named for president and Andrew J. Donelson of Tennessee, an adopted son of Andrew Jackson, for vice-president. A platform already prepared by the national council of the organisation was presented to the convention. In this an attempt was made to divert attention from the slavery question, and by the simple process of ignoring it confine the issues to the organisation's favourite theme of the exclusion of foreign and un-American influences. A minority of Northern delegates, after attempting to secure a positive declaration on slavery refused to take part in the nominations and withdrew.

On the same day met the first national convention of the new republican party. Delegates from twenty-three states, pursuant to a call of several state organisations, assembled at Pittsburgh, and after adopting a ringing address written by Henry J. Raymond, declaring for a free Kansas, and the exclusion of slavery from all the territories, issued a call for a nominating convention to meet at Philadelphia, on June 17th following.

The democratic convention met at Cincinnati on June 2nd. Availability, rather than personal preferences, decided the nominations. Southern delegates largely favoured the renomination of Pierce, or the selection of Douglas, but the assault on Sumner and the attack on Lawrence had aroused the distrust of many Northern democrats, and there was an evident disinclination to go before the country with either of the two men who were generally held to be directly responsible for these outrages. A strong Northern sentiment favoured the nomination of Buchanan who had been out of the country as minister to England and was supposed to be uncommitted to any particular course in Kansas. The additional advantage of his hailing from a doubtful state which it was of the highest importance to carry, cast the balance in his favour and, after the Douglas men had declared for him, he was nominated on the seventeenth ballot. John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, as the representative of the slave-power, was named for vice-president. The platform adopted contained a strong declaration of the party's devotion to and acceptance of the principles contained in the compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Finally, after insisting that there were "questions connected with the foreign policy of this country which are inferior to no domestic questions whatever," a hope was expressed that the influence of the United States might be made paramount in the gulf of Mexico, and the declaration made that this country ought to control the routes of inter-oceanic travel across Central America.

The republican convention came together at Philadelphia on June 17th. Delegates were present from all the Northern states and from Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky. In spite of an unusual unanimity in political beliefs the effort to secure a fit presidential candidate proved a far from easy task. William H. Seward, who was probably the best representative of the

principles for which the party stood was not as yet in thorough accord with the party organisation and hesitated to lead what he considered, as at best, a very forlorn hope. Salmon P. Chase, who next to Seward would have been the most acceptable candidate, was passed over on account of his Free-soil record, which it was feared would repel old whig voters. Before the convention met a strong movement had been started in favour of the nomination of John C. Frémont, a son-in-law of Senator Benton of Missouri, who had won distinction as an explorer and, after playing an active part in the conquest of California, had represented that state for a few months in the United States senate. The fact that he had already been nominated by the seceding Know-Nothings was urged in his behalf. With Seward and Chase practically eliminated, his nomination was now easily accomplished. William L. Dayton of New Jersey was named for vice-president. In a brief but emphatic platform the party declared that it denied "the authority of congress, of a territorial legislature, of any individual or association of individuals to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States, while the present constitution shall be maintained." The administration policy in Kansas was denounced and the demand made that the territory be immediately admitted as a free state. The Ostend Manifesto embodying "the highwayman's plea that might makes right," was characterised as a shame and dishonour to American diplomacy. A transcontinental railroad and river and harbour improvements were urged.

The last convention to meet was that of the remnants of the old whig party, which assembled at Baltimore, September 17th, and endorsed the nominations of Fillmore and Donelson. Stanwood[h] declares that the canvass which followed was an extraordinary one. It was, however, sluggish enough in the South, where Buchanan and Fillmore were the only candidates; the former having the support of all slave-holders and of all persons of allied interests. That implies virtually a solid South; for the system of slavery was so interwoven with all interests in this portion of the union, that there could be no opportunity for open opposition. In the North, however, the republicans conducted a campaign which rivalled the campaign of 1840 in enthusiasm, but which had a deeper-seated motive, and hence a more sincere and lasting impetus. Never, indeed, in the entire history of the Union had there been such a stirring of the hearts of the masses. The tumultuous enthusiasm that seems to foreigners to be one of the characteristics of the American people was given free vent. Immense public meetings were held, and the stump-speakers practised their arts with probably more than wonted conviction. Nevertheless, the enthusiasts were destined to disappointment, for the election in the autumn went against them. In Vermont, to be sure, the republicans polled more than three-quarters of the votes, and in Maine the same party had a majority of almost eighteen thousand. The October election in Ohio also gave a majority; on the other hand, the returns were unfavourable in Indiana and Pennsylvania. The republicans got such satisfaction as they could out of the claim that the Quakers had failed to vote; but this at best was cold comfort.[a]

Buchanan and Breckinridge received 174 electoral votes, as against 114 for Frémont and 8 (Delaware) for Fillmore. But although defeated the surprising strength shown by the republicans with an acknowledgedly weak candidate was startling, and boded ill for continued democratic success, when once the movement was full-grown. Frémont's popular vote was 1,341,264, while Buchanan's was only 1,838,169 and Fillmore's 874,534. But from a sectional point of view the result was most significant, for the republicans carried every Northern state but New Jersey, Pennsylvania,

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Indiana, and Illinois, and their vote in these states was large enough to cause them to be considered doubtful in any future contest. The campaign marked the final disappearance of the whig and "Know-Nothing" parties. Henceforth the real struggle was to be between the democratic and republican parties, which grew every day less national and more sectionalised in character.[a]

## THE DRED-SCOTT DECISION (1857 A.D.)[1]

A brief struggle brought the business of the country out of the financial difficulties which prevailed for some months in 1857; but the strain of politics was not so soon removed, and a decision of the supreme court now hurried the country forward towards the infinitely greater crisis of civil war. Dred Scott was the negro slave of an army surgeon. His master had taken him, in the regular course of military service, from Missouri, his home, first into the state of Illinois, and then, in May, 1836, to Fort Snelling, on the west side of the Mississippi, in what is now Minnesota; after which, in 1838, he had returned with him to Missouri. Slavery was prohibited by state law in Illinois, and by the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820 in the territory west of the Mississippi; and after returning to Missouri the negro endeavoured to obtain his liberty by an appeal to the courts, on the ground that his residence in a free state had operated to destroy his master's rights over him. In course of appeal the case reached the supreme court of the United States. The chief, if not the only, question at issue was a question of jurisdiction. Was Dred Scott a citizen within the meaning of the constitution; had he had any rightful standing in the lower courts? To this question the court returned a decided negative. The temporary residence of the negro's master in Illinois and Minnesota, in the course of his official duty and without any intention to change his domicile, could not affect the status of the slave, at any rate, after his return to Missouri. He was not a citizen of Missouri in the constitutional sense, and could have therefore no standing in the federal courts. But, this question decided, the majority of the judges did not think it *obiter dicens* to go further, and argue as to the merits of the case regarding the status of slaves and the authority of congress over slavery in the territories. They were of the opinion that, notwithstanding the fact that the constitution spoke of slaves as "persons held to service and labour," men of the African race, in view of the fact of their bondage from the first in this country, were not regarded as persons, but only as property, by the constitution of the United States; that, as property, they were protected from hostile legislation on the part of congress by the express guarantees of the constitution itself; and that congress could no more legislate this form of property out of the territories than it could exclude property of any other kind, but must guarantee to every citizen the right to carry this, as he might carry all other forms of property, where he would within the territory subject to congress. The legislation, therefore, known as the Missouri Compromise was, in their judgment, unconstitutional and void.

The opinion of the court sustained the whole Southern claim. Not even the exercise of squatter sovereignty could have the countenance of law; congress must protect every citizen of the country in carrying with him into the territories property of whatever kind, until such time as the territory in which he settled should become a state, and pass beyond the direct jurisdic-

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tion of the federal government. Those who were seeking to prevent the extension of slavery into the territories were thus stigmatised as seeking an illegal object and acting in despite of the constitution.[b]

From the opinion of the majority justices Curtis and McLean dissented, the former in an opinion of great power declaring that he did not consider it "to be within the scope of the judicial power of the majority of the court to pass upon any question respecting the plaintiff's citizenship in Missouri, save that raised by the plea to the jurisdiction."

The immediate effect of the extraordinary decision was political rather than judicial. The South, seeing in it an endorsement, by the highest judicial tribunal in the land, of the theories long before advanced by Calhoun that it was the duty of congress to protect slavery in the territories, assumed a bolder and more truculent attitude than ever. The North, stunned at first by the blow, gradually came to realise that it really helped to clarify and simplify the great issue before the people. "By this presentation of the iniquity (of slavery) naked and in its most repulsive form, Taney [chief justice] did no small harm to the party which he intended to aid," writes Goldwin Smith,[g] who further characterises the judgment as "a gratuitous aggression and an insult to humanity." More radical opinion declared that by this decision the supreme court had abdicated its functions and sullied its ermine by descending into the political arena. Lincoln voiced republican opinion when he declared: "We know the court that made it has often overruled its own decisions, and we shall do what we can to have it overrule this. We offer no resistance to it." Douglas found satisfaction in the fact that the Missouri Compromise, which his Kansas-Nebraska Act repealed, was now held to be unconstitutional, and he and his Northern democratic supporters generally accepted the judgment with a satisfaction that blinded itself to the fact that it also rendered their favourite theory of "squatter sovereignty" a dead letter.

### THE LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION

The character of the advisers with whom President Buchanan surrounded himself was rightly taken at the North to indicate that the new administration would be dominated by and run in the interests of the pro-slavery party. General Cass, who accepted the state portfolio, was understood to be but a figurehead, as Buchanan would direct his own foreign policy. As was expected Howell Cobb, appointed secretary of the treasury, became the master-spirit of the administration.

The Kansas question was still a pressing one. Governor Geary had resigned on the very day of Buchanan's inauguration. The president at once appointed as governor his life-long friend, Robert J. Walker of Mississippi, who had been secretary of the treasury in Polk's cabinet. Walker was himself a slave-holder and his appointment was hailed with delight by the South. With the president's promise to uphold him in dealing justly with both parties he began his administration full of hope. Before he had been in the territory a month he realised that three-fourths of the population were of the free-state party and his high sense of honour made him at once determine to refuse to be an instrument in subverting or nullifying the popular will. The free-state party refused to take part in the election of delegates to a constitutional convention held on June 15th, 1857, and as a result only pro-slavery delegates were chosen. This convention, assembling at Lecompton in September, made short work of framing the notorious instrument known as the Lecompton Constitution, with provisions for the establishment and safeguarding of slavery.

Governor Walker had promised, relying on the word of Buchanan, that any constitution framed should be submitted to a vote of the people, and therefore declared himself against a movement presently set under way by the ultra-Southern leaders to admit Kansas at once under the pro-slavery Lecompton Constitution. His subsequent action in refusing to sanction flagrant frauds in the October elections gave the free-state party for the first time control of the legislature, and aroused the fury of the pro-slavery men who now began to exert at Washington the same influence that had already undermined the authority of governors Reeder and Geary and made of them earnest free-state advocates.

In order to make a pretence of fair play the Lecompton convention now reassembled and made the preposterous proposal to submit to the people not the constitution they had framed but merely the question of its adoption "with slavery" or "without slavery." This was done. Again the free-state voters refused to go to the polls, and the constitution was adopted "with slavery" by a large majority. Thereupon the territorial legislature with its free-state majority, submitted the entire constitution to the people who rejected it by a large majority, the pro-slavery men this time refraining from voting.

Finally, on February 2nd, 1858, President Buchanan, who had by this time fallen under the spell of the pro-slavery leaders as completely as Pierce had done, sent the Lecompton Constitution to congress with a special message urging that Kansas be admitted under it. The president's action gave an opportunity to Stephen A. Douglas which he, greatly to the credit of his reputation as a consistent statesman rather than a truckling politician, accepted boldly. Four years before, in the hope of winning Southern support to help him to the presidency, he had sacrificed his reputation for sincerity and independence. It had all gone for naught. Now he stood out boldly, and true to his principles of popular sovereignty, refused to consent to force any sort of a constitution upon the people of Kansas. The stand of Douglas made it forever impossible for him to secure a nomination at Southern hands, but it won for him again the undisputed position of leader of the Northern democracy. The Lecompton Constitution, though approved by the senate in spite of Douglas, was defeated in the house through the combination of his followers, now known as the "anti-Lecompton" democrats, with the republicans. Attempts at compromise failed and after the Lecompton Constitution, in accordance with the terms of the English bill, had again been rejected by the voters of Kansas at the polls (August 2nd, 1858), the South at length reluctantly abandoned the attempt to make Kansas a slave state.[a]

## THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE (1858) [1]

The elections of 1858 showed a formidable gain in strength by the republicans, and bore an ominous warning for the democrats. Everywhere the republicans gained ground; even Pennsylvania, the president's own state, went against the administration by a heavy vote. The number of republicans in the senate was increased from twenty to twenty-five, from ninety-two to a hundred and nine in the house; and in the latter chamber they were to be able to play the leading part, since there were still twenty-two "Know-Nothings" in the house, and thirteen "anti-Lecompton" democrats, the followers

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of Senator Douglas. Douglas himself was returned with difficulty to his seat in the senate, and his canvas for re-election had arrested the attention of the whole country. The republicans of Illinois had formally announced that their candidate for the senate would be Abraham Lincoln, a man whose extraordinary native sagacity, insight, and capacity for debate had slowly won for him great prominence in the state, first as a whig, afterwards as an anti-Nebraska man and republican. Lincoln and Douglas "took the stump" together, and the great debates between them which ensued both won for Lincoln a national reputation and defined the issues of the party struggle as perhaps nothing less dramatic could have defined them. In Lincoln's mind those issues were clear-cut enough. "A house divided against itself," he declared, "cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall, but I expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other." He forced Douglas upon the dilemma created for him by the Dred-Scott decision. What became of the doctrine of popular sovereignty if the people of the territories could not interfere with slavery until they came to frame a state constitution? Slavery could not exist, replied Douglas, without local legislation to sustain it; unfriendly legislation would hamper and kill it almost as effectually as positive prohibition. An inferior legislature certainly cannot do what it is not within the power of congress to accomplish, was Lincoln's rejoinder. The state elections went for the democrats, and Mr. Douglas was returned to the senate; but Lincoln had made him an impossible presidential candidate for the Southern democrats in 1860 by forcing him to deny to the South the full benefits of the Dred-Scott decision.[b]

### JOHN BROWN'S RAID

The news flashed over the wires from Virginia on the morning of October 17th, 1859, caused a cry of horror to go up from every section of the union. A small army of abolitionists and free negroes, the report said, had raised the standard of revolt in the Old Dominion and seized the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry. The slaves of Virginia, according to the report, were rising against their masters and flocking to the standard of freedom. At the North the news created the most intense excitement. Throughout the South the awful thought that a slave insurrection, so long feared and so fearfully dreaded, had at length come, produced a panic. Excited imaginations pictured the devastation of property and homes, the nameless horrors to which the women and children would be subjected, the destruction indeed of the whole structure of Southern society. The early reports proved to be greatly exaggerated. John Brown, known already for his bloody exploits in the free-state cause in Kansas, had entered the village of Harper's Ferry on the night of October 16th with a score of followers, including four of his own sons; had there seized the United States arsenal, and had made prisoners of the guards and several citizens who had fallen into his hands. The slaves, even in the immediate neighbourhood were apparently ignorant of his intentions, and remained quietly on their plantations. At daybreak the country people and villagers had risen and compelled him to shut himself and his companions up in the armory. In the desultory firing several had been killed on either side. The arrival of a militia company from Charlestown, and a detachment of United States marines under Colonel Robert E. Lee, rendered the retreat of Brown impossible, and he retired to the engine-house in the armory yard, where he prepared to sell his life dearly. The next morning Lee's marines battered

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JOHN BROWN GOING TO EXECUTION

(From the painting by Thomas Hovenden, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

down the door of the engine-house with a ladder and after a severe struggle succeeded in capturing Brown and his five remaining followers.

Brown was given a fair but hasty trial at Charlestown, and was found guilty of treason, of conspiring and advising slaves to rebel, and of murder in the first degree. He was sentenced to be hanged, and the sentence was carried out on December 2nd following. Brown's manliness, his unquestionable sincerity and belief in the righteousness of his cause, and the Christian fortitude with which he met his end aroused the admiration even of his enemies. At the North widespread sympathy for the doer was tempered somewhat by agreement as to the lawlessness of the deed. In the light of subsequent events, however, Brown's act was magnified to heroic proportions; he came to be looked upon as the protomartyr of the cause of negro freedom, and "his soul marching on" became an inspiration.[a]

### SCHOULER'S ESTIMATE OF JOHN BROWN [1]

John Brown was no Cæsar, no Cromwell, but a plain citizen of a free republic, whom distressing events drove into a fanaticism to execute purposes for which he was incompetent. He detested slavery, and that detestation led him to take up arms not only against slavery but against that public opinion which was slowly formulating how best to eradicate it. Woe to the conquered. The North made no appeals for that clemency which slaveholders had alone to consider. Brown had not been lenient to masters, nor were masters bound to be lenient to him. And yet Brown was an enthusiast, and not a felon; the essence of his crime was unselfish. Like the French country maiden who went to Paris to plunge her dagger into a bloody ruler's heart, he meant to rescue good morals from the usurpation of human laws. Corday fulfilled her solitary plan because it was reasonable; John Brown failed in his plan because it was unreasonable: but both, as actors and martyrs, flashing upon the world's attention like new meteors, left examples of self-sacrifice, the one upon the guillotine and the other upon the gallows, which a people could not refrain from exalting. The virgin damsel of grace and beauty, and the grim old man of sixty, stern and sanguinary, who led on his sons, take equal hold of posterity's imagination; of each one it has been said by acute observers that the immediate effect of their deeds was injurious to politics; and yet society in the long centuries is stronger for being thus taught that despotism over fellow men is not safely hedged in by authority. Brown's stalwart, unique, and spectral figure led on, grotesque but terribly in earnest, the next time Virginia's soil was invaded — not, however, for executing any such unfeasible scheme of making the slaves their own avengers, but to apply the war powers of the nation against disloyal masters.[b]

### THE NOMINATING CONVENTIONS OF 1860

The divergence of North and South in population, wealth, and resources was growing greater every year. The political preponderance of the North was also increasing. Since Buchanan's election two new free states had been admitted to the union, Minnesota in 1858 and Oregon in 1859. As the time for naming presidential candidates drew near everyone recognised that more than ever before the coming campaign was to be a battle of the sections.

The convention of the democratic party assembled at Charleston, South

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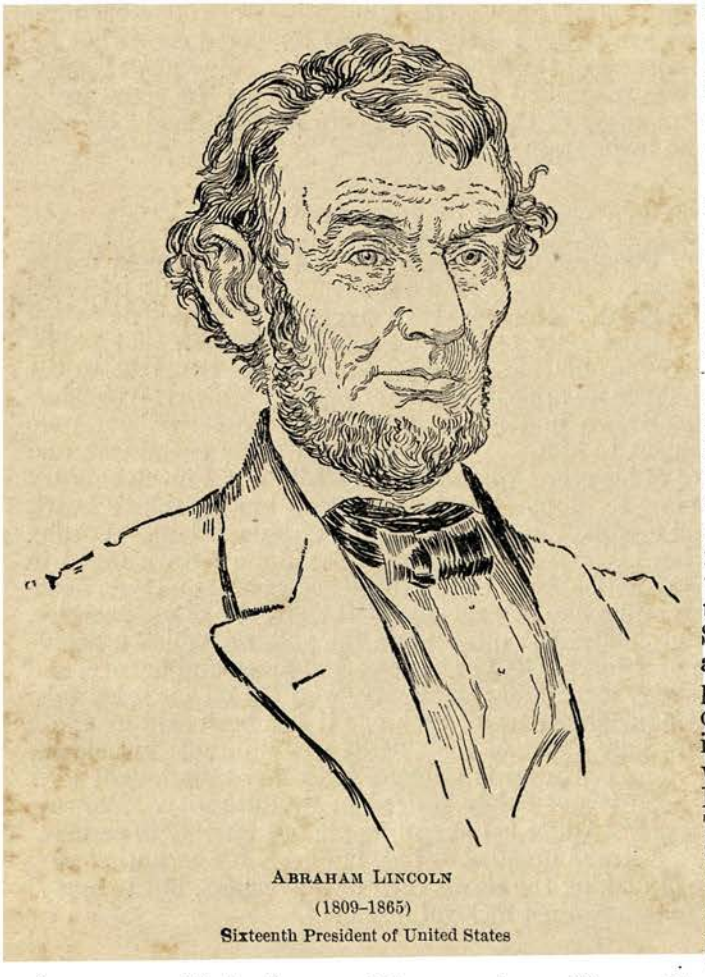
Carolina, April 23rd, 1860, the delegates realising fully that they might be called upon to decide questions momentous alike to their party and to the nation. The bold stand taken by Douglas against the cherished policy of the pro-slavery party in Kansas, and the subsequent death of one of his principal supporters, Senator David C. Broderick of California, in a duel with a pro-slavery politician, had aroused the courage and spirit of Northern democrats as never before. They were prepared, for almost the first time in their history, to assert their rights and refuse longer to be made the tools of the slave power. Eight days were spent in wrangling over a platform. The Southern delegates insisted on pronouncing for the pro-slavery theories advanced in the Dred-Scott decision. The Northern men, however, refused to do more than acquiesce in the Southern demand for Cuban annexation and for the repeal of legislation in the North intended to hinder the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. After an acrimonious debate a platform embodying declarations favouring the last two points was approved by the Northern majority. The majority of the Southern delegates at once withdrew and after an ineffectual attempt to secure a two-thirds majority for any candidate, the remaining members adjourned to meet again in Baltimore, June 18th.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN
(1809–1865)
Sixteenth President of United States

Meanwhile the seceding Southern delegations met together in another hall in Charleston and adopted the radical pro-slavery platform rejected by the regular convention. When the latter re-convened in Baltimore on the day set, the tendency of the Douglas delegates to carry things with a high hand resulted in a still further secession of delegates, largely from Southern and border states. The regular convention thereupon proceeded to nominate Douglas for the presidency and Benjamin Fitzpatrick of Alabama for the vice-presidency. Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia was subsequently named

by the national committee to take the place of Fitzpatrick, who refused to run. The second group of seceders joined by some of the original seceders named John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky and Joseph Lane of Oregon, which nominations were soon after endorsed by the remnants of the first seceders at Charleston. Thus, after the bitterest struggle in its history, the democratic party had at last been torn asunder. It presented the spectacle of two avowedly sectional party groups appealing to the suffrage, not of the nation but of a section.

Before this, however, both the republicans and a new party which took the name of Constitutional Union had made their nominations. The latter party — which was made up largely of former Know-Nothings and Northern whigs who could not as yet bring themselves to join the republican party — met at Baltimore, May 9th. They adopted, instead of a regular platform, a single resolution declaring for the preservation of the union under the constitution, and named John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts for president and vice-president respectively.

All eyes were now turned to the republican party, which met in convention at Chicago on May 16th. The platform contained a strong appeal for the maintenance of the principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence and a declaration that the federal constitution, the rights of the states, and the union of the states must be preserved. While disavowing any intention to interfere with the established institutions of any state, it denounced the "new dogma" promulgated in the Dred-Scott decision as political heresy, asserting that the normal condition of all federal territories was that of freedom, and that it was the duty of the national government to maintain that condition by law. The immediate admission of Kansas as a free state was demanded, and a protective tariff, internal improvements, and a Pacific railway favoured.

William H. Seward of New York was now, as in 1856, the leading candidate for the presidential nomination and led all others on the first ballot. But, as Woodrow Wilson [b] says, he "was regarded as a sort of philosophical radical, whom careful men might distrust as a practical guide." Salmon P. Chase of Ohio was also a candidate, but his past political affiliations still counted against him. A solution seemed to point to the selection of a less well-known candidate, and on Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, whose political principles had been so unmistakably set forth in his debate with Douglas, a majority of the delegates finally united on the third ballot. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, a former democrat, was nominated for vice-president.

### THE ELECTION OF LINCOLN

With the subsequent nominations of the two democratic factions already noted, the various presidential tickets were complete. The vital principles upon which the four parties based their appeals to the voter have been thus tersely summed up by Alexander Johnston [c]: "The Bell party wished to have no discussion of slavery; the Douglas democrats rested on squatter sovereignty and the compromise of 1850, but would accept the decision of the supreme court; the republicans demanded that congress should legislate for the prohibition of slavery in the territories; and the Southern democrats demanded that congress should legislate for the protection of slavery in the territories."

With the issue thus clearly drawn, and four candidates to choose from, the republicans had an immense initial advantage. Indeed, it may probably be said that the outcome of the campaign that ensued was scarcely in doubt

from the first. The hopeless breach in the democratic ranks made it out of the question that either faction should carry the national election. The Constitutional Unionists were not well organised, and their appeal was at best a negative one. Indeed, the republicans alone were both confident and united. The only possible danger in the way of their success was in the possibility that the election might be thrown into the house of representatives.

Nevertheless the ensuing canvass was hotly contested. The republicans adopted the tactics of the Harrison campaign of 1840 and throughout the North enthusiasm was aroused by torch-light processions and enormous mass meetings. At the South were heard on every side mutterings of secession and war. The September and October state elections foreshadowed the election of Lincoln, which the results in November more than justified. The republicans carried every Northern state except New Jersey and elected four out of the seven electors even in that state. Douglas received only the votes of Missouri and three from New Jersey. Bell carried the three border states of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia. Breckinridge carried the entire South. However, while Lincoln and Hamlin received 180 electoral votes to 103 for all other candidates, they received only a minority of the popular votes. The figures for the latter showed the following results: Lincoln and Hamlin, 1,866,452; Douglas and Johnson, 1,376,957; Breckinridge and Lane, 849,781, and Bell and Everett, 588,879.

### SECESSION

"There could be no mistake," says Goldwin Smith,[g] "about the significance of the election by Northern votes of a president who looked forward to seeing slavery 'put where the people would be satisfied that it was in course of ultimate extinction.'" Among the more radical Southerners there is no question but that the result was really welcomed. Conditions in the cotton states were such that their policy no matter how extreme would undoubtedly dominate the section and overcome whatever conservative opposition there was. These extremists made it a point to misrepresent the intentions and principles of the republican party, and their arguments convinced the majority of their people that in dealing with slavery Lincoln and his advisers would not scruple to disregard constitutional guarantees. As proof of this assertion they pointed to the legislation enacted in almost every Northern state which commonly went by the name of "personal liberty laws," the intent of which was plainly to nullify the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law, and secure for fugitive slaves legal privileges which the federal statutes denied. Pro-slavery agitators made no distinction between the republican party and the detested abolitionists; yet, as Woodrow Wilson,[b] a Southern writer, points out, "the vast majority of its adherents were almost as much repelled by the violent temper of the abolitionists as were the Southern leaders themselves." It was this extreme view of the Southern radicals that now became the view of the greater part of the South. When this stage was reached it was manifestly impossible longer to preserve the Union.

South Carolina was the only state in which presidential electors were still chosen by the legislature. After casting their votes for Breckinridge electors on November 6th, the legislators remained in session to await the result in the nation. The governors of the cotton states had taken counsel together regarding the course to be pursued in the event of Lincoln's election, and it had been practically agreed that should one state feel called upon to secede from the Union she would receive the support of the others. Upon this

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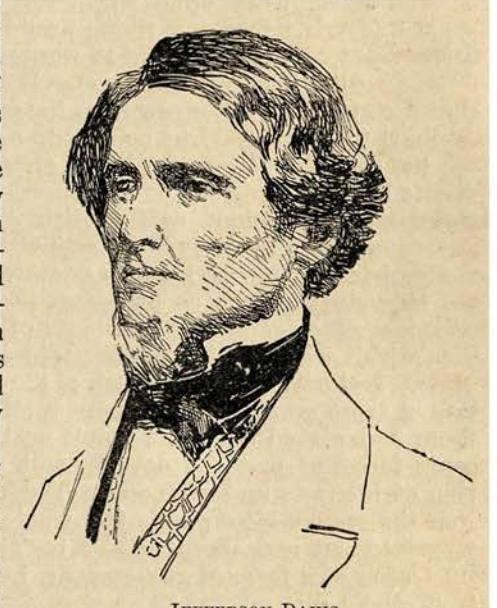
assurance the South Carolina legislature now acted. Provision was made for the purchase of arms and ammunition, and a convention was called which met in Charleston, December 20th. This body at once proceeded to repeal the action taken by a previous South Carolina convention, May 23rd, 1788, whereby the federal constitution had been ratified, and declared the dissolution of the union "subsisting between South Carolina and other states under the name of the United States of America." South Carolina had spoken, and there were few who did not accept her voice as the voice of the South.

### THE CONFEDERATE STATES

Within a month after South Carolina had passed her ordinance of secession, four other states — Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, and Georgia — in the order named, had left the Union. In each state there was a strong minority which opposed the movement not so much from a disbelief in the right of secession as from a conviction of its inexpediency. But in each case the delegates elected to the special state conventions showed a clear majority for secession. Throughout the South the convention, as Alexander Johnston[e] has pointed out, "was looked upon as the incarnation of the sovereignty of the state." The action of these secession conventions was therefore generally accepted as final without any attempted ratification by the people.



JEFFERSON DAVIS
(1808–1889)

On February 4th, 1861, the very day that the Peace Convention met at Washington, representatives from six "cotton states" met at Montgomery, Alabama, to organise a provisional government. The states represented were those above mentioned and Louisiana, which had seceded January 26th. Texas had passed an ordinance of secession, despite the sorrowful protests of Sam Houston, but it had been submitted to the people and not yet ratified. The Montgomery convention adopted a provisional constitution and chose as provisional president and vice-president Jefferson Davis of Mississippi and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia. The name Confederate States of America was adopted. The constitution was made permanent by the vote of the convention (or congress as it now called itself) on March 11th, and under it Davis and Stephens were chosen for a six years' term in the succeeding November without opposition.

Under what claim of constitutional right the Montgomery convention acted, says Alexander Johnston, "passes comprehension." Even granting the right of secession, he continues, that a state convention summoned to decide that question "should go on without any further popular authority or mandate to send delegates to meet those of other states and form a new

national government, which could only exist by warring on the United States, was a novel feature in American constitutional law."

In none of the border states was there at this time a strong popular feeling in favour of secession. But in most of them the belief in state sovereignty and the abstract right of secession was a powerful force to be considered, and the inclination to take up arms to resist any attempt of the federal government to coerce a seceding state was strong. The course of events soon forced upon the border states a decision on this very point, and four of them — Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas — eventually, in the course of the spring of 1861, threw in their fortunes with the cotton states. With their addition the Confederacy reached its final number — eleven.[a]

## *The Theory of Secession*[1]

The legal theory upon which this startling and extraordinary series of steps was taken was one which would hardly have been questioned in the early years of the government whatever resistance might then have been offered to its practical execution. It was for long found difficult to deny that a state could withdraw from the federal arrangement as she might have declined to enter it. But constitutions are not mere legal documents; they are the skeleton frame of a living organism; and in this case the course of events had nationalised the government once deemed confederate. Twenty states had been added to the original thirteen since the formation of the government and almost all of these were actual creations of the federal government first as territories then as states. Their populations had no corporate individuality such as had been possessed by the people of each of the colonies. They came from all parts of the Union and had formed communities which were arbitrary geographical units rather than natural political units. Not only that, but north of the Missouri compromise line the population of these new states had been swelled by immigration from abroad; and there had played upon the whole northern and northwestern section those great forces of material development which made steadily for the unification of interests and purposes. The West was the great make-weight. It was the region into which the whole national force had been projected, stretched out and energised — a region, not a section; divided into states by reason of a form of government, but homogeneous, and proceeding forth from the Union.

These are not lawyer's facts; they are historian's facts. There had been nothing but a dim realisation of them until the war came and awoke the national spirit into full consciousness. They have no bearing upon the legal intent of the constitution as a document, to be interpreted by the intention of its framers; but they have everything to do with the constitution as a vehicle of life. The South had not changed her ideas from the first because she had not changed her condition. She had not experienced, except in a very slight degree, the economic forces which had created the great Northwest and nationalised the rest of the country; for they had been shut out from her life by slavery. The South withdrew from the Union because, she said, power had been given to a geographical, a sectional party, ruthlessly hostile to her interests; but Doctor von Holst[c] is certainly right when he says: "The Union was not broken up because sectional parties had been formed, but sectional parties were formed because the Union had actually become sec-

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tionalised." There had been nothing active on the part of the South in this process. She had stood still while the rest of the country had undergone profound changes; and, standing still, she retained the old principles which had once been universal. Both she and her principles, it turned out, had been caught at last in the great national drift, and were to be overwhelmed. Her slender economic resources were no match for the mighty strength of the nation with which she had fallen out of sympathy.

### *The Constitution of the Confederacy*[1]

The constitution framed by the Montgomery convention, although in most respects a reproduction of the constitution of the United States, was made very explicit upon all points of controversy under the older instrument. The Southern leaders were not dissatisfied with the constitution of the United States as they understood it; they were dissatisfied only with the meanings which they conceived to have been read into it by a too loose and radical interpretation. In the new constitution which they framed for themselves it was explicitly stated that in the adoption of the instrument each state acted "in its sovereign and independent character." Protective tariffs were specifically prohibited, as well as all internal improvements at the general charge. It embodied the principle of the recognition and protection of slavery in all the territories of the new government. It added to the separate weight of the individual states by providing that in the senate, when the question was the admission of a new state, the vote should be taken by a poll of the states; and by according to each of the several state legislatures the right to impeach confederate officials whose duties were confined to their own territory. The demand of three states was made sufficient to secure the calling of a convention for the amendment of the constitution. The states were denied, on the other hand, the privilege which they had enjoyed under the federal constitution, of granting the franchise to persons not citizens under the general law of naturalisation.

Such other changes of the federal constitution as were introduced were changes, for the most part, only of detail, meant to improve the older instrument where experience was thought to have shown it susceptible of alteration for the better. The presidential term was lengthened to six years, and the president was made ineligible for re-election. The president was given the right to veto individual items of appropriation bills, and congress was forbidden to make any appropriations not asked for and estimated by the heads of the executive departments, except by a two-thirds vote, unless such appropriations were for the legitimate expenses of congress itself or for the payment of just claims, judicially determined, upon the government. Congress was given the right to bring itself into closer co-operative relations with the executive by granting seats, with the privileges of debate, to the heads of the executive departments; and it was granted a partial oversight of the president's relations with his subordinates by the provision that, except in the cases of the chief executive and diplomatic agents of the government, no official should be removed except for cause explicitly stated to the senate. The power to emit bills of credit was withheld from congress. The slave trade was prohibited, and congress was empowered to prevent even the introduction of slaves from the states of the Union.

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Much as there was among these changes that was thoroughly worth trying, it was of course impossible to test anything fairly amidst the furious storms of civil war. One of the most interesting of them — the permission to introduce the heads of the executive departments into congress — had actually been practised under the provisional government of 1861; but under the formal constitution the houses, as was to have been expected, never took any steps towards putting it into practice.

The congress was inclined from time to time to utter some very stinging criticisms upon the executive conduct of affairs. It could have uttered them with more dignity and effect in the presence of the officers concerned, who were in direct contact with the difficulties of administration. It might then, perhaps, have hoped in some sort to assist in the guidance of administration. As it was, it could only criticise, and then yield without being satisfied.[b]

### LAST MONTHS OF BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION

The position of President Buchanan in the months intervening between Lincoln's election and inauguration was a difficult and delicate one. The situation demanded tact, decision of character, statesmanship of the highest order. And none of these did Buchanan possess. Although honest at heart and desirous of preserving the Union, his sympathies were and always had been strongly with the South. To this sentiment he gave expression in his message to congress in December, 1860. This message gave hope to the Southern leaders: for although he deprecated and advised against secession as not being called for by Lincoln's election, he at the same time denied the power of either president or congress to prevent secession. This the South justly took to be an intimation that they would be allowed to withdraw unmolested as far as Buchanan was concerned. By the North the message was received with mingled anger and astonishment. General Cass, the secretary of state, at once resigned his portfolio and was succeeded by Jeremiah S. Black of Pennsylvania, then attorney-general, a man of greater ability and decision of character. The secession of South Carolina brought out the strong points in Black's character, and he took at once a determined stand for the Union, in which he was ably seconded by Edwin M. Stanton, who now became attorney-general, and Jos ph Holt, who supplanted Floyd as secretary of war. Their influence led Buchanan to refuse to receive the commissioners sent by South Carolina to treat with the federal authorities concerning the surrender of the forts in Charleston harbour. The pro-Union members of the cabinet received a powerful addition to their strength in January by the appointment of John A. Dix of New York to the secretaryship of the treasury; and his ringing despatch to the revenue officers at New Orleans, "If any man attempts to haul down the American flag shoot him on the spot," aroused the greatest enthusiasm at the North. The new influences at work on Buchanan showed themselves in his special message of January 8th, in which he declared it the duty of the president to use force if necessary to collect the public revenues or protect the national property.

Meanwhile in congress and out of it measures were undertaken looking toward compromise. As early as December 18th John J. Crittenden of Kentucky had introduced into the senate the measure which goes by the name of the Crittenden Compromise. This was considered by a committee including Seward, Wade, Douglas, Jefferson Davis, and Toombs. The compromise consisted of a proposed constitutional amendment restoring the old line of 36° 30′ as a limit south of which congress should have no power to interfere

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with slavery in any state or territory. But the Northern republican senators refused to accept it and the amendment was lost. In the house a series of resolutions embodying a similar plan of compromise failed of passage.

The failure of the compromise measures was followed, as state after state seceded, by the withdrawal of the senators and representatives from those states, thus leaving the republicans strongly intrenched in both houses. Several conciliatory measures were now passed by the majority in futile and even cringing endeavour to avert the crisis. One provided for a constitutional amendment forever forbidding congress to meddle with slavery in any state where it already existed, without the consent of that state. Other measures organised the territories of Colorado, Nevada, and Dakota without a word about the prohibition of slavery. But all such overtures were too late.

Already the seceding states had given evidence of their intention to cut every tie that bound them to the Union, by seizing the government property, consisting of custom houses, forts, and arsenals, within their borders. Before the close of Buchanan's administration every fort, navy yard, or federal building within the seven seceding states had been seized, with the exception of Fort Sumter in Charleston harbour, Fort Pickens, Key West, and the Dry Tortugas. The eyes of the nation were centred on Charleston harbour, where Major Robert Anderson had removed his handful of troops from Fort Moultrie on the mainland to the stronger position of Fort Sumter. The move was an intimation that the fort was not to be given up without a struggle. The determination of both parties was further emphasised when on January 9th the steamship *Star of the West*, which Buchanan had at length been prevailed upon to send to relieve the fort with supplies, was fired upon by the South Carolina shore batteries, and compelled to return with its mission unaccomplished. The first shot of the Civil War had been fired.

### THE INAUGURATION OF LINCOLN; FORT SUMTER

Never was a presidential inauguration awaited with such intense interest as that of Abraham Lincoln, March 4th, 1861. Seven states had left the Union and set up a government of their own. Would the new president, the country asked, attempt compromise where congress had failed, or would he proceed vigorously to assert the rights and enforce the laws of the Union with the almost certain result of driving several border states to join their Southern neighbours.

Lincoln's inaugural address was moderate, even conciliatory. He declared that he had neither the intention nor the right of interfering with slavery where it existed. He even expressed his willingness to accept the Fugitive Slave Law. Not a word was said as to the restriction of slavery extension. But with the question of the preservation of the Union he was more explicit. "No state upon its own mere motion," he declared, "can lawfully get out of the Union." Any ordinance that attempted to bring about such a dissolution was, he held, null and void. He would, he declared unequivocally, execute the laws of the Union and defend and maintain its authority in every state. To such an expression of his purposes there could be but one meaning — civil war. And the president's choice of advisers, including such men as Seward for secretary of state and Chase for secretary of the treasury, was taken to mean that the North stood behind him.

The immediate attention of the country remained centred in Charleston

harbour, where Major Anderson still held Fort Sumter. His provisions were running low, and unless relieved he must soon surrender. South Carolina sent a new set of commissioners to Washington to attempt an adjustment of the difficulties. The cabinet hesitated and tried to dissuade the president from acting. At last, however, a decision was reached and notice was sent both to Major Anderson and to Governor Pickens of South Carolina (April 8th) that a vessel was under way to carry provisions to the fort. President Davis called his cabinet together to decide what should be done. Despite the impassioned opposition of Toombs, the Confederate secretary of state, who declared that the first shot fired by the South would "strike a hornet's nest" from which legions would swarm out and sting them to death, General Beauregard was authorised to demand the fort's surrender, and in case of refusal to reduce it.[a]

### THE FALL OF SUMTER; UPRISING OF THE NORTH [1]

With telegrams from the Davis government directing him to proceed, Beauregard at two in the afternoon of April 11th demanded the surrender of Fort Sumter, and after some vain parleying with Major Anderson, which lasted through the night, opened his cannonade by early dawn of the 12th. Startling was the spectacle for this continent, and in scope and consequences unparalleled in the world's history. Throngs of Southern soldiers and civilians poured into Charleston on every train, and the wharves and housetops swarmed with eager gazers. But surrounding the fight in imaginary presence were the millions of anxious inhabitants, North and South, dilating with various emotions, as the telegraph and bulletins of the daily press spread details of the combat through the amphitheatre of a nation. As the ensign of the Union on that slender staff waved its folds, more in reproof than defiance, from the brick ramparts of the little island midway down this harbour, the target of disloyal batteries from three different directions, hearts hardened towards one another with each fratricidal shot. And through the thickening smoke, as the roar of artillery went on, might be dimly discerned now and then a vessel of the provisioning fleet, defining the coast horizon with its spectral hull, watching, but unable to succour. The result of such an unequal duel was not long doubtful. Anderson's brave little garrison, a mere handful for such a contest, and a force barely sufficient to keep a few of the answering guns active, had already exhausted their rations of bread. On the morning of the 13th the barracks of the fort caught fire, and while officers and men were engaged for hours in getting the flames under control so as to save the powder magazine from exploding, the flagstaff fell, struck for the tenth time by hostile shot. Senator Louis T. Wigfall, who was now serving on Beauregard's staff, crossed over in a boat and volunteered honourable terms of surrender, which Beauregard confirmed after Anderson had accepted them. On Sunday, the 14th, Anderson and his command marched out with their property and all the honours of war, saluting the flag they had so gallantly defended; after which they were transferred to the *Baltic* (one of the vessels of the relief squadron), which waited outside, to sail for New York. The captured fort passed simultaneously into the formal custody of a Confederate garrison.

The curtain dropped upon this lurid drama, and sickened hearts at the North knew what next must follow. The same Monday morning's paper on

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[1861 A.D.]

the 15th of April, which described Sumter's last tableau, published the president's proclamation, bearing that date, but made and signed Sunday, which called at once into service seventy-five thousand militia for three months, and summoned congress to convene in extra session on the coming July 4th. The phraseology of that proclamation scrupulously observed requirements of the old and imperfect act of 1795, which afforded the only legislative warrant for this new emergency. There was no heart certainly at the North to cavil or criticise when that sober appeal, following the Sumter spectacle, made men at last realise that the loved Union was in danger, and that nothing but heroic sacrifice, as in the days of old, could save it from destruction. This was eloquence enough; and the document inspired pen and tongue like a Pentecost wherever through the rich and populous North the news travelled that Fort Sumter had fallen.

At once the great Union party of the nation sprang to its feet; not, indeed, with all the border allies hoped for, but, throughout the vast and populous region of free states, rallying the loyal in every city, town, and hamlet, and mustering tens and hundreds of thousands among the inhabitants, where thousands alone had been looked for. Party presses, some of them but lately protesting against coercion of the South, vied with one another in eagerness to sustain the president's summons, while the few that hung back were silenced by an indignant community or made to recant. The steamer that bore Anderson and his men into New York harbour, on the 18th of April, brought the flags of Moultrie and Sumter, and enthusiasm was wild to welcome those gallant defenders. All hearts at the free North beat in patriotic unison. Honest democrats and conservatives forgot their old antipathies and fraternised with republicans of every stripe for the old union of states, "one and inseparable." The inspiring utterances of Jackson and Daniel Webster were a thousand times repeated. The surviving ex-presidents of the North, Buchanan among them, gave encouragement. Among Northern statesmen once recreant to freedom, Cass, from his final retirement in Michigan, sent God-speed; while Douglas, for the few brief weeks left to him, threw aside his late sophistries, and, whole-souled in the new cause of upholding the Union, died illustrious. Everett, whose palmy years of eloquence had been given to maintaining, were it possible, a Union of compromise and smothered animosities, now flamed into a pillar of guiding strength by his splendid example.

The strong, sanguine enthusiasm of this first genuine uprising gave token that the republic would not, should not, perish. In public halls, on the village green, or wherever else a united gathering might impress its strongest force, citizens met in mass to be stirred to fervency as at some religious revival. Spokesmen of varying political antecedents occupied the platform together to bear their testimony as honest patriots. Boston rocked thus in old Faneuil Hall; at New York City was held an immense mass-meeting in Union Square, on the 20th of April, under the shadow of Washington's monument, and the ablest leaders of parties hitherto opposing addressed the crowd from three several stands. At a Chicago gathering, where the speaker raised his hand to take the oath of allegiance, the whole audience solemnly rose and repeated the words with him. There were flag-raisings, moreover, at which the national colours, red, white, and blue, were hoisted. One deep-rooted sentiment pervaded old and young throughout these free states — to serve, to sacrifice, but never to surrender. Only two sides of the question were possible at such a crisis — for the Union or against it; only two classes of citizens — patriots or traitors. "Fort Sumter is lost,"

said the New York *Tribune* "but freedom is saved." If there were a few men doubtful or disposed to palliate, they were swallowed into the resistless torrent of sympathy with the administration.[j]

John Codman Ropes,[k] in his remarkable study of the Civil War, unhappily left unfinished, has expressed perhaps better than any other writer the underlying elements of strength and weakness in the North and South. We are fortunate in being able to quote the following:[a]

THE OPPOSING PARTIES[1]

Thus the lines were finally drawn. Twenty-two states remained united. These states were preparing to assert their sovereignty by force of arms over the whole length and breadth of the land. Opposed to them stood the eleven states which had seceded, now constituting the Confederate States of America, equally resolute to maintain by the sword their claim to independence.

*Population and Material Resources*

The parties to this conflict were in many respects unequally matched. The populations of the twenty-two states which adhered to the Union aggregated upwards of twenty-two millions, of whom less than half a million were slaves. The populations of the eleven states which had left the Union numbered together but little over nine millions, of whom about three millions and a half were slaves. There were thus about four times as many free white people on the Union side as there were on the Confederate side. The slaves, however, instead of being a source of anxiety and apprehension, as many in the North confidently predicted would be the case, proved perfectly subordinate. They were trusted to take care of the families where the able-bodied white men had gone to the war, and they never betrayed their trust. They were largely employed in building fortifications. They raised the crops on which the entire South subsisted during the whole war.

In material prosperity the North was far in advance of the South. In accumulated capital there was no comparison between the two sections. The immigration from Europe had kept the labour market of the North well stocked, while no immigrants from Ireland or Germany were willing to enter into a competition with negro slaves. The North was full of manufactories of all kinds; the South had very few of any kind. The railroad systems of the North were far more perfect and extensive, and the roads were much better supplied with rolling-stock and all needed apparatus. The North was infinitely richer than the South in the production of grain and of meat, and the boasted value of the South's great staple, cotton, sank out of sight when the blockade closed the Southern ports to all commerce.

Accompanying these greater material resources there existed in the North a much larger measure of business capacity than was to be found in the South. This was of course to be expected, for the life of the plantation was not calculated to familiarise one with business methods, or to create an aptitude for dealing with affairs on a large scale. The great merchants and managers of large railroads and other similar enterprises in the North were able to render valuable assistance to the men who administered the state and national governments, and their aid was most generously given.

[1] Reprinted from J. C. Ropes' *Story of the Civil War*, by permission of G. P. Putnam's Sons. Copyright, 1898, by John Codman Ropes.]

*Army and Navy*

The command of the sea naturally fell at once into the hands of the North. With the exception of the losses caused by the unnecessary destruction of the vessels of war in the Gosport Navy Yard, the whole fleet of the United States, all the permanent establishments except the navy yard at Pensacola, and the entire personnel of the navy with the exception of a comparatively few officers remained under the control of the government. There were by no means so many resignations from the regular navy as from the regular army. To the naval officer, whether at sea or in a foreign port, the United States must always have appeared as one nation. The flag under which he sailed was contrasted with the flags of the nations of Europe. He could not but feel — as a rule, that is — that his country was the country which the Stars and Stripes represented, and not the state of his origin. Hence there were comparatively few instances of naval officers who resigned their commissions and tendered their services to their states. Yet there were some instances of this; Buchanan, Tattnall, Semmes, and Hollins were perhaps the most conspicuous of these. On the other hand, Farragut, who rose to be the head of the navy during the war, came from a state which seceded, Tennessee. Moreover, the mercantile marine of the United States, which, in 1861, was second only to that of Great Britain, was almost wholly owned in the North. It was chiefly in the New England States that the ships were built. The sailors, so far as they were Americans, and the greater part of them were Americans, were all Northerners. The owners were nearly all merchants in the Northern Atlantic cities. Hence the government had no difficulty in recruiting the navy to any extent, both in officers and men, from a large class thoroughly familiar with the sea.

The regular army suffered to a marked extent by the resignation of officers belonging in the states which had seceded. The privates and non-commissioned officers with hardly an exception remained faithful to the flag, and continued loyally to serve the government. Not a few officers also belonging in the seceding states, of whom the most distinguished were General Winfield Scott and General George H. Thomas, recognised the United States as their country and cheerfully remained in the army and served throughout the war.

It may be remarked that both sides had to depend to a considerable extent on Europe for supplies of arms and ammunition. This was, of course, much more true of the South than of the North, for the principal arsenals and manufactories of arms were situated in the Northern states. But, so far as importations were needed, it was obviously a perfectly simple matter for the North to procure them, while the vessels containing these precious cargoes for the South were always compelled to run the blockade, and were often captured in the attempt.

The financial situation of the North was, as has been intimated above, vastly superior to that of the South. Had the Confederate government promptly seized all the cotton in the country, paying for it at the market price in Confederate money, and sent it to England before the blockade had become fully established, and there stored it to be sold from time to time as occasion might require, available funds would have been forthcoming sufficient to meet the largest requirements. But this course, though suggested, was not carried out, and finances of the Southern Confederacy fell into the most deplorable condition long before the end of the war.

### *Difficulties of an Invasion*

Superior as the North was in numbers and in resources of every kind, and important as was her command of the sea, it was nevertheless by no means certain that she would succeed in the task which she had laid out for herself. The conquest of the eleven states was in truth a gigantic undertaking. The attempt was certain to be resisted by practically the entire population. This resistance would be made under the direction of generals of high attainments, of acknowledged ability, and of some experience in war. It would be made by upwards of five millions of people of pure American stock, who would be certain to fight with all the fierceness and determination of men fighting in defence of their country against invasion and conquest. There would be on the side of the South no hesitations, no dissensions, no thoughts of surrender. Whatever would be gained would have to be won by hard fighting. It was not possible that the North should make her numerical superiority count to its full extent on a battle-field in the South. All that invading power, even if greatly superior in population, can effect is to preserve a certain superiority in numbers in the theatre of war; how great that superiority shall be must depend on the means of transportation and subsistence and on the number of men required to hold the lines of communication and supply. The number which can be ranged in line of battle on any particular field cannot, therefore, be decided beforehand unless the most careful study has been given to the question by the military authorities. It should also be remembered that while in an invasion every step taken in advance necessarily carries the active army farther from its base of supplies and from its reinforcements, the enemy are by the same causes impelled towards a concentration of their available forces, so that, whatever disparity of strength may have existed at the outset, it is quite possible that at the moment of the decisive collision the forces may be practically equal.

### *Military Aptitude of the North and South*

Finally, if we would estimate correctly the relative power of the parties to this conflict, we must take account of their respective aptitudes for war. The South undoubtedly possessed a more military population than the North, and we do not find that one part of the South excelled another — to any marked degree, at any rate — in the possession of military instincts and aptitudes. Several of the Southern states — Virginia, South Carolina, and Louisiana among others — possessed excellent military academies. The population, almost wholly occupied in agricultural pursuits, was necessarily accustomed to life in the open air, to horses, to hunting and fishing, to exposure, to unusual physical exertion from time to time. Such conditions of life naturally foster a martial spirit. Then the aristocratic régime which prevailed in the slave-holding states was conducive to that preference of military over civil pursuits which has so generally been characteristic of aristocracies. The young men of the better classes eagerly embraced the profession of arms, as offering by far the noblest opportunities for the exercise of the higher virtues and for attaining the greatest distinction in the state. They made excellent officers, while those below them in the social scale, sharing as they did largely in the same feelings and possessed by the same ideas of life and duty, made admirable private soldiers and warrant

officers. Endowed with a marvellous capacity of endurance, whether of physical exertion or of lack of food, uncomplaining, ever ready for a fight, the soldiers of the South were first-rate material in the hands of the able officers who so generally commanded them. Their want of strict discipline was, it is true, notorious, but it was chiefly noticeable on the march, where straggling, to an extent unknown in the Federal armies, was a not infrequent feature. They loved fighting for its own sake, and no more willing troops ever responded to the call of their leaders. Their knowledge of woodcraft, gained by lives spent on the plantation or the farm, was always of great service, and often gave them a decided advantage over the numerous town-bred soldiers of the Federal armies.

In the North, on the other hand, there was very little of this enthusiastic sentiment about a military life. One may fairly say that it was rarely to be seen in the Eastern and Middle States; and although it is true that the young men of the West responded with more unanimity and probably with more alacrity to the often repeated summonses to leave peaceful pursuits and take the field, yet this was rather due to the comparative newness of the civilisation in the West than to any specific martial quality in the population. The truth is that the Northern people, whether in the East or the West, were busy, pre-occupied, full of schemes for the development of the country, and for the acquisition of private fortunes; happy and contented in their manifold industries, they detested equally the wastefulness and cruel sacrifices inseparable from fighting. The poetry of war hardly entered into the mind of the Northern volunteer; most certainly the *gaudium certaminis* did not influence his decision to enlist. His course was determined wholly by a sense of duty; for he looked upon the war as a grievous interruption to the course of his own life as well as to the normal development of his country's history. He regarded the Southerners as wholly to blame; and he determined to put them down, cost what it might. His devotion to his country was as deep and strong and unreserved as was that of his Southern opponent; he was as brave, as patient, as unfaltering, as persistent; but he did not take so much interest in the game; he went into camp, he drilled, he marched, he fought, without a thought of saving himself either labour or danger; but it was all weary work to him — distasteful; in his judgment the whole thing was unbefitting a country as far advanced in civilisation as the United States was — it was a sort of anachronism. Hence it cannot be doubted that the Southern volunteers frequently scored successes over their Northern adversaries for the simple and sole reason that to them the game of war was not only a perfectly legitimate pursuit, but one of the noblest, if not the noblest, that could claim the devotion of brave and free men. They went into it *con amore;* they gave to its duties their most zealous attention; and they reaped a full measure of the success which those who throw themselves with all their hearts into any career deserve and generally attain.

Taking all these things together, then, it was plain enough that the task of subjugating the South was certain to be one of great difficulty, even though the resources of the North were so much superior to those of the South. It was also unlikely that the resources of the North would be employed with any great amount of skill and judgment, at any rate at first. The president of the United States was known to be a man of no military training or experience. He was hardly likely to find, at the outset, generals who could plan and carry out the campaigns of invasion which the scheme of conquest required for its accomplishment. The Southern president, on the other hand, was a military man by education and experience; he had been graduated

from West Point; he had distinguished himself at Monterey and Buena Vista; he had been secretary of war. His army-list was certain to be made out intelligently, and it was known that he had a choice of excellent officers from among whom to select his ranking generals.

When we add to the considerations above presented that the South was about to fight for her own defence against invasion, to struggle for her independence against armies which were undertaking to conquer her, it was easy to see that all her energies would be aroused, and that it might safely be predicted that the advantage would not always be on the side of the heaviest battalions.[k]

### PREPARING FOR THE CONFLICT

The president's call to arms was responded to with unprecedented enthusiasm. The quota of every Northern state was filled many times over. At the South, too, enthusiasm was unbounded. Within the week Virginia had seceded and her militia had seized the Federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry and the Gosport Navy Yard, which was fired before it was abandoned by the Union officers. North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas followed the lead of the "Old Dominion." On April 19th occurred the first bloodshed of the war. The 6th Massachusetts regiment, passing through Baltimore on its way to Washington, was attacked by a mob in the streets, shots were exchanged, and four soldiers and a dozen or more of their assailants were killed.

The struggle between the opposing parties in the remaining border states was bitter. In spite of the active efforts of governors Jackson of Missouri and Magoffin of Kentucky, the people of these states after some hesitation declared for the Union. The forty western counties of Virginia refused to abide by Virginia's determination to secede. They now sent delegates to Wheeling, where a state government was organised. Subsequently this government applied to Washington for a division of the state, and congress, adopting the fiction that this was the only constituted government of the state and therefore could consent to a division, admitted the western counties under the name of West Virginia (1863).

Meanwhile the opposing forces were drawing together, and by the end of May an army of sixty thousand was collected in and around Washington. President Davis had issued a call for one hundred thousand volunteers, and the Confederate capital had been re-established in Richmond. Around these two hostile capitals the struggle was soon sure to be begun.

Governor Francis H. Pierpont, provisional governor of the western counties of Virginia, called on President Lincoln for aid in preserving the region for the Union. In response a force was sent under Gen. George B. McClellan and the first real fighting in the Civil War ensued. McClellan, in a short but vigorous campaign, succeeded in clearing western Virginia of Confederates, and re-establishing railway connections between Washington and the West. This early success brought McClellan into the prominence that resulted soon after in his advancement to more important commands.

### CONGRESS AND THE WAR (1861-1862)

Congress, in response to a call of President Lincoln, convened in special session at Washington on July 4th, 1861. The problems that confronted it

were greater and more numerous than any body of American legislators had ever before been called upon to solve. Armies were to be enlisted and organised, a navy to be built, the civil service to be reconstructed. For all these purposes funds were needed, and the national treasury was almost empty. President Lincoln's message was a remarkably clear statement of the steps he had already taken to preserve the Union and of the immediate measures required. The legislators responded enthusiastically and loyally. In a little over a month's time measures were passed providing for large increases in the regular army and navy; authorising the president to call for five hundred thousand volunteers for three years or during the war; authorising the secretary of the treasury to borrow $250,000,000 by issuing bonds or treasury notes; increasing the import duties, and providing for an income tax of 3 per cent. on all incomes of over $800 per year. On August 6th, the last day of the session, all the acts of the president taken before the meeting of congress, including the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, were ratified, and he was broadly authorised to confiscate any property used or intended to be used in furtherance of the Confederate cause.

During its next regular session (December, 1861–July, 1862) congress continued its policy of strengthening the finances of the government, and employing every resource to crush the rebellion. The policy was adopted and unhesitatingly persisted in until the end of the war of stimulating industries by high protective tariffs and then utilising their resources by an elaborate system of direct taxation. Specie payment had been suspended by agreement between the government and the banks in December, 1861, and to meet the new conditions, congress, in February, 1862, passed the Legal Tender Act. By this act treasury notes, familiarly known as "greenbacks," were issued to the amount of $150,000,000, subsequently reaching $450,000,000, and were made legal tender for every purpose except payment of import duties and interest on the public debt. Supplementary to this the National Bank Act (February 15th, 1863), by which the present national banking system was established, was passed a year later. In May, 1862, the Homestead Act was passed, and in July a bill providing for a Pacific Railway. In the latter month, too, the Morrill Tariff Act became a law.

### THE OPENING CAMPAIGN IN MISSOURI

The disunionist activities of Governor Jackson in Missouri and his endeavours to carry that state into the Confederacy hastened the opposing parties into hostilities west of the Mississippi. Jackson, on the pretence of maintaining the state's neutrality, had issued a call for fifty thousand volunteers to defend it against its northern invaders. General Nathaniel Lyon, taking counsel with General Frank P. Blair, had thereupon taken possession of the state capital, Jefferson City, in June. In the following month he established his base at Springfield, where he was joined by a force under Colonel Franz Sigel, bringing his total command up to six thousand men. Against him early in August marched a Confederate force of ten thousand under generals Sterling Price and Ben McCulloch. On the banks of Wilson's Creek, ten miles from Springfield, a fierce battle was fought August 9th, in which the gallant Lyon, after being twice wounded, was killed while leading his troops. The Federal forces, outnumbered almost two to one, fought on stubbornly for an hour longer, and then retired to Rolla, whither the Confederates, their own army sadly depleted by the struggle, made no attempt to follow them. Any possible advantage the result of the battle might have given them was

thrown away largely through the bickerings of Price and McCulloch. The appointment of Earl Van Dorn to the chief command followed. For six months there were no military operations of importance west of the Mississippi.

In the Federal army the greatest dissatisfaction was soon expressed with General John C. Frémont, who had been appointed to the command in Missouri. Complaints of incompetency and misuse of authority were followed by more serious charges of corruption in granting army contracts. While these charges were being investigated he drew popular attention to himself by issuing an order confiscating the property and setting free the slaves of all persons who had taken up arms against the Federal government in Missouri. This order, known as "Frémont's Emancipation Proclamation," was recognised by Lincoln and his advisers to be premature and impolitic to say the least, and it was seen that it might have an adverse effect on the Union cause in Kentucky. The revocation of the order, and the subsequent removal of Frémont as a result of the charges against him brought upon Lincoln a storm of reproach and disapproval from Sumner and the more radical anti-slavery republicans.

### THE BLOCKADE: OPERATIONS ALONG THE COAST

On April 19th, 1861, President Lincoln issued a proclamation declaring a blockade of all the ports of the seceded states. Steps were at once taken to make the blockade effective. It was a tremendous task, for there was a coast-line of over three thousand miles to be watched. The navy at the time consisted of only forty-two wooden vessels, more than half of which were on foreign stations. But they were hurried home for service, and extraordinary measures at once adopted for converting merchant vessels into ships of war. Northern shipyards were kept busy night and day.

The necessity for the hurry was evident. The vast cotton crop of the South was valueless unless it could be marketed. If the Confederacy could ship its staple crop to foreign markets it could buy with the funds thus obtained guns, ammunition, and munitions of war which might enable it to prolong the contest indefinitely. This was perfectly well recognised by President Lincoln and his secretary of the navy, Gideon Welles. Little by little the embargo was made effective along the whole stretch of coast. But throughout the long contest the dire necessity of the South induced the Confederate naval authorities to take every advantage of its laxity to aid swift sailing merchant vessels to run the blockade. The risks were great, but the reward was greater. In another direction the Confederate naval authorities were active. Their privateers, built at home and abroad, and carrying commissions from the Confederate government, preyed upon the commerce of the North with such disastrous results that despite every effort the American merchant marine, which in 1861 had been, next to England's, the greatest in the world, was by 1865 practically annihilated.

Many of the earliest operations conducted by the Federal government were undertaken for the purpose of establishing naval and military bases along the coast to strengthen the blockade, and from which the navy might more effectively operate against the privateers. One of the earliest of these was that which Gen. B. F. Butler led to Hatteras Inlet on the coast of North Carolina in August, 1861. Of more importance was the expedition in November, 1861, of General Thomas W. Sherman and Commodore Dupont, which successfully reduced forts Walker and Beauregard and captured Port

Royal on the South Carolina coast. Early in January, 1862, a fleet under Commodore Goldsborough, conveying an army of twelve thousand men under Gen. A. E. Burnside, set sail for Pamlico and Albemarle sounds on the coast of North Carolina. The Confederate fortifications on Roanoke Island were carried by assault, and later New Berne was occupied. By April, 1862, Fort Macon and Fort Pulaski had fallen, the reduction of the latter completely cutting off Savannah from the outside world. These successes rendered effective the blockade from Virginia to Florida and served to establish bases from which important operations could in the future be conducted into the interior.

### BULL RUN AND AFTER

While the campaign in western Virginia was still in progress events in the eastern part of the state pointed to an early meeting of the hostile armies in much larger numbers. Public opinion at the North had taken up the cry of "On to Richmond." From the South came back a no less certain cry of "On to Washington!" Finally, in response to the increasing demand for action. President Lincoln and his advisers determined upon a general advance into Virginia. On July 16th, 1861, General Irvin McDowell moved with his army of thirty thousand men in the direction of Manassas, about thirty miles southwest of Washington, where General Beauregard, the Confederate commander, had established his base with a somewhat inferior force. By the morning of Sunday, July 21st, when the two armies at length came together, the Confederates had been reinforced by the command of Gen. J. E. Johnston, which had been hastily ordered up from Winchester and had evaded the Union force of General Patterson set to watch it, so that the two armies were of almost exactly the same strength. The Confederates, however, had the advantage of being better posted and being on the defensive. McDowell advanced to the attack early on the morning of the 21st, his army being divided into three columns under generals Tyler, Hunter, and Heintzelman. Hunter on the right, after hard fighting, drove the Confederates before him until stopped on the slope of a hill by the brigade of Gen. Thomas J. Jackson. Jackson's stubborn resistance, which won for him the sobriquet of "Stonewall," checked the Federal assault until the arrival (about three o'clock in the afternoon) of a fresh contingent of Johnston's command under Gen. Kirby Smith. Beauregard had been on the point of ordering a retreat, but the tide of battle now began to turn against McDowell. Eight thousand fresh troops were hurled upon the flank and rear of the Federal army, which was gradually forced from the field. McDowell vainly tried to stop the retreat, and finding that impossible, attempted to withdraw his forces in order. But confusion prevailed, and his army streamed toward Washington in utter demoralisation. Beauregard and Johnston retained the field, but their forces were too badly disorganised to attempt a pursuit. The losses showed hard fighting. The Federal loss in killed and wounded was about fifteen hundred, the Confederates' nineteen hundred, but over thirteen hundred Federals were reported missing.

The news of the defeat at Bull Run caused the greatest consternation in the North; in the South the enthusiasm was unbounded. The ultimate result was probably more to the advantage of the North, for it was awakened at last to a realising sense of the vastness of the undertaking which the suppression of the secession movement meant. The South, on the other hand, suffered from the result of over-confidence. One of the first results of the battle at the North was the superseding of McDowell by McClellan. No

further movements of importance were undertaken by either of the main hostile armies in the east until October, the only operations worthy of note being a continuance of the campaigns in the mountains of western Virginia in which General Rosecrans was somewhat more successful than his Confederate opponent, Gen. Robert E. Lee.

### THE "TRENT" AFFAIR

Before the war had been in progress many months occurred an international incident which had a significant bearing upon the relations of both North and South with neutral European powers. This was the forcible seizure, on November 8th, by Captain Charles Wilkes and the United States sloop-of-war *San Jacinto* of James M. Mason and John Slidell, the Confederate commissioners to England and France respectively, en route to England from Havana on the English steamship *Trent*. At the outbreak of the war the South had hoped and expected that England's commercial interest in keeping her cotton-mills running would lead her to look with sympathy on the Confederate cause, if not to render more important aid in money or munitions of war. In some degree their expectations were realised, for the sympathies of the higher classes in England were, at the beginning of the war, undoubtedly almost wholly with the South. The hasty action of the British government in recognising the Confederates as belligerents on May 14th, 1861, which was soon after followed by similar action on the part of France, was looked upon as being evidence of the unfriendly attitude of the Palmerston ministry. But the tactful diplomacy of Charles Francis Adams, whom President Lincoln sent as American representative to the Court of St. James, and the powerful advocacy of the Northern cause by John Bright, Richard Cobden, and other Englishmen of influence, had apparently stemmed the tide of hostile feeling, when it was aroused anew by the seizure of the Confederate commissioners.

Mason and Slidell had escaped from Charleston on a blockade-runner and had re-embarked at Havana on November 7th on the British steamer *Trent*. On the next day the *Trent* was overhauled by the *San Jacinto* and the commissioners were seized and carried to Boston, where they were treated as prisoners of war. The news of the capture was at first received at the North with great joy. Wilkes was lauded as a national hero and received ovations at Boston and New York. Congress tendered him a vote of thanks. In England the seizure aroused a universal feeling of anger that was as unreasonable and extreme as were the Americans' demonstrations of joy. The British government at once demanded reparation, and in order to be prepared for a refusal dispatched thirty thousand troops to Halifax. Secretary Seward was rather disposed to assert American rights, believing that he had behind him the great public opinion of the North. But Lincoln, who declared that "we fought Great Britain for insisting by theory and practice on the right to do precisely what Captain Wilkes has done," counselled moderation. In this he was upheld by several members of his cabinet and by the more conservative sentiment at the North. Secretary Seward therefore informed Great Britain that the American government disavowed the act of Wilkes, and the commissioners were released and proceeded to England. The better opinion in England was anxious to defend itself from any charge of sympathy for the Confederate cause arising from this affair, and the London *Times* voiced this sentiment when it declared, "We should have done just as much to rescue two of their own negroes."

### FORTS HENRY AND DONELSON

It was early evident that the attempt to maintain Kentucky in a position of neutrality could not be successful. The geographical location of the state, if nothing more, rendered such an attitude impossible. Its occupation would naturally be one of the earliest steps in the Federal programme of securing control of the Mississippi river. Nor could it be expected that either side would neglect to attempt control of the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, two of the most important military thoroughfares into the heart of the Confederacy. The Confederate seizure of Columbus on the Mississippi was followed by General Grant's occupation of Paducah at the mouth of the Tennessee. The state was thus forced into the struggle, and on September 20th, 1861, its legislature called for troops to support the Union cause.

The campaigns that followed developed into a struggle for the control of the waterways. The Confederates fortified Columbus, New Madrid, and Island Number 10 on the Mississippi, and erected Fort Henry on the Tennessee and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland. Along this line of defence, with Bowling Green in Kentucky as an outpost and Nashville as a centre, General Albert Sidney Johnston distributed his forces. Against these were pitted Federal forces under General Don Carlos Buell at Louisville and General Ulysses S. Grant at Cairo, all being at the time under the supreme command of General Halleck. The first Federal attack on this line came on November 7th when Grant, moving down from Cairo in transports, routed the Confederates under General Pillow at Belmont, opposite Columbus, but was compelled to abandon the place on the reinforcement of Pillow by General Leonidas Polk, who commanded at Columbus. No more fighting of importance occurred until January, 1862, when the Federal forces moved forward all along the line. General James A. Garfield conducted a short but sharp campaign in eastern Kentucky, culminating in the defeat of the Confederates under Gen. Humphrey Marshall at Prestonburg (January 10th). On January 19th General George H. Thomas won a decisive victory over the combined Confederate forces of generals Crittenden and Zollicoffer at Mill Springs. General Zollicoffer was killed; and this, the first substantial Union victory in the West, gave great encouragement to the Federal armies. By these victories eastern Kentucky was freed from Confederate occupation.

Halleck now determined to break the centre of the Confederate line of defence, and for that purpose despatched General Grant with seventeen thousand troops and Commodore Foote with a flotilla of river gun-boats up the Tennessee river to Fort Henry. General Tilghman, the Confederate commander, realised the futility of resistance, and sending the bulk of his forces to reinforce Fort Donelson, surrendered after a mock defence.

Leaving a strong garrison at Fort Henry, Grant at once prepared to advance with fifteen thousand men upon Fort Donelson, where he was destined to win his first laurels as a fighter. Johnston had thought Fort Donelson almost impregnable, and had placed in it a force larger by six thousand than Grant's attacking army, under the command of Gen. John B. Floyd, late secretary of war in Buchanan's cabinet. On February 12th Grant, marching across country from Fort Henry, invested the Confederate fortifications. On the following day he attacked and was repulsed. That night arrived Foote with his gun-boats and General Lew Wallace with his division of infantry. On the 14th Foote attacked with his flotilla, but the fierce fire from the Confederate guns compelled him to retire down the stream with two of his gun-boats disabled. He himself was severely wounded.

That night Floyd, realising that Grant's reinforced troops now outnumbered his, after consulting with his two subordinates, Pillow and Buckner, determined to cut his way out to Nashville. Early the next morning this attempt was made. Ten thousand men were hurled upon the division commanded by General McClernand, which after a gallant defence, was forced by lack of ammunition to retire. If the Confederates had followed up this advantage they might indeed have obtained what they sought — a clear road to Nashville. But General Pillow, who commanded the assault, with almost incredible lack of foresight, withdrew into the fort. Grant at once saw his advantage and gave orders to his troops to retake their former position. At the same time he ordered General C. F. Smith, a brave and experienced soldier, to assault the works in his front. Smith, though a division commander, gallantly led the charge in person. Over rough ground and in the face of a withering fire the Union forces rushed upon the works, and with fixed bayonets carried an important position which practically commanded the entire fort. This position he was able to hold. At the same time Wallace and McClernand had advanced their lines to their former positions so that the fort was more closely invested than ever.

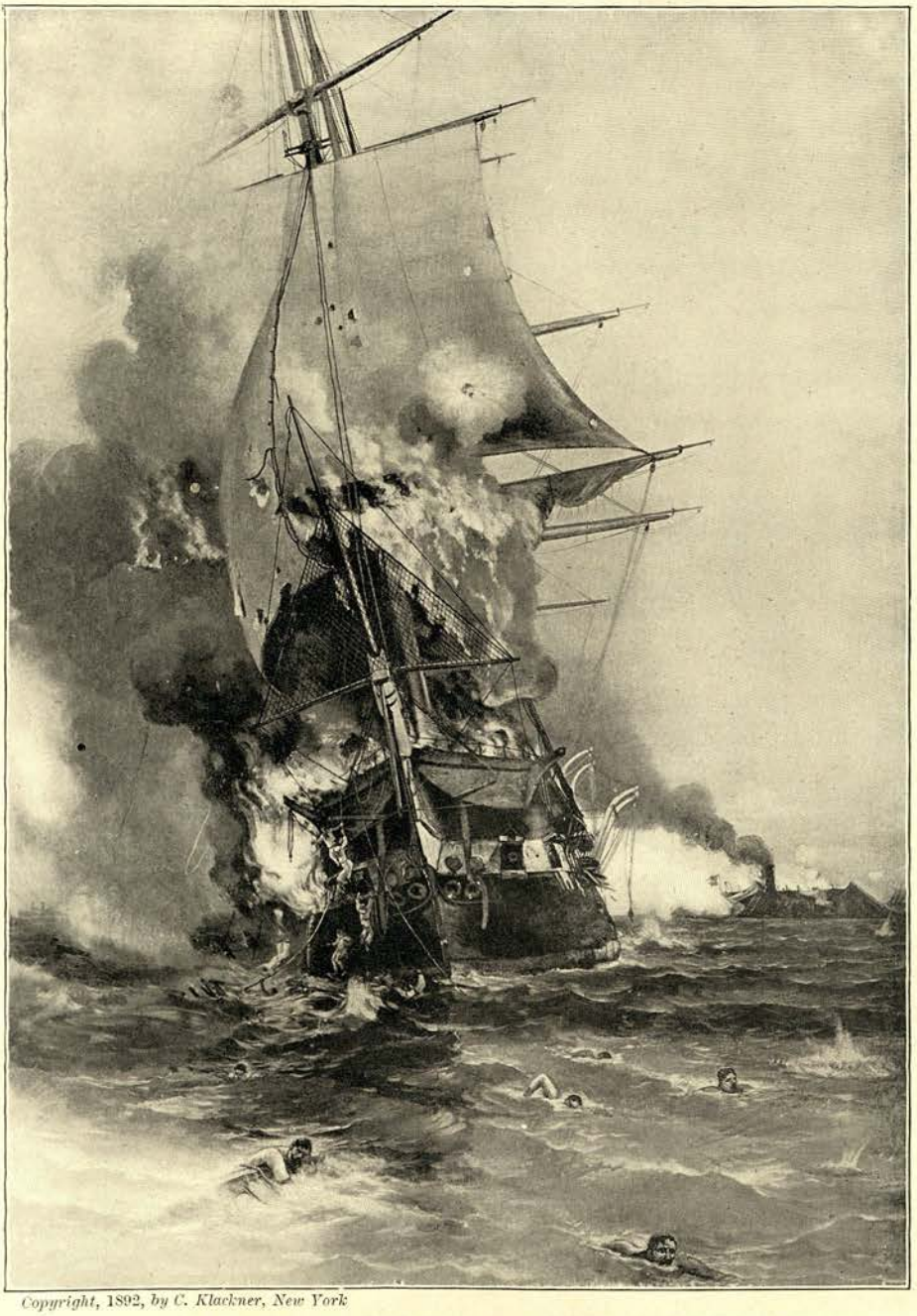
At a council of war held that night, Floyd, who was under indictment at Washington for malversation of government funds while in the cabinet, declared that he meant to escape. Pillow also stated his intention to follow suit; and Gen. Simon B. Buckner, upon whom the command thereupon fell, expressed his determination of surrendering on the following day. Floyd and Pillow, with a small portion of the troops, made good their escape. Buckner's attempt to obtain conditions from Grant the next day were terminated by Grant's famous "unconditional surrender" reply. The fort and 11,500 men were therefore surrendered. Grant had lost in all three thousand men; the Confederate casualties were not nearly so great.

"The capture of Fort Donelson," says Ropes,[k] "was not a great affair, judged by the number of the slain, but judged by its moral and strategical results it was one of the turning points of the war. The whole system of the Confederate defence in the West had been broken up." Bowling Green and Columbus were at once abandoned, and Johnston was compelled to construct a completely new line of defence.

### ISLAND NUMBER 10 AND PEA RIDGE

After the fall of Fort Donelson the Confederates still maintained strongly intrenched positions at New Madrid and Island Number 10 on the Mississippi; and against these, as a preliminary to opening up the latter river, early in March, 1862, Gen. John Pope was sent with a force of some twenty thousand men. The Mississippi here makes a double loop, New Madrid lying at the bottom of the northern, and Island Number 10 at the bottom of the southern, loop. New Madrid was first made untenable by cutting it off from its source of supply, and it capitulated on March 17th. The capture of Island Number 10 was more difficult, although in this undertaking Pope had the support of Flag-Officer Foote and his gun-boat flotilla. Finally, with much labour, a canal twelve miles long was cut across the isthmus made by the bend in the river, transports were floated through from which troops were landed below the island, and on April 7th a combined land and water attack was followed by the surrender of the island with its valuable stores. The chief result of these successes was the opening of the Mississippi as far as Memphis.

While the operations against Island Number 10 were in progress an



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THE BURNING OF THE *CONGRESS* IN HAMPTON ROADS

(From the painting by J. O. Davidson)

important victory was won for the Union arms west of the Mississippi by Gen. S. R. Curtis, who had succeeded to the command in Missouri and had slowly driven Van Dorn out of the state into Arkansas. There at Pea Ridge, in the mountains of the northwestern part of the state, Curtis, with a force of eleven thousand was met by a motley Confederate force of twenty thousand. A two days' conflict ensued (March 7th–8th). At the end of the first day's fighting the outlook was favourable to a Confederate victory, but Van Dorn's troops were not well organised, and a vigorous flank attack by General Sigel on the second day resulted in a decisive Federal victory. The result secured the possession of Missouri to the Union cause, and practically cleared it of Confederate troops for the remainder of the war.

### THE "MONITOR" AND THE "MERRIMAC"

At Hampton Roads, on Sunday, March 9th, 1862, occurred the fight between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*. It was the first combat between ironclads and marked a new era in naval warfare. When the Gosport Navy Yard was abandoned by the Federal authorities in April, 1861, the frigate *Merrimac* had been partially burned and sunk. Subsequently the Confederates had raised her, converted her into an ironclad, and renamed her the *Virginia*. She was provided with a powerful battery, her decks, covered with sheets of iron, sloped down to the water line, and she was fitted with an iron ram. On the morning of March 8th the *Merrimac*, as she was still commonly known, steamed out from Norfolk into Hampton Roads, and attacked the Federal fleet. After a fierce but unavailing resistance on the part of the frigate *Congress* and the sloop-of-war *Cumberland*, both were destroyed. The broadsides of the Federal ships rattled against the *Merrimac's* iron sides, and rolled off harmlessly into the water.

On the next morning the *Merrimac* returned to the scene of her previous day's victories, intending to complete the destruction of the Federal fleet. Her achievements of the day before had created the greatest consternation at the North; and the press conjured up pictures of the invincible *Merrimac* exacting tribute from every seaport on the North Atlantic coast. It was not supposed that the Northern navy possessed a vessel that could cope with the destroyer.

But that very morning the little iron-clad *Monitor* had arrived from New York under the command of Lieutenant John L. Worden, and lay at anchor alongside the frigate *Minnesota*, which the *Merrimac* proposed to demolish. Ropes[k] calls this opportune coming of the *Monitor* "the most dramatic of the many dramatic occurrences of the war." This little low-decked, turreted iron-clad which the Confederates contemptuously characterised as "a raft with a cheese-box on it," had been built at the Brooklyn navy yard after models of John Ericsson. It was a good deal in the way of an experiment, but the value of the experiment was soon proved. The *Merrimac* bore down upon her with the intention of ramming her, but the *Monitor* skilfully eluded the blow. For several hours the two vessels fought at close range, but neither was able to inflict any serious damage on the other. Commodore Buchanan and several of the *Merrimac's* gunners were wounded. Lieutenant Worden was the only man on board the *Monitor* to be seriously hurt. After he was wounded the *Monitor* withdrew for a few minutes, whereupon the *Merrimac* took advantage of the cessation of the firing to return to Norfolk. The fight itself was a draw, but the real advantage was with the *Monitor*, for the Federal fleet had been saved, the idea of the invincibility of the *Merrimac* shown to

be false. The latter was not again taken into action, and when Norfolk was abandoned a few months later she was burned by the Confederates.[a]

### THE BATTLE OF SHILOH

[General Grant, immediately after the fall of Donelson, prepared to ascend the Tennessee river and break the new Confederate line of defence along the Memphis and Charleston Railroad.] On arriving at Pittsburg Landing on the Tennessee river, some twenty miles from Corinth, he occupied a very strong position on the left bank, intending to hold it until the arrival of General Buell with his army from Nashville. After the junction of the two armies, amounting to more than seventy thousand men, it was intended to move in overwhelming force on Corinth. When Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston learned of Grant's presence at Pittsburg Landing with no more than forty thousand men, he decided to advance suddenly and surprise him, in the hope of winning a victory before Buell's arrival. Circumstances so delayed the operation that Buell's advance division had arrived at Savannah, only nine miles below Pittsburg Landing, on the evening before the attack was made. There has been much discussion as to whether Grant was really surprised on the Sunday morning, April 6th, 1862, when the Confederates charged upon his camp. It is perfectly clear that he was not aware of the presence of Johnston's force in his neighbourhood, and did not expect any attack to be made before the middle of the week. When the firing began on Sunday morning Grant was nine miles distant at Savannah. The division of Lew Wallace, seven thousand men, was at Crump's Landing, five miles below the scene of the battle. The position at Pittsburg Landing, where the principal command was exercised by generals McClernand and Sherman, was a strong one, protected on three sides by creeks, which were swollen with backwater from the great river. The open front towards the southwest, marked by a rude meeting-house known as Shiloh church, ought to have been protected by earthworks; this precaution, however, had been neglected. Johnston's plan was to attack by his right flank and cut off the Union army from Pittsburg Landing, which would involve its destruction or capture; but his attack was not correctly planned for that purpose. His force was not sufficiently massed upon his right, and his main blow was directed too near the Federal centre. The attack was conducted with magnificent gallantry, but the resistance of the Federal troops was very obstinate, and although their organisation was much impaired it was with great slowness that they were pushed back. About the middle of the forenoon the Union generals, Benjamin Prentiss, S. A. Hurlbut, and W. H. L. Wallace, secured a difficult position, since known as the Hornets' Nest, and maintained it until late in the afternoon despite all the efforts of the Confederates. Early in the afternoon, while assaulting this position, Johnston was killed, and the command devolved upon General Beauregard. [Here too fell W. H. L. Wallace. The Union forces were steadily driven back toward the Landing; in one of the movements General Prentiss and part of his command were cut off and captured. Nightfall alone brought a cessation of hostilities. At the end of the first day's fighting the victory was undoubtedly with the Confederates.] Lew Wallace's division had been greatly delayed in its march by imperfect information, and Nelson's division of Buell's army had been equally delayed by the detestable spring roads; but at nightfall both these divisions arrived upon the battlefield, adding fifteen thousand fresh men to the Union force; and so many steamboats had now been collected at Savannah that two more

of Buell's divisions were comfortably brought up the river during the night. It was evident that Beauregard's battle on Monday was fought, not so much in the hope of victory as in order to secure an unmolested retreat. This he accomplished. In the afternoon he withdrew his army with much skill, leaving the Federals too weary to pursue. In this great battle more than twenty thousand men were killed and wounded, and the Federals lost besides three thousand prisoners. It was an important victory for the Federals, inasmuch as it decided the fate of Corinth; but those who blamed Grant for the surprise were perhaps quite as many as those who praised him for the victory.[m]

Ropes,[k] probably the most brilliant military historian of the war, in criticising Grant's movements after the battle, says: "There was no reason why Grant should not promptly and unremittingly have followed up his beaten antagonist. It was a case where the enemy were in full retreat, and that too, after having lost very heavily in one battle, and been defeated in the second. But Grant did not act at all. He utterly failed to seize the opportunity. And no better opportunity than this was ever presented to a Federal general during the war."[a]

### FARRAGUT AT NEW ORLEANS (1862)[1]

The blockade at New Orleans had been peculiarly difficult to keep intact, and several privateers, as well as many merchantmen, had been able to break through. Among these the ram Manassas steamed down the river, and made a sudden diversion among the blockading squadron; but it was of short duration, and quite without result. Towards the close of the year Ship Island, near New Orleans, had been occupied by Union troops. General Benjamin F. Butler had charge of this department, but had brought nothing to a head. Admiral David G. Farragut, with David D. Porter second in command, reached the place in the early spring of 1862 to see what could be done. The capture of New Orleans would not only exert a very depressing effect upon the Confederates, but the city would also serve as a base for operations up the Mississippi, in connection with those already moving down.

The approaches to New Orleans by the main channel were held by two strong works, forts Jackson and St. Philip, and the river was patrolled by a flotilla. Farragut moored his mortar-boats below the forts, back of a bend in the river, and for six days bombarded Fort Jackson; but, impatient to secure the city, he determined to try the experiment of running his fleet past the forts, and thus to isolate them. This was a feat never before attempted and of questionable result. But, to the utter astonishment of the Confederates, it was successfully accomplished, and the next day Farragut took possession of New Orleans, evacuated by General Mansfield Lovell on his approach (April 25th).

Porter shortly afterwards received the surrender of the forts — it is claimed on account of a mutiny of the garrison of Fort Jackson — and they were duly occupied. Butler then took possession of the city with his troops.

It must be said in praise of Butler that in provost-marshal work, such as he was called upon to perform in New Orleans, he showed remarkable capacity. The city was never healthier or in finer condition than under his régime. There was, however, just complaint against him in matters connected with

[1] Reprinted by permission of Houghton, Mifflin and Company. Copyright, 1897, by Theodore A. Dodge.]

trade; nor did he make the least attempt to mix suavity of method with strength of action in his government of the city.[1]

### THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN

After his defeat at Bull Run General McDowell, as we have seen, was superseded in the command of the Army of the Potomac by General George B. McClellan. McClellan, who was almost unsurpassed as a military organiser, spent the succeeding months to good advantage in constructing a real army out of the disorganised, untrained mass of volunteers he found at his disposal. On November 1st, 1861, General Winfield Scott, who had up to this time retained nominal command of the armies of the United States, was retired, and McClellan was made commander-in-chief.

Shortly before this (October 21st) the two opposing armies had unintentionally met in a fierce battle at Ball's Bluff on the Potomac above Washington, in which the Union forces were defeated with considerable loss, including their gallant commander, Colonel E. D. Baker, United States senator from Oregon. This engagement was the result of an isolated operation, however, and not of a forward movement. So also was the battle of Drainesville, a Union victory in December. Throughout the North now began a demand for an advance, but all through the winter McClellan's troops remained inactive in their quarters. It was not until well into March, 1862, that McClellan, his command now again restricted to the Army of the Potomac, began a movement which he had long had in mind. This was the transfer of his army of one hundred and twenty thousand men to Fortress Monroe on the peninsula formed by the James and York rivers, which was accomplished in the three weeks beginning March 17th. From Fortress Monroe McClellan advanced toward Richmond, his objective point, as far as Yorktown, where he found his way blocked by a Confederate army of eleven thousand under General Magruder. At this moment McClellan learned that President Lincoln had detached McDowell's corps from his army and detained it to ensure the defence of Washington. This action of the president McClellan always declared to be responsible for his subsequent failure.

Without attempting to carry the works by assault — a step which a more energetic general would at least have tried — McClellan settled down to a siege, wasted a month erecting elaborate intrenchments and batteries, only to find when he was at last ready to open fire (May 3rd) that Magruder had slipped away toward Richmond. A pursuit was at once ordered, and at Williamsburg Longstreet was found awaiting them (May 5th). A spirited assault was successfully resisted during the day, with a loss of some 2,200 to the Union forces and 600 to the Confederates. The Confederates withdrew under cover of night, and McClellan leisurely continued his advance up the Peninsula, arriving at the Chickahominy May 21st.

It was during this interval that events occurred in the Shenandoah Valley that for a time placed McClellan's peninsular operations in jeopardy. Two small armies had been left in that locality under Banks and Frémont respectively. It had been planned to have these two forces join to crush the Confederate forces of "Stonewall" Jackson, by whom they were opposed. But this brilliant strategist, whose force had been increased to twenty thousand, completely frustrated their designs, and by a brilliant manœuvre defeated Banks at Winchester on May 25th and advanced so close to Washington as to fill that city with consternation. McDowell was then sent to drive him

away, but again evading a conflict, Jackson proceeded south and joined the main Confederate army near Richmond.

Before Jackson had effected this junction, however, McClellan had fought and won a bloody two days' battle at Fair Oaks (May 31st–June 1st). This conflict had been precipitated by Johnston, who had taken advantage of a mistake of McClellan in dividing his army, and had fallen upon the two corps of Heintzelman and Keyes which had crossed the Chickahominy. These two generals resisted stubbornly against heavy odds and superior numbers, but were slowly pressed back. Defeat seemed certain when General E. V. Sumner, who with his corps had crossed the swollen Chickahominy on bridges of his own construction, arrived on the scene of battle at the critical moment. Sumner's spirited attack threw Johnston's forces into confusion, the latter commander himself being seriously wounded. The battle was renewed the next morning, but the Confederates soon gave up the fight and withdrew from the field. The losses were heavy, aggregating five thousand for the Union and six thousand for the Confederate forces. McClellan made no attempt to follow up this victory — having an apparently good excuse in his inability to transfer the rest of his army across the river. The battle, therefore, though one of the bloodiest thus far fought, was really only important in the improvement it effected in the *morale* of the Federal army. McClellan again took up his careful advance on the Confederate capital, and by June 25th he had reached a point only four miles from Richmond, the church spires of which could be seen in the distance.

### THE SEVEN DAYS' BATTLE BEFORE RICHMOND

General Johnston's wound at Fair Oaks incapacitated him from continuing as commander of the Army of Northern Virginia, and he was therefore succeeded by Gen. Robert E. Lee. The change was a happy one, for it gave to this brilliant soldier the opportunity to prove the remarkable powers as a strategist and organiser which have placed him in the front rank of generals of all ages. During the month following Fair Oaks, while McClellan remained inactive within sight of Richmond, Lee made every effort to strengthen his defence, and succeeded in gathering together an army of some ninety thousand. At last, toward the end of June, McClellan was ready to move forward with his hundred thousand men. The first fight — the first of the seven days' battles — was fought at Mechanicsville, June 26th, 1862, where Lee's forces, being divided, suffered a sharp defeat. On the following day took place the much fiercer battle of Gaines' Mill. In this engagement Fitz-John Porter, commanding McClellan's right, consisting of some thirty thousand troops, sustained for hours a furious attack of almost twice as many Confederates, retiring across the Chickahominy at nightfall after each side had lost upward of seven thousand, almost three thousand of Porter's casualties consisting, however, of captured. Although Lee retained possession of the field, his losses were out of all proportion to the value of his success.

At this juncture McClellan might have easily swung his main army around upon Richmond had he not been misled into believing Lee's forces twice their actual strength. But he had other plans, and by the morning of the 28th his army was under way to take up a new base to the left on the James river.

McClellan had cleverly deceived both Lee and Jackson, who had expected him to retire the way he had come and had made their preparations accordingly. By the 29th Lee realised his mistake and made haste to attack the

retreating Federal army, but was twice repulsed by their rear-guard at Savage's Station and Allen's Farm. On June 30th the Confederates made a more general attack all along the line at Glendale or Frazier's Farm, but were again checked with great loss. That night McClellan concentrated his entire force on Malvern Hill, where on the next day the last and most severe of the seven days' battle was fought. The battle lasted all day, but the determined Confederate assaults were all successfully resisted. The result was a complete Union victory, the loss to their forces aggregating some 1,600 in killed and wounded, while the Confederate loss was over 5,000. The seven days' fighting had resulted in a loss of 15,849 killed, wounded, and missing to the Army of the Potomac, and 20,135 to the Army of Northern Virginia. "Nevertheless," says Ropes,[k] "the moral and political effect of the whole series of movements and battles was entirely to the advantage of the Confederates. Facts are stubborn things; and there was no denying that McClellan had been forced to give up his position on the Chickahominy, where he was within sight of the steeples of Richmond, and to retire, followed — pursued, in fact — by his enemies to the river James, to a point twenty or thirty miles from the Confederate capital. The abrupt change of the part played by the Federal general from the rôle of the invader to that of the retreating and pursued enemy was too dramatic not to arrest general attention."

### POPE'S VIRGINIA CAMPAIGN (1862)

In the last days of June, 1862, while McClellan was still struggling on the peninsula, the commands of McDowell, Banks, and Frémont were consolidated under the name of the Army of Virginia and placed under the command of General John Pope, who had won prominence by his victory at Island Number 10. On July 11th, General Halleck was called to Washington and made commander-in-chief of all the land forces of the United States.

Pope early in August prepared to make an aggressive campaign into Virginia, his army having now been reinforced by part of McClellan's force. Lee, meanwhile, relieved of immediate fear of McClellan, had despatched "Stonewall" Jackson again to the North to face Pope. The first encounter between the hostile forces took place at Cedar Mountain, where Jackson repulsed a furious attack made by half as large a force under Banks (August 9th). By August 25th McClellan's army had left the peninsula and Porter's and Heintzelman's corps were now acting with Pope. Lee also had moved northward with most of his army to support Jackson, and thenceforth Pope was on the defensive. Meanwhile skirmishes and small engagements were taking place daily. J. E. B. Stuart in of one his daring raids completely circled the Union army, and Jackson captured the Union stores at Manassas. On August 29th took place the sanguinary battle of Groveton. General Hooker under Pope's orders made the first attack on Jackson, not aware of the fact that he had already been strongly reinforced by Longstreet. Porter, whom Pope had ordered to turn Jackson's flank, was prevented from such a movement by the necessity of holding Longstreet in check. Fighting was resumed next morning (August 30th), and from the fact that the second day's battle took place on exactly the same ground upon which McDowell was defeated in July, 1861, it has been called the second battle of Bull Run. Porter, McDowell, and Heintzelman advanced to the attack but were repulsed with great loss, and a counter attack of Longstreet gradually forced Pope's army back upon Centreville. On September 1st, the third day of continuous fighting, Pope withdrew toward Washington, fighting en route

the bloody battle of Chantilly, in which the gallant General Kearney lost his life. The losses of the Confederates aggregated nine thousand; of the Federals about fourteen thousand, half of whom, however, were prisoners. Ropes[k] says, in summing up Pope's failure, that on the morning of August 30th it was entirely within his power to take a strong position and hold it against any assault Lee could have made. "He made, however," he continues, "the fatal mistake of utterly misconceiving the situation; and, neglecting all precautions, he ordered an attack. Pope (on the 30th) was badly beaten; still he was not forced from the field. But his retreat on that day changed the whole aspect of affairs and stamped the whole campaign as a failure. It was a confession of his inability to meet his antagonist, and it lost him the remaining confidence of his soldiers."

### ANTIETAM

Pope resigned his command as soon as he reached Washington, the short-lived Army of Virginia went out of existence, and to McClellan was assigned the task of reorganising his own and Pope's forces into the Army of the Potomac. In a week the disorganised and disheartened troops had been moulded by the hand of the master organiser into a new and effective army. Lee, after his defeat of Pope, had at once started on an invasion of Maryland, and McClellan now set out up the north bank of the Potomac to head him off. On September 14th the forces of Franklin, Burnside, and Reno won two decisive actions, known as the battle of South Mountain. General Reno was among the Federal killed. On the following day, however, a Confederate force under Jackson and McLaws captured a Federal force of twelve thousand at Harper's Ferry without any serious attempt being made to defend the place.

Lee's main army meanwhile had taken up a strong position at Sharpsburg, on the south bank of Antietam Creek, a stream emptying into the Potomac above Harper's Ferry. Here McClellan came up with him, and on this field on September 17th was fought the battle of Antietam. Lee's force was not as large as McClellan's, but by the disposition of his troops and his mode of attacking in succession instead of *en masse* he managed to meet the Federal force at almost every point of contact with an equal force of his own. Hooker opened the battle by a sharp attack on Lee's left on the night of the 16th, renewing it on the next morning; but his assault was stopped by Jackson at the little Dunker church. All day long the tide of battle ebbed and flowed about this point. On the left Burnside's slow attack, not undertaken until afternoon, was undecisive. At night the two armies, depleted and exhausted by one of the hardest day's fighting in all the war, ceased the conflict as if by mutual consent. The next day Lee withdrew his troops from what Dodge[l] characterises as for Lee a tactically drawn battle but a strategic defeat, for it marked the end of his first attempt at an invasion of the North. The losses on each side approximated twelve thousand, which points to it as the bloodiest battle thus far fought in the war except Shiloh. Ropes[k] says that "it is likely that more men were killed and wounded on the 17th of September than on any single day in the whole war." "The battle," says this same historian, "was in every light most creditable to General Lee and his army, and of General Lee's personal management of the battle nothing but praise can be uttered."

Had McClellan known that Lee was practically out of ammunition and that his force had been depleted by almost one-half through battle and strag-

gling, he would probably have followed up and crushed him. But he was again held back by his absurd and unreasonable fear of the strength of his adversary. It was five weeks before he crossed the Potomac, in response to the urgent commands of President Lincoln and General Halleck, and moved into Virginia. He had proceeded as far as Warrenton, when, on November 7th, 1862, he was without warning removed from his command and superseded by General Burnside.

### THE CAMPAIGN OF 1862 IN KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE

After Shiloh, Halleck moved the Union lines forward to Corinth, which was abandoned by the Confederates. The army of the Ohio under General Buell now became the centre of interest. Early in the summer of 1862 Buell advanced toward Chattanooga, but he was forestalled by the energetic Confederate general, Braxton Bragg. Later in the summer Bragg moved northward toward Louisville, meanwhile sending his lieutenant, General Kirby Smith, to take Lexington and threaten Cincinnati. Buell reached Louisville before Bragg and marched forth to meet him with a nearly equal force. Bragg retreated but Buell overtook him at Perryville (October 8th, 1862), where a severe battle was fought, Buell sustaining a loss of almost 4,000 and Bragg a thousand less. Bragg, however, continued his retreat that night, and owing to Buell's dilatory tactics made good his escape into Tennessee. Complaints against Buell resulted soon after in his being replaced by General W. S. Rosecrans. Elson[n] points out an interesting parallel between Bragg's invasion of Kentucky and Lee's invasion of Maryland. "Both ended in failure," he says. "In each case the Confederate commander withdrew after the battle at night and abandoned the expedition. The parallel is notable also between McClellan and Buell. Both were good disciplinarians, but lacking in the fire and dash necessary to an offensive campaign. Both were successful without a great victory in driving the Confederates from border-state soil."

During the same period covered by this campaign General Rosecrans was winning at Iuka and Corinth the laurels that pointed to him as Buell's successor. In the battle of Iuka (September 19th), Rosecrans had administered a sharp defeat to Sterling Price. Two weeks later at Corinth he was in turn attacked by Price and Van Dorn (October 3rd and 4th), but won a brilliant victory, losing only 2,500 men to the Confederates' 4,200.

After taking command of the Army of the Ohio, now renamed the Army of the Cumberland, Rosecrans remained for some weeks quietly in Nashville. On the day after Christmas, 1862, he moved his army of forty-seven thousand men in three divisions, under Thomas, McCook, and Crittenden, toward Bragg's headquarters at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, forty miles distant. The armies met on the last day of the year on the banks of Stone river. The fierce onset of General Hardee turned the Union right under McCook, but the stand of Thomas and the heroic efforts of Rosecrans saved the day and the first day's battle was a drawn one. On the first day of the new year the armies rested preparing for a renewal of the conflict on the next. The battle of January 2nd was hotly contested and resulted in a victory for the Union arms. Rosecrans had lost thirteen thousand men to Bragg's ten thousand, but the latter's immediate withdrawal from Murfreesboro with his crippled army opened the way for the Union advance to Chattanooga the following summer.

EMANCIPATION

For the first year and a half of the war President Lincoln had adhered strictly to his original intention of keeping the character of the struggle a war for the preservation of the Union. He realised that the mass of the Northern people would at first have held back from an abolition war. As Woodrow Wilson [b] says, had the war been short and immediately decisive for the Union, the Federal power would not have touched slavery in the states. But the war had dragged on, it showed no signs of ending, and despite his natural disinclination to take any steps toward abolition the president had to acknowledge that the current of events was tending in that direction.

Indeed many steps had already been taken toward emancipation. As early as May, 1861, Gen. B. F. Butler at Fortress Monroe had refused to return slaves to their owners, declaring them to be "contraband of war," a phrase which came thenceforth to be jocularly applied to all fugitive slaves. Then (August, 1861) came the first of congress' confiscation acts, which applied to slaves, and General Frémont's disallowed order already mentioned. A similar order of Gen. David Hunter in South Carolina was overruled in 1862. On April 16th, congress abolished slavery in the District of Columbia, with compensation. In June, 1862, it passed a law prohibiting slavery in all territories of the United States, which then existed or in the future should be acquired.

To the same congress the president addressed a special message urging the co-operation of that body with the authorities of any border state for the gradual emancipation of its slaves with compensation. The second confiscation act, passed July 17th, 1862, pronounced free all slaves who should seek the protection of the government, if their owners had been directly or indirectly concerned in the rebellion. On July 22nd President Lincoln, to the surprise of most of his cabinet, read them the draft of a proclamation of emancipation which he proposed should take effect on January 1st, 1863.

At Seward's advice the president decided not to issue the proclamation until after some signal Union victory in the field. Meanwhile the more radical republicans continued to denounce the president's inaction. Horace Greeley's famous open letter to the president, "The Prayer of Twenty Millions," appeared in the New York *Tribune*, and brought forth a reply from Lincoln to the effect that he personally desired emancipation, but that his first duty as president was to save the Union with or without emancipation.

By September Lincoln had fully determined that it would serve to stimulate the North if the war were made a war against slavery as well as for the preservation of the Union; and that thereby the dread of foreign intervention would be practically eliminated and the South be placed irrevocably in the wrong in the eyes of the civilised world.

Then came Antietam, and on September 22nd he issued a preliminary proclamation giving notice that unless the Southern states returned to their allegiance to the Union within a hundred days thereafter he should proclaim the slaves within their borders free. This warning he carried out in his formal Proclamation of Emancipation, January 1st, 1863. Questions as to the constitutionality of the measure must be answered by the simple statement that it was a war measure. There was no actual constitutional or statutory warrant or authority for the edict. Lincoln's own explanation was that "measures otherwise unlawful might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the constitution through the preservation of the nation. Right or wrong, I assumed this ground."

FREDERICKSBURG AND CHANCELLORSVILLE

General Ambrose E. Burnside had been one of McClellan's staunchest friends, and had been besides a loyal supporter of the administration. Twice he had refused the offer of the command, declaring himself to be incompetent for such authority. Powerful influences were brought to bear upon him. Washington, his friends told him, had asserted a similar disbelief in his own abilities. "It was left, however," says a recent writer (Elson[n]), "for Burnside to do what Washington never did — to prove his assertion to be true." Though well liked by rank and file, Burnside suffered from the first by not having the fullest confidence of his corps commanders. Realising this, he made the mistake of not seeking their advice to the extent he should have done.

The two armies lay facing one another south of the Potomac, scarcely thirty miles apart. The Union army, 120,000 strong, was encamped about Warrenton. Dividing his forces into three grand divisions commanded respectively by generals Sumner, Franklin, and Hooker, Burnside abandoned McClellan's carefully prepared plan of campaign and advanced at once against Lee, who had concentrated his army of eighty thousand veteran troops on the heights of Fredericksburg on the lower Rappahannock.

Before Burnside was prepared to attack, Lee had so strongly fortified Marye's Heights, naturally a well nigh impregnable position, as to render the success of an attack from the front almost impossible. Yet against this position Burnside hurled his army on December 13th, 1862. But the force of his attack was weakened by lack of concert between his wings under Sumner and Franklin. These officers and their troops did all that mortal men could do. Again and again, in spite of the most terrible losses, they tried to carry the Confederate position. At nightfall the Union forces were drawn together into Fredericksburg and thence transported across the river. The loss to Burnside's army was over twelve thousand; Lee lost less than half as many. "No other such useless slaughter," says Dodge,[l] "with the exception perhaps of Cold Harbor, occurred during the war."

Burnside in desperation declared that he would lead the assault in person the next day, but his officers prevailed upon him to withdraw. Lee, who, had he known the extent of the Union losses, might have followed up his repulse by a successful offensive campaign, let the opportunity slip.

As for the Army of the Potomac, it had never been so demoralised. It needed a new commander who could hold the confidence of his officers and men, which Burnside had utterly forfeited. Late in January the command was entrusted to General Joseph Hooker, who at once set at work to reorganise the army. By the end of April he was ready to act.[a]

General Hooker initiated the Chancellorsville campaign by a cavalry raid on Lee's communications intended to move about his left and far to his rear; but sheer blundering robbed this diversion of any good results. He followed up this raid by a feint under Sedgwick below Fredericksburg, while he himself so cleverly stole a march on Lee by the upper Rappahannock that within four days he had massed forty thousand men on the enemy's left flank at Chancellorsville before the latter had begun to divine his purpose.

But there Hooker paused. Indecision seized his mind. He frittered away a precious day, and when he finally advanced on Lee the latter had recovered himself and was prepared to meet him. After barely feeling his adversary, "Fighting Joe" retired into the Wilderness to invite attack, while Lee, with half his force but thrice his nerve, sharply followed him up. The

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terrain to which the Army of the Potomac had been thus withdrawn was well named. It was one vast entanglement of second growth timber and chapparral, to the last degree unfitted for the manœuvres of an army.

With his wonted rashness, but relying on his adversary's vacillation, Lee divided his army and sent Jackson around Hooker's right to take him in reverse and cut him off from United States Ford, while his own constant feints on the centre should cover the move. Meanwhile Hooker weakened his right by blind demonstrations in his front, and enabled Jackson to complete his manœuvre and to crush at a blow the 11th corps (O. O. Howard's) which held that flank and to throw the army into utter confusion. In this moment of his greatest triumph "Stonewall" Jackson fell at the hands of his own men.

On the morrow, with "Jackson" for a watchword, by dint of massed blows upon Hooker's lines where but one man in three was put under fire, Lee fairly drove the Union army into a corner, from whence its dazed commander, with eighty thousand men, cried aloud for succour to Sedgwick's one corps fifteen miles away, still fronting the defences at Fredericksburg. Under quite impossible orders this gallant soldier captured Marye's Heights, where Burnside had lost thirteen thousand men, and advanced towards his chief. But Lee, trusting to Hooker's panic to keep him bottled up, turned upon Sedgwick, drove him across the river after an all-day's fight, and again confronted Hooker, who, dizzy and nerveless, sought safety in retreat to his old camps.

This ten days' passage at arms was glorious to the Confederate soldier's valour and to his leader's skill, while the Federals lost all save honour. With an effective only half as great, Lee had actually outnumbered Hooker whenever he had struck him. While a fraction of the Union forces were being decimated, the rest were held by Hooker in the leash at places where they were uselessly fretting to join their brothers in the fray.[m]

### THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG [1]

With one voice the South, inspired by the successes of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, demanded an invasion of the North. In response to this demand, Lee, early in June, 1863, crossed the Potomac and concentrated his army at Hagerstown, Maryland, in preparation for an invasion of Pennsylvania, leaving Hill and Stuart with a considerable force to divert Hooker. Hooker, however, evaded them, and started in pursuit of Lee. Hooker's late movements had shown faultless strategy and indomitable energy, but neither Lincoln nor Halleck, remembering Chancellorsville, could have entire confidence in him. Finally, resenting their interference, he sent in his resignation, which was at once accepted.[a]

Few words sum up Hooker's military stand. As a corps commander, or with orders to obey, unless jealousy warped his powers, he was unsurpassed in bravery, devotion and skill. For the burden of supreme command he had neither mental calibre nor equipoise. Self-sufficiency stood in lieu of self-reliance.

Into Hooker's place quietly stepped business-like Meade, and unhampered by Halleck, whose favourite he was, continued to follow up the invaders. Ewell was at York and Carlisle, and might cross the Susquehanna and capture the capital of the state. Meade therefore moved northward from Fred-

[1] Reprinted from Theodore A. Dodge's *Bird's-Eye View of the Civil War*, by permission of Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. Copyright, 1897, by Theodore A. Dodge.]

erick, Md., intent upon loosening Lee's grip on that river. This he effected, and Longstreet and Hill were ordered, not towards Harrisburg, but through the South Mountain passes; for Lee, as soon as he knew of Meade's direction, became fearful for his communications. And he was moreover troubled by the naked defence of Richmond, which prize could have been secured by a vigorous attack by General Dix from Fort Monroe with more ease than at any time during the war had the attempt been made. Lee, therefore, determined to draw back and make a diversion east of the South Mountain range to engage Meade's attention. Lee's plan of invasion had been thwarted; but his army must be defeated.

Having divined the purpose of his adversary, Meade selected the general line of Pipe Creek for his defence, and threw his left wing, preceded by cavalry, forward to Gettysburg as a mask. Lee also aimed to secure this point, for it controlled the roads towards the Potomac. The 1st and 11th corps met the van of Lee's army under A. P. Hill, on the north of the now historic town. A severe engagement ensued, in which doughty General Reynolds lost his life, and the Federals, after Ewell came upon the field, were driven back through the town with heavy loss, but unpursued. Hill and Ewell waited for Longstreet. This check to the enemy's advance led to results worth all the sacrifice.

Few conflicts of modern times have become so familiar, in art and story, as the battle of Gettysburg. Only its chief features need be recalled. South of the quiet little town, covering the road to Baltimore, lies a chain of hillocks and bluffs shaped like a fish-hook. At the barb rises Culp's Hill, along the back what is known as Cemetery Hill, and the shank, running north and south, is formed by a hilly slope terminating in a rocky, wooded peak, called Round Top, having Little Round Top as a spur. On this eligible ground the retreating Unionists were rallied and speedily reinforced, while Meade, at Hancock's suggestion, brought the army forward from Pipe Creek to secure it.

Meanwhile Lee cautiously advanced his own troops, and forgetting that he had promised his corps commanders that he would not in this campaign assume a tactical offensive, resolved to give battle. Longstreet's preference was to seize the Emmetsburg road beyond the Union left, and manœuvre Meade out of his position by compromising his communications with Washington. But there lurked in the healthy body of the Army of Northern Virginia a poisonous contempt of its adversary. This was the natural outcome of Manassas, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville. Lee was morally unable to decline battle. He could not imperil the high-strung confidence of his men.

As the second day dawned he must, however, have watched with throbbing anxiety the Federal line rapidly throwing up defences on just such a formidable crest as he himself had held at Marye's Heights. For Lee gauged better than his men the fighting qualities of his foe.

His general line lay along Seminary Ridge, parallel to Cemetery Hill, and about a mile distant, with his left thrown round and through the town to a point opposite Culp's, in order, Longstreet, Hill, Ewell. He was thus formed in concave order of battle, the Army of the Potomac having been thrown by the lay of the land into substantially the convex order.

By noon Lee had perfected his plans, and Longstreet opened an attack on a weak salient thrown out by Sickles from the general line of the Union left towards the Emmetsburg road. The possession of Round Top would take the Federal line in reverse, and Sickles' position, an outward angle, could

be enfiladed in both directions, and if lost would seriously compromise this point. Longstreet was not slow to clutch at the advantage thus offered. But the foresight of Warren, after a desperate struggle, secured Round Top; and though Longstreet wrested from Sickles his salient, he secured only an apparent benefit not commensurate with his loss.

On the Union extreme right, Ewell had meanwhile gained a foothold on Culp's Hill, and, as night fell, Lee was justified in feeling that the morrow would enable him to carry the entire ridge. For he believed that he had effected a breach in both flanks of the Army of the Potomac. Indeed at the close of the second day the gravity of the situation induced Meade to call a council of his corps commanders. It was determined to abide the result at that spot. Officers and men were in good spirits and equal to any work.

Lee was tactically in error as to Longstreet's supposed success on the left. It had in reality rectified Sickles' position. The real line of the Federal army was undisturbed. And Meade at daylight attacked Ewell in force, and after a hard tussle wrenched from him the ground commanding Culp's. Thus Lee had failed to effect a permanent lodgment on either Federal flank, and Meade had thrown up strong field works to defend them. There was no resource for him but to break the Federal centre.

He accordingly massed nearly one hundred and fifty guns along Seminary Ridge, and at one o'clock p. m. opened fire. Owing to the limited space for the batteries, barely eighty guns from the Federal side could answer this spirited challenge. For two hours lasted the fiery duel, when Lee launched Pickett, "the Ney of the rebel army," with a column of thirteen thousand men, to drive a wedge into the centre of the Union line. A column charged with so desperate a duty — the forlornest of forlorn hopes — should contain none but picked troops. Pettigrew's division in the assaulting column was unable to hold its own. And though Pickett's Virginians actually ruptured Hancock's line and a few of the men penetrated some fifty yards beyond, he met an array in front and flank which rolled him back with fearful loss. Lee's last chance of success was wrecked.

The instinct of a great commander might have seized this moment for an advance in force upon the broken enemy. But Meade cautiously held what he had already won, rather than gain more at greater risk. Beaten, but not dismayed, Lee spent all the morrow and until after daylight next day preparing for retreat, and yet in a mood to invite attack. And he would have met it stoutly. But Meade was content. He would adventure nothing. He had won the credit of defeating his enemy; he lost the chance of destroying him. He may be justified in this, but not in failing to follow up Lee's deliberate retreat with greater vigour. It must however be admitted that in almost all campaigns, a similiar criticism may be passed — after the event. There is always a term to the endurance and activity of armies and their commanders.

In this most stubborn battle of modern days the Federal army lost 23,000 out of 93,000 engaged; the Confederates 22,500 out of 80,000 men, besides 5,400 prisoners. The loss in killed and wounded, twenty-two and a half per cent., is unexampled in so large a force. Lee retreated by way of Williamsport, undisturbed save at a distance, and after some days was followed across the Potomac by Meade.[1] The Confederate main line of defence was now re-established to the south of the Potomac in the region of the Wilderness, with centres at Chancellorsville and Fredericksburg. Men and officers alike were forced to the conclusion that invasions of the North were not, on the whole, the best sort of operations in which to engage.[a]

### THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN

In the midsummer of 1862 Halleck was appointed general-in-chief of the armies of the United States, and in that capacity transferred his headquarters to Washington, leaving Grant in command at Corinth. His force had been so depleted by Halleck's scattered operations that the Confederates now made an attempt to drive him down the Tennessee river. The result was, as we have seen, the battles of Iuka and Corinth early in October, 1862. It was the prelude to Grant's first movement against Vicksburg. That city had been fortified and guarded by the Confederates in such wise that it was deemed impregnable, and it might well have been thought so. The place is situated on a steep and lofty bluff at the junction of the Yazoo river with the Mississippi.

The latter flows in a serpentine course through a low flat basin about forty miles in width. It is perpetually changing its course, and the land on either side is intersected in all directions by sluggish streams and stagnant lakes, the remnants of its abandoned channels. In such a country operations with an army are impossible. At long intervals, however, the river flows entirely on one side of its basin and washes the foot of the steep hills by which it is bounded. Wherever such a cliff occurred, as at Columbus, Memphis, and other points, it was defended by the Confederates, and when they lost it they lost the river down to the next similiar point. Now the combination of circumstances at Vicksburg was peculiar. Its position was too lofty to be taken by the fleet unaided, but the only direction from which it could be safely approached by an army was from the rear, that is to say, from the east; and the correct line of approach was that of the Mississippi Central Railway with Memphis for the Federal base of supplies. For an army coming up or down the Mississippi the problem was almost insoluble. It was impossible to get in the rear of the city by landing to the north of it, for the approaches were there guarded by batteries on Haines Bluff which could shoot down any assailing column faster than it could advance. On the other hand, an army landing to the south of Vicksburg incurred the risk of starvation, since the guns of Vicksburg prevented supplies from passing down stream, while the guns of Port Hudson two hundred miles below equally prevented them from passing up. Grant's first movement against Vicksburg [in the autumn of 1862] was the correct one, along the Mississippi Central Railway; but because of his deficiency in cavalry, his line of communications was cut and he was obliged to retreat upon Corinth. Meanwhile [December, 1862] a separate expedition under General Sherman had been sent down the Mississippi river. It landed at Chickasaw Bayou, and attempted to storm the works at Haines Bluff in order to gain a foothold to the north of Vicksburg. This enterprise met with a bloody repulse. [McClernand who succeeded Sherman made an expedition up the Arkansas River but was called back by Grant who complained that the main object of the campaign was being overlooked.] A period of intrigue succeeded, the result of which was that Grant felt obliged to abandon his first plan and take his whole army down the river to Vicksburg. After arriving on the west bank of the Mississippi opposite the mighty stronghold, the problem before him was to get his army into its rear. Two fruitless months were spent in attempts to navigate the intricate and tortuous system of bayous in order either to land the army northwards without encountering the guns of Haines Bluff, or to carry supply-ships southwards by routes not commanded by the batteries of Vicksburg. Meanwhile Grant's popularity greatly declined, and President Lincoln was urged to remove him from command. But

Lincoln's reply was, "I rather like the man; I guess we will try him a little longer." At this crisis Grant conceived a most daring scheme; and having heard it condemned by every one of his generals, he proceeded to try it on his own responsibility. On the 16th of April Porter's fleet was taken down the river below the city, sustaining slight damage from its batteries. Feints were made to the northward, while the body of the army was rapidly marched to Bruinsburg, about twenty-five miles below Vicksburg. A crossing was effected near that place, and the Confederates were defeated in an obstinate battle at Port Gibson. This obliged them to evacuate Grand Gulf (May 3rd, 1863), the strongest of the outposts to the southward. From Port Gibson Grant then proceeded to march northeasterly upon the city of Jackson, the capital of the state of Mississippi, intending to find and defeat General Joseph E. Johnston who was approaching to relieve Vicksburg. Grant's object was to throw himself between Johnston's army and that of Pemberton, the commander at Vicksburg, and to defeat them in detail. In order to do this it was necessary for him to keep his army concentrated, and he could not spare troops to guard his line of communications with the Mississippi river. He therefore cut loose from his base altogether and conducted this marvellous campaign upon such food as his men could carry in their knapsacks or seize in the course of their march. To avert certain ruin it was necessary that he should be victorious at every point; and he was. Having defeated Johnston in two battles, at Raymond (May 12th) and again at Jackson (May 14th), he instantly faced about to the west and marched against Pemberton who had come out to intercept his supposed line of communications. In a bloody battle at Champion Hill (May 16th) Pemberton was totally defeated, and his ruin was completed the next day at the Big Black river. Pemberton then retired into Vicksburg with the remnant of his force, while Sherman approached Haines Bluff in the rear and compelled the enemy to evacuate it. The supposed insoluble problem was now virtually at an end, for Grant's line of supplies from the northward was opened and made secure. Mindful of the possibility that Johnston might sufficiently recover strength to interrupt operations, Grant tried to carry Vicksburg by storm, and two assaults were made which were repulsed with great slaughter. He then resorted to siege operations, and by the third day of July the city was starved into submission. By this brilliant campaign Grant's reputation was at once raised to a very high pitch. He was made major-general in the regular army, and henceforth was allowed to have his own way in most things.[m]

### CHICKAMAUGA AND CHATTANOOGA

For six months after the battle of Stone River Rosecrans with the Army of the Cumberland lay quietly at Murfreesboro facing Bragg. No operations of any magnitude were attempted, though several cavalry raids were undertaken — that of Forrest and Wheeler against Fort Donelson, and of Morgan, the Confederate guerilla, into Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio being the most noteworthy. Urged by both Halleck and Grant, Rosecrans late in June prepared to advance upon his enemy. In a brilliant series of manœuvres Rosecrans outgeneralled his adversary and compelled him to change his base time and again. The occupation of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge by generals George H. Thomas and McCook rendered Bragg's position at Chattanooga, whither he had retired, untenable. Finally in attempting to pursue Bragg through the difficult mountain passes to the south, the two armies came face to face at Chickamauga Creek. Bragg, who had meanwhile been

reinforced by Longstreet with a part of the Army of Northern Virginia, had now about seventy thousand men to Rosecrans' sixty thousand. He began the battle (September 19th, 1863) by falling upon the Federal left under Thomas who managed to hold his position against overwhelming numbers throughout the day. The fight was renewed the next day. The removal of Wood's division from the Federal centre left a gap which Longstreet at once took advantage of. The Federal army was thus divided, its right being completely swept from the field. On the left, however, the redoubtable Thomas, now cut off from the main Union army, re-formed his lines, and though outnumbered two to one withstood again and again the furious attack of the whole Confederate army. Well did he earn his title to the name, "Rock of Chickamauga" which has been applied to him. "No more splendid spectacle appears in the annals of war," says Dodge,[1] the military historian, "than this heroic stand of Thomas in the midst of a routed army, and in the face of an enemy the power of whose blows is doubled by the exultation of victory." Thomas later withdrew in perfect order to Chattanooga where Rosecrans and his defeated corps had preceded him. Rosecrans had been badly worsted in battle, but the net result of the campaign was rather in his favour, and Thomas' staunch stand had so weakened Bragg that it was some time before he could take the offensive. The losses at Chickamauga were sixteen thousand for the Federal, and eighteen thousand for the Confederate army.[a]

Rosecrans, as we have said, retired with his army into Chattanooga, but had not sufficient force to hold the crests of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, which were forthwith occupied by the Confederate army. This operation left the Union army without any good line of communications. The only route by which food could be brought was a long and difficult wagon road over a spur of the Cumberland Mountains known as Waldron's Ridge. Drenching rains set in, the mules died on the route and blocked up the way, and presently the Union army suffered for want of food. Indeed, something like a famine set in, and nearly all the horses perished for want of forage. At this crisis Grant was appointed to command all the armies west of the Alleghanies, increased by the transfer of two corps from the Army of the Potomac to that of the Cumberland. His first proceedings were to supersede Rosecrans by Thomas, and to order up Sherman from Vicksburg. By a beautiful series of operations an excellent line of communication was opened by General William Farrar Smith, and the sufferings at Chattanooga were relieved. On the arrival of Sherman's force it was moved by a circuitous and secret route to the north end of Missionary Ridge near Chickamauga station on the Dalton Railway, by which Bragg received his supplies. At this time Longstreet, who, as we have seen, had taken part in the battle at Chickamauga, was engaged in a subsidiary operation. He had been imprudently sent away by Bragg to lay siege to Knoxville, and his line of communications was also the railway from Dalton. Bragg's left wing occupied the summit of Lookout Mountain, while his centre and right stretched along the crest of Missionary Ridge for a space of five or six miles. Under these conditions Grant's plan of battle was simple. His reinforcements from Virginia, commanded by General Joseph Hooker, were in Lookout Valley. He proposed to make a demonstration with these troops which should engross Bragg's attention, while Sherman at the opposite extremity of the field should storm the northern end of Missionary Ridge, cut off Bragg from the Dalton Railway and crush his right wing, thus wrecking his army; but the battle, as fought, proceeded upon a very different plan. The accidental breaking of a pontoon bridge

left in Lookout Valley one division of men which had been destined for Sherman's part of the field. This additional force so far strengthened Hooker that in the course of the fight which ensued upon Lookout Mountain he carried the whole position by storm, driving the Confederates down upon Missionary Ridge.

On the other hand, Sherman's enterprise was frustrated by an unforeseen obstacle. After he had surmounted the northern extremity of Missionary Ridge he was confronted by a yawning chasm which none of the Federal glasses had been able to detect, and as there were no good topographical maps its existence was unknown. The crests beyond were crowned with Confederate artillery, and well manned. In these circumstances, the part that Sherman played, though a very useful one, was different from what had been intended. On the second day of the battle he attacked the heights before him; he was unable to carry them, but his pressure upon that vital point was so strong that it led Bragg to keep on reinforcing it at the expense of his centre, which was confronted by the army of General Thomas. Presently Grant, fearing for Sherman and wishing to stop this northward movement of Confederates, ordered four of Thomas' divisions to make a bayonet charge in front. They were to carry the Confederate works at the foot of Missionary Ridge and then halt and await orders. At that moment Grant was building better than he knew. The line of twenty thousand men swept like an avalanche over the works at the foot of the ridge, and then in an uncontrollable spirit of victory kept on without orders, making their way up the perilous height. As they reached the top they broke through the Confederate centre in at least six different places, while at the same moment Hooker, who had come down from Lookout Mountain, overwhelmed Bragg's right and sent it tumbling in upon his routed centre. In a few moments the remnant of the Confederate army was a disorderly mob fleeing for life. This great victory secured for the northern army the line of the Alleghanies, as the capture of Vicksburg had secured the line of the Mississippi.[m]

### GRANT'S PLAN OF CAMPAIGN

The winter of 1863-1864 was a quiet one. On the last day of February, 1864, congress revived the rank of lieutenant-general and President Lincoln promptly appointed Grant to that position, following the action up in a few days by making him commander-in-chief of all the armies of the Union. At once Grant developed his plans for a grand campaign which he confidently hoped would end with the downfall of the Confederacy.[a] His main purpose was to mass and move at the same time against the two great Confederate armies in the field, that of Lee in his immediate front (in Virginia) and that of Joseph E. Johnston at Dalton, Georgia, opposed to which, at Chattanooga, was Sherman, Grant's second in command and his successor in the West, to whom he chiefly looked for co-operation. Sherman was to bear from Chattanooga, making Johnston's army and Atlanta his objective points; he was to penetrate the interior of the Confederacy as far as possible and inflict all possible damage on its war resources, but the mode of operation was left largely to his discretion; Grant chose the most difficult task for himself; to conquer and capture Lee's army was his prime object, with the fall of Richmond as its necessary result, and he thought it better to fight this wary antagonist without his stronghold than within it.[j] Lincoln had learned by hard experience that it was better to leave his generals to manage their own campaigns, and he made no attempt to interfere with Grant's plans. In a fare-

well message he wrote him, "The particulars of your plan I neither know nor seek to know. I wish not to obtrude any constraints or restraints upon you."

### THE ATLANTA CAMPAIGN: THE MARCH TO THE SEA

It was, as we have seen, a principal part of Grant's plan of campaign, on assuming supreme command of the armies, that Sherman should march upon Atlanta. While preparations were being made for this movement part of Sherman's army was employed in the expedition of General N. P. Banks and Commodore Porter up the Red river in Louisiana, which, although resulting in some sharp battles, had little influence on the great strategic movements east of the Mississippi, and can here only be mentioned.

The distance by direct line from Chattanooga to Atlanta is only about one hundred miles, but the country is rough and broken and in the way lay General Joseph E. Johnston, one of the ablest of Southern generals, with a veteran army of sixty-five thousand men. Sherman's army in three wings under Thomas, J. B. McPherson, and J. M. Schofield, numbered over one hundred thousand, but as he advanced he was compelled to leave such a considerable force to guard his line of supplies to Nashville that his effective army was never far superior in strength to that of his adversary. Johnston adopted the policy of fighting only when attacked, of intrenching every step he took, and of offering battle only when conditions seemed to favour him. Sherman began his advance on May 7th, 1864. He first came up with Johnston at Resaca, but the Confederates evacuated their intrenched positions without a very spirited resistance (May 13th). Day by day Sherman pushed carefully and slowly forward. Fighting was frequent, but a pitched battle was never ventured. "Like two wrestlers," says Dodge,[1] "as yet ignorant of each other's strength or quickness, they were sparring for a hold. Neither would risk giving odds." The nearest to a general engagement was the battle of New Hope Church (May 25th-27th) but the result of the action was indecisive. By the end of May each army had lost in the aggregate about ten thousand men, conspicuous among the Confederate slain being General Leonidas Polk, the warrior-bishop of Louisiana.

Toward the middle of June as Sherman approached Marietta he found Johnston firmly intrenched across his path. From June 14th to June 28th fighting was almost continuous. On the latter date he abandoned his careful tactics, and made a rash assault on the Confederate works at Kenesaw Mountain only to be repulsed with great loss, General Daniel McCook being among his dead. Again resuming his flanking tactics he was soon within a few miles of Atlanta. At this juncture President Davis, who had never been on friendly terms with Johnston, dismissed him for what he was pleased to call his "dilatory tactics" and gave the command to General J. B. Hood, a fearless fighter but not to be compared with his predecessor as a tactician.

The change of commanders had its immediate result in the battle of Peachtree Creek (July 20th) in which an assault of Hood's was repulsed with severe loss. On July 22nd began the general engagement known as the battle of Atlanta in which Hood's losses reached eight thousand and Sherman's less than half that number, although among them was his brave and able lieutenant, General McPherson. On July 28th Hood was again defeated at the battle of Ezra Church, after which he retired within the city of Atlanta about which Sherman daily tightened his coils. Hostilities continued for another month, when Hood, despairing of holding the city longer, made good his escape.

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Sherman entered and took possession on September 2nd. The first object of his campaign was accomplished. Conservative estimates of the losses of the two armies during the Atlanta campaign (May 7th-September 1st) place those of the Union forces at 32,000, while those of the Confederates must have exceeded 24,000.

After remaining six weeks in Atlanta, Sherman left Thomas to look after Hood, who was marching northward with the expectation of drawing Sherman after him, and on November 15th set out on his historic march to the sea. His army was sixty-two thousand strong in two columns, under General O. O. Howard and General Henry W. Slocum. By the middle of December the army, having met with little opposition, had covered the three hundred miles to the coast, reduced Fort McAllister, south of Savannah, and opened up communications with Admiral Dahlgren's fleet in preparation for the capture of Savannah. Before the siege was actually begun however, General Hardee, the Confederate commander, had evacuated the city by night and Sherman entered it without opposition December 21st.

### THE BATTLE OF MOBILE BAY

While Sherman's army was closing in around Atlanta, Admiral Farragut won his famous naval fight in Mobile Bay. The harbour of Mobile was protected by three formidable forts, Gaines, Morgan, and Powell, which made it the most important and the strongest Confederate position on the Gulf of Mexico. It had long been the centre for Confederate blockade runners and the Federal blockade had never been made effective. After months of delay Farragut accompanied by a land force under General Gordon Granger moved upon the city. The troops were landed on an island at the entrance to the bay. On August 5th Farragut — he himself strapped to the mast of his flagship the *Hartford* that he might not fall if shot — entered the harbour with his fleet in the face of a terrific fire from the forts. One of his ironclads, the *Tecumseh*, was sunk by a torpedo, but the rest advanced and engaged the Confederate fleet. First the forts were silenced, then after a fierce defence the entire fleet including the powerful ram *Tennessee* surrendered or were sunk. Forts Gaines and Morgan were soon after surrendered to Granger, but Mobile itself, though its importance was destroyed, held out some months longer.

### THOMAS AND HOOD IN TENNESSEE

General Thomas, whom Sherman had left to cope with Hood in Tennessee, had under him at first only twenty-seven thousand men as compared to a Confederate force of almost twice the size. By the end of November however, he had been reinforced and had gathered at Nashville an army of about fifty thousand. Against Hood who was now marching rapidly on Nashville he sent General Schofield to retard his advance and, if the opportunity offered, to give battle. Schofield took a strong position at Franklin, where Hood impetuously attacked him November 30th, 1864. Again and again Hood vainly hurled his superior numbers against Schofield's well posted force. The assaults were continued till well into the night, but every one was repulsed with success. Hood's loss was six thousand. Schofield's less than half as many. The next day Schofield retired unmolested to Nashville.

In a few days Hood was before Nashville, where he waited two weeks. On December 14th Thomas was ready to attack. His tactics were as simple as they were faultless and effective. On the morning of December 15th he

advanced, bearing heavily with his right under General A. J. Smith and was successful in crushing and turning Hood's left flank. At the end of the day he had won a certain victory, but Hood still remained to be thoroughly crushed. It was afternoon of the 16th before a general assault was ordered, but it was made with such vigour and spirit that all resistance was overcome. Hood's line was broken in a dozen places and his army was soon swept from the field in a demoralised mass. With scarcely half of the force with which he had begun the battle, Hood escaped across the Tennessee. Not in the whole Civil War had any army suffered such a complete and disastrous defeat as this. It marked the termination of armed resistance to the Union arms west of the Alleghanies. Thomas deserved and received the highest praise for his signal triumph. Of him Dodge[1] says that "he perhaps falls as little short of the model soldier as any man produced by this country."

### FORT FISHER; SHERMAN IN THE CAROLINAS

It was now planned that Sherman should march northward from Savannah through the Carolinas and aid Grant in crushing Lee in Virginia, and on February 1st he left Savannah with an army sixty thousand strong. Preliminary to this movement, however, took place the capture of Fort Fisher, which guarded the harbour of Wilmington, North Carolina. This was accomplished January 15th, 1865, by a strong fleet under Admiral Porter co-operating with a land force under General Terry.

Sherman's march through the Carolinas was slower and more difficult than his march from Atlanta to the sea, for he had to cross instead of follow the river courses, and his advance was more stubbornly opposed. Columbia, S. C. was occupied on February 17th after a sharp conflict with a Confederate force under General Wade Hampton. Charleston too was abandoned and almost destroyed by flames from the burning cotton which the fleeing Confederates had fired. Sherman moved on toward Goldsboro, defeating Johnston, who had again been given a command, in a sharp battle at Bentonville (March 16th). At Goldsboro, which he reached March 23rd he was joined by Schofield with a part of Thomas' army and Terry's force from Fort Fisher. His force now numbered ninety thousand men. While Sherman was slowly closing in on Johnston, the Union cavalry leader Stoneman made a successful raid in western Virginia for the purpose of cutting Lee off from any possible railway communication with the west.

### THE WILDERNESS CAMPAIGN

Grant divided the Army of the Potomac into three corps under Hancock, Warren, and Sedgwick. Of this army numbering now all told almost one hundred and fifty thousand, Meade was placed in immediate charge, Grant himself of course retaining supreme command. Sheridan, brought from the west, commanded his cavalry. Grant's own plan for overcoming Lee was by means of hard blows rather than by manœuvring. His motto was "continuous hammering." "His belief," says Dodge,[1] "seems to have been that skilful tactics exhibited weakness. Other and greater soldiers have for a time been subject to this delusion. He was to discover his error in his first clash of arms."

The Union army crossed the Rapidan May 4th, 1864, and entered the heavily wooded region near Chancellorsville known as the Wilderness. Fighting began at once, for Lee, who knew well the ground, saw his advantage in

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attacking his adversary where his superior numbers could not be used to the best advantage. The battle of the Wilderness was fought on May 5th and 6th. No tactical movements of any account were possible owing to the nature of the country, and the conflict resolved itself into a series of disconnected battles. The fighting was furious and the slaughter terrific, but at the end of two days' struggle nothing had been decided. Grant had lost over seventeen thousand men, including General Wadsworth. Lee's loss was slightly over twelve thousand.

Grant having come to the conclusion that little good could come of hammering Lee as he stood, next attempted a flank movement toward Spottsylvania Court House. But Lee was there before him. Every day there was severe fighting. On the Union side General Sedgwick was killed. On the Confederate side their dashing cavalry leader, J. E. B. Stuart, fell in conflict with Sheridan's cavalry. "I mean to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer," stubbornly wrote Grant. The battle of Spottsylvania proper took place on May 10th and 12th, both armies resting on the 11th. It exhibited some of the most furious assaults and desperate defences of all the war. The hardest fighting took place on the 12th as a result of Hancock's repeated attempts to take the Confederate's salient. Of this remarkable struggle Elson[n] writes "He succeeded, and captured four thousand men after great slaughter on each side. Five desperate, fruitless efforts the Confederates made to retake the position. One of these General Lee started to lead in person, but his men refused to advance till he went back beyond the danger line. At a point known as 'the death angle,' the hand to hand fighting which continued till midnight, was equal to any ever known in war. Men fought from the top of heaps of dead men till their own bodies were added to the pile, and others came to take their places. Not a tree or a sapling was left alive or standing. One tree nearly two feet in diameter was literally cut in two by musket balls." The losses in the two days' battle were about equal, footing up to the terrible total of thirty-six thousand. Yet like the battle of the Wilderness its result was undecided.

For a week the hostile armies lay quiet, exhausted by their terrific struggle. On May 21st Grant again moved forward by his left toward Richmond. The two armies again came face to face on almost the exact ground where the battle of Gaines' Mill had been fought two years before. Lee had posted his army in a practically impregnable position with his centre at Cold Harbor, and from this position Grant with almost incredible lack of discretion attempted to dislodge him. There could have been but one result. The Union columns were mowed down like grain before the reaper. In a little over a half hour more than seven thousand of them lay dead or wounded on the ground. The Confederate loss was very small. All military critics agree that this assault was the greatest error in all Grant's military career, a judgment, the justness of which he himself acknowledges in his *Memoirs*. Grant now abandoned his plan of a direct advance on Richmond and proposed to change his base to the James River and march upon the Confederate capital from the south.[a]

The object of Grant's overland campaign was to capture or to destroy Lee's army. He had done neither. But he had lost sixty thousand men in five weeks without inflicting corresponding loss upon the enemy. The 2nd corps alone had lost four hundred men a day from the time of leaving the Rappahannock. The full significance of this is apparent when the force of each army at the inception of the campaign is called to mind. Grant had numbered one hundred and twenty-two thousand men; Lee some seventy

thousand. This fearful loss was the result of assaults in mass undertaken without the aid of that skill which Grant knew well how to employ, though he neglected to do so. Whenever Grant resorted to manœuvring, he succeeded measurably. Whenever he attacked all along the line, he failed utterly.

Criticism cannot depreciate the really great qualities or eminent services of General Grant. His task was one to tax a Bonaparte. That he was unable to put an end to the struggle by means less costly in lives and material, if not indeed by some brilliant feat of arms, cannot detract from the praise actually his due for determined, unflinching courage. It rather adds to the laurels of Lee. It cannot be asserted that any other Northern general could here have accomplished more against the genius of Lee. And it was Grant who, in the face of the gravest difficulties political and military, was able to hold the confidence of the nation and to prevent that party at the North which was clamouring for peace from wrecking the success now all but won. But his truest admirers admit Cold Harbor to have been a grievous mistake. And all who appreciate at its solid worth Grant's ability as a leader regret that in this great struggle with Lee he should have failed to employ the full resources he so abundantly possessed.

### THE SINKING OF THE "ALABAMA"

A noteworthy combat between the Confederate cruiser *Alabama* and the United States ship *Kearsarge* occurred off Cherbourg, France, on June 19th, 1864. Among the vessels preying upon American commerce three English-built cruisers had been pre-eminent, the *Alabama*, *Florida*, and *Georgia*. The last two were captured respectively in Bahia Harbour and at sea.

The *Alabama*, under command of Captain Raphael Semmes, had been sought by the *Kearsarge*, Captain John A. Winslow, and sailed out of Cherbourg to accept her challenge. The tonnage and crews of each were about equal. The armament of each was what the English considered the best for war vessels of that size. They were typical craft. The *Alabama* was an English vessel, mounting English guns and carrying an English crew; the *Kearsarge* an American vessel with American guns, and out of one hundred and sixty officers and men all but eleven were American-born citizens. Both were wooden vessels, but the *Kearsarge* hung her chain cables over the sides to protect her engines.

It was a fair fight, but of short duration. The fire of the *Kearsarge* was the more deliberate and proved very destructive. The *Alabama* surrendered within an hour in a sinking condition. Semmes was picked up in the water by an English vessel, and escaped capture. The loss of the *Alabama* was about forty men. On the *Kearsarge*, which was but slightly injured by her opponent's fire, only three men were wounded.[1]

In its two years' career of destruction the *Alabama* had destroyed sixty-nine merchant vessels, and ten million dollars worth of property.

### SHERIDAN'S SHENANDOAH CAMPAIGN (1864)

While the North was coming slowly to a realisation of the appalling sacrifices of Grant's Wilderness campaign, the chief interest in the war in the east centred in the Shenandoah Valley. In the first weeks of July, 1864, Lee sent General Jubal A. Early to threaten Washington. On the 14th Early was in sight of the capitol's dome and might have captured the city, but while

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he hesitated the city was reinforced. He then turned up the valley and on July 30th one of his detachments crossed into Pennsylvania and burned Chambersburg. At this juncture Grant appointed Sheridan to the command of the Union forces in the Shenandoah valley with instructions to devastate the region to such an extent that it could not henceforth support an invading army. Sheridan entered the valley with forty thousand troops and, after some manœuvring, on September 19th met and defeated Early at Winchester, the latter's losses reaching three thousand six hundred. Three days later he won another victory at Fisher's Hill, Early's loss being twelve hundred.

Sheridan then proceeded up the valley, laying waste as he advanced. Early continued to evade a pitched battle, giving way before the Union advance. On October 19th Sheridan's army was at Cedar Creek, but he himself was absent, having been called to Washington some days before for a conference. Early took this occasion for an unexpected attack, which was made so unexpectedly and with such impetuosity that the superior Union forces were driven from their camps. Their retreat almost became a rout. But the opportune and dramatic arrival of Sheridan, who made his famous ride from "Winchester fifteen miles away" which T. Buchanan Reade has immortalised in verse, stemmed the tide. The Federal troops were rallied and re-formed, and in turn Early was forced from the field he had almost won. Thenceforth he made almost no attempt to oppose the victorious Sheridan, as a result of which the Shenandoah valley and northern Virginia were virtually free from hostilities during the rest of the war.

### WAR-TIME POLITICS: LINCOLN'S RE-ELECTION

The bombardment of Fort Sumter had for the moment practically wiped out all party lines in the North. But such a condition could not last long. The powerful democratic party that had been for half a century the greatest political organisation in the nation was not by any means destroyed. Most of the Lincoln administration's purely military measures the democratic leaders either agreed to or acquiesced in. But they early found a plausible issue in the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* and the series of arbitrary arrests that followed. Congress in ratifying the president's action and extending his power added to his great authority as commander-in-chief that of a military dictator. The arrests were opposed even by some prominent republicans, and by the democrats were made the subject of the bitterest criticism.

It was not long before the democrats found other things to criticise, such as corruption in the letting of army contracts, favoritism in military appointments, and undue extravagance in expenditures. In the fall elections the party made gains in the strongest republican states, chose governors in New York and New Jersey, and largely increased its congressional representation. The passage of the Conscription Act by congress in March, 1863, was followed by a renewed outburst which in July in New York and other cities took the form of armed opposition, suppressed only after the use of military force and considerable loss to life and property.

Among the leaders of the more radical democrats, or "copperheads" as they were called by their opponents, was Clement L. Vallandigham of Ohio. In canvassing the state for the democratic nomination for governor in 1863 his denunciations of the administration were so extreme that it was determined by General Burnside to arrest him for incendiary utterances. He

was therefore arrested, tried, and found guilty of "declaring disloyal sentiments" and was sentenced to confinement during the war. This finding Lincoln commuted to banishment to the Confederacy. Vallandigham eventually escaped to Canada. While there he was named as the democratic candidate for governor of Ohio but was overwhelmingly defeated by John Brough.

With the approach of the presidential election of 1864 there developed within the republican party a powerful opposition to Lincoln's renomination. Thaddeus Stevens, William Cullen Bryant, Horace Greeley, and others openly favoured Chase. Popular sentiment, however, was all with the president, and his renomination was secured without opposition. Andrew Johnson of Tennessee was named for vice-president with the idea of favouring Southern unionists and proving to the world that the war was not a sectional struggle.

A group of radical republicans, however, placed John C. Frémont in nomination. The democratic convention meeting at Chicago, August 9th, 1864, nominated General George B. McClellan for president and George H. Pendleton of Ohio for vice-president on a platform that pronounced the war a failure and demanded that efforts at once be made to secure peace on the basis of a restored Union. McClellan repudiated the declaration that the war had proved a failure, but a reaction at once set in in favour of Lincoln. Frémont wisely withdrew from the contest. Sheridan's Shenandoah campaign, Sherman's capture of Atlanta, and Farragut's victory in Mobile Bay were the most powerful campaign arguments. McClellan carried only three states, receiving twenty-one electoral votes to two hundred and twelve for Lincoln. The people, as Lincoln pithily put it, had decided that it was "not best to swap horses while crossing a stream."

### PETERSBURG AND APPOMATTOX

After the disaster at Cold Harbor, and the change of base to the James river, Grant advanced upon Petersburg. Without attempting a regular siege, he posted his army so that he could operate against Richmond at pleasure while keeping his eye on the Confederate works before him. To strengthen his own position however he spent some weeks in constructing an elaborate system of intrenchments. An attempt made to assault the Confederate fortifications, after a mine had been exploded beneath them (July 30th, 1864) resulted in a repulse with considerable loss. Fighting continued all along the line for some months, but with the coming of autumn it grew more infrequent and both armies practically suspended hostilities till Spring.

Meanwhile the condition of Lee's army was becoming critical. It was realised that Richmond could hold out but little longer and preparations were at once made to move the army south to co-operate with Johnston in North Carolina. Grant expected some such move, and late in March, 1865, sent Sheridan to gain a foothold in the Confederate rear. The result was the battle of Five Forks (April 1st, 1865) in which Sheridan won a brilliant victory. On the following day a successful general assault was made on Petersburg, and on the same evening Lee began the evacuation of Richmond, amidst scenes of almost unparalleled disorder. Union troops entered the city on the 3rd. The only thought of Lee and Davis was now of escape, but Grant had determined that they should not get away from him.

Slowly but surely the superior Union forces closed in upon the remnants of Lee's once great army. Ewell, Pickett, and a considerable part of the

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army were cut off and forced to surrender. Lee crossed the Appomattox and hurried toward Lynchburg only to find Sheridan and Ord blocking the way. Further resistance appearing useless, nothing was left but surrender, and on April 9th he sent a white flag to Grant asking terms of surrender. The two commanders met at Appomattox Court House. The terms offered by Grant and accepted by Lee provided for the release of officers and men on parole, not to take up arms against the United States, the officers to retain their side arms, baggage, and horses. The captures and desertions of the past week had so reduced Lee's force that only 28,231 were surrendered. On April 26th Johnston surrendered to Sherman, President Davis, escaping into southern Georgia, was captured near Irwinville May 10th. On May 26th, with General Kirby Smith's surrender of the last Confederate army west of the Mississippi, the Civil War in America came to an end.

### THE DEATH OF LINCOLN

While the North was thrilling with joy at Lee's surrender, and while both North and South were beginning to breathe with relief that the great struggle was near its close, the one man who more than any other was responsible for the preservation of the Union was stricken down by the hand of an assassin. On the night of April 14th, 1865, while watching the performance of a play at Ford's Theatre, Washington, President Lincoln was shot by John Wilkes Booth, an actor, who was concerned in a plot to murder all the chief officials of the government. He died shortly after seven o'clock the following morning and was buried at his home at Springfield, Illinois, on May 4th. Never before in the history of the nation had the people so generally, so sincerely mourned the death of any man. To the president's nobility and greatness of character, his close friend and associate, John G. Nicolay, pays this tribute:[a]

"The declaration of Independence was his political chart and inspiration. He acknowledged a universal equality of human rights. He had unchanging faith in self-government. Yielding and accommodating in non-essentials, he was inflexibly firm in a principle or position deliberately taken. 'Let us have faith that right makes might,' he said, 'and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.' Benevolence and forgiveness were the very basis of his character; his world-wide humanity is aptly embodied in a phrase of his second inaugural: 'With malice toward none, with charity for all.' His nature was deeply religious, but he belonged to no denomination; he had faith in the eternal justice and boundless mercy of Providence, and made the golden rule of Christ his practical creed. History must accord him a rare sagacity in guiding a great people through the perils of a mighty revolution, and admirable singleness of aim, a skilful discernment, and courageous seizure of the golden moment to free his nation from the incubus of slavery, faithful adherence to law, and conscientious moderation in the use of power, a shining personal example of honesty and purity, and finally the possession of that subtle and indefinable magnetism by which he subordinated and directed dangerously disturbed and perverted moral and political forces to the restoration of peace and constitutional authority to his country, and the gift of liberty to four millions of human beings. Architect of his own fortunes, rising with every opportunity, mastering every emergency, fulfilling every duty, he not only proved himself pre-eminently the man of the hour, but the signal benefactor of posterity. As statesman, ruler, and liberator civilisation will hold his name in perpetual honour."[o]

## SCHOULER'S ESTIMATE OF LINCOLN[1]

"There lies the most perfect ruler of men the world has ever seen!" said Stanton, in tears, at this president's death-couch; and, probably, for a eulogy so brief no fitter one could have been pronounced. Well did that stern subordinate—headstrong, impulsive, born to be unpopular — realize how much of his own splendid opportunity and success in achieving he owed to that generous and genial direction. Abraham Lincoln need hardly be compared with the great rulers of mankind in other ages and countries; it is enough to take him in his most admirable adaptation to the age and country in which his destiny was cast. He clearly understood the thirty millions of Americans over whom he had been placed by the people's choice, and the tremendous task given him by his Maker to be accomplished. Lincoln was not a profound scholar, but his mind was acute and his logical faculties clear and active; he had a lawyer's self-culture to comprehend the relations of republican society; he had studied American political history and problems of government, and no one understood better his country's institutions, state and national, in their practical workings. He had fair public experience, besides; and his excellence as an administrator in affairs lay in his consummate tact and skill as a manager and director of political forces under the complex and composite system of this American government. Though not among the chief founders of the new national party which brought him into the presidency, he promptly came forward as one of its leaders, and once placed in direction, he guided it confidently for the rest of his life, unapproachable as chieftain and popular inspirer. As president of the United States he harnessed together the greatest intellects of this party—statesmen diverse as the winds in temper and sentiment—better capable than himself to push forward the car of legislation or handle the multifarious details of executive work; and he held the reins over them with infinite considerateness and discretion, conciliating, assuaging rivalries, maintaining good humour, and encouraging each to his greatest work. He kept his cabinet in the closest touch with congress, and both cabinet and congress in generous accord with public opinion, which last he carefully watched and tilled like a good gardener, planting seed, nurturing the growth of new ideas, and bringing, in proper time, the ripe fruit. Raw haste, the falsehood of extremes on one side or the other, he sedulously avoided; yet he sowed and cultivated. And, once again, while conducting the cause of the whole Union, of national integrity, he was yet highly regardful of state pride and state magistracy, seeking not suppression but assistance; and the harshest military rigour he ever exercised over state rebellion was tempered by clemency, forgiveness, and compassion. Not an insurgent commonwealth of the South did he attempt to reorganise and reconstruct, save through the spontaneous aid of its own recognised inhabitants and such native and natural leaders of the jurisdiction as were found available. The armed potency, almost unexampled, which Lincoln exercised through four distressful years, was always exercised unselfishly and as a patriot, in the name and for the welfare of the real constitutional government which he represented, and for the permanent welfare of the whole American people. Rarely leaving and never going far from the nation's capital during that entire period, he there came in contact with people from all parts of the land—soldiers and civilians, men, women, and children, and by his rare personality, in whose external expression pathos and humour were remarkably

[1] Reprinted from James Schouler's History of the United States, by permission of Dodd, Mead and Company. Copyright, 1899, by James Schouler.]

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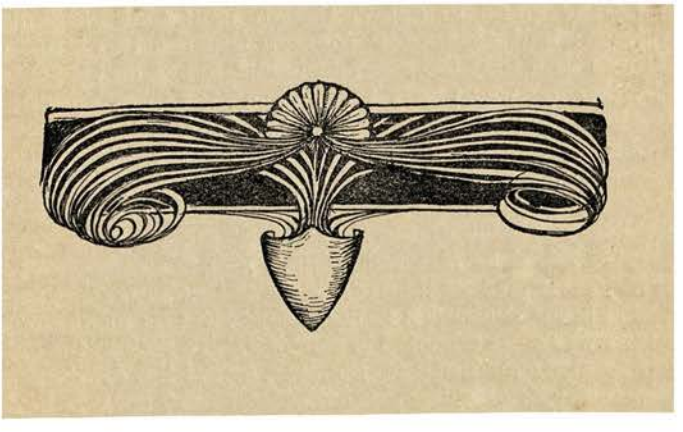
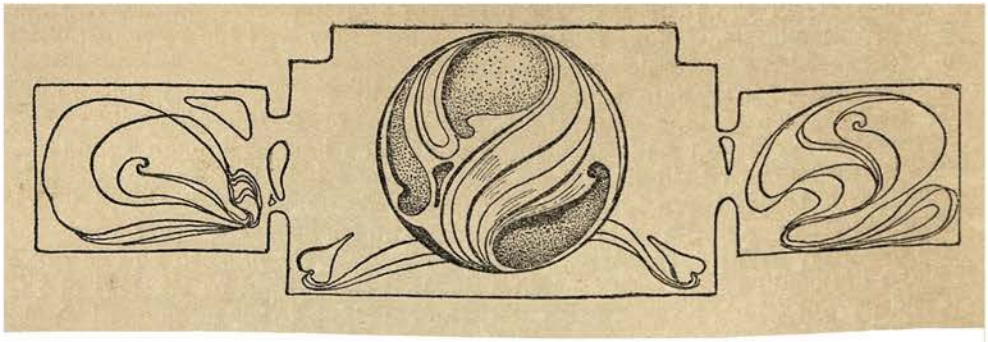
blended, he dispelled unfavourable prejudice and endeared himself gradually to all classes of the people, at the same time giving reassurance as of one genuine, self-possessed, and trustworthy, who knew well his responsibilities and was capable of exercising them.

The fame of Abraham Lincoln, enhanced by the deep pity felt for his sad and sudden taking-off — the martyrdom of a misconception — has reached the stars, and will spread and endure so long as human rights and human freedom are held sacred. For Americans his name is imperishably joined with that of Washington, under the designation "Father," which no others yet have borne — the one saviour and founder; the other, preserver and liberator. Washington's work was as completely finished as one great human life could make it; and had Lincoln been spared to the end of the presidency for which he was re-chosen, the capstone to his monument would surely have been inscribed "Reconciler." For no man of his times could so wisely and powerfully, or would so earnestly have applied himself to the compassionate task of binding together the broken ligaments of national brotherhood and infusing through the body politic once more the spirit of common harmony and content. Nothing but the clouds of false prejudice and rumour could anywhere have obscured or prevented the rays of so warming and regenerating a personal influence.*j*





# CHAPTER XI

# THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1865

BY FREDERICK ROBERTSON JONES, PH.D.

## RECONSTRUCTION DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF LINCOLN

THE period in United States history popularly called the Reconstruction Period is usually made to apply, though somewhat indefinitely, to three administrations: that of Andrew Johnson and the two terms of Ulysses S. Grant. It was then that the great economic, social, and constitutional havoc wrought by the war was partly repaired and the former governments of the subdued states were in a measure restored. Nevertheless, it should be clearly borne in mind that during the continuance of the whole war the federal government was occupied with the question, "What is to be done with the revolted states when the fortunes of war shall have put their fate in our hands?"

During the first part of the war it was generally understood that the seceding states would be restored to their former status—that it would be a process of restoration rather than one of reconstruction. The slavery question, however, soon brought about a radical change in sentiment among the people, which in turn was soon reflected in congress. To restore the old governments under their former constitutions, however, meant the continuance of slavery, and this, in the light of subsequent developments, became impossible. The whole question, therefore, soon resolved itself into an attempt to make reconstruction along the lines of the elimination of slavery, square as nearly as possible with restoration. It was an attempt to reconcile two unreconcilable theories; the elimination of slavery from the social and constitutional fabric of the revolted states meant reconstruction of that fabric, and reconstruction was totally incompatible with restoration. People, congress, and president could not agree as to the means of attaining that object. Out of this mass of conflicting councils there gradually evolved, however, a scheme which later became known as the Presidential Plan of Reconstruction. This plan was put into operation before the close of the war in those states that had been wrested from the Confederacy.

In his first inaugural address President Lincoln made the following significant statement: "It follows from these views that no state, upon its own

mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence within any state or states against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances. I therefore consider that, in view of the constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken."

This paragraph states succinctly President Lincoln's view of the status of the seceding states, not only as he held that view at the beginning of his administration but as he maintained it to the end of his life. This view soon led him into conflict with the radicals like Sumner and Wade in the senate and Henry Winter Davis and Stevens in the house.

No sooner, however, had Congress given its official stamp to the president's theory than a radical departure from it made its appearance in that body. February 11th, 1862, nine resolutions were offered in the senate by Charles Sumner, the first of which read as follows:

"Resolved, That any vote of secession or other act by which any state may undertake to put an end to the supremacy of the constitution within its territory, is inoperative and void against the constitution, and when maintained by force it becomes a practical abdication by the state of all rights under the constitution, while the treason which it involves still further works an instant forfeiture of all those functions and powers essential to the continued existence of the state as a body politic, so that from that time forward the territory falls under the exclusive jurisdiction of congress, as other territory, and the state being, according to the language of the law, *felo de se*, ceases to exist."[1] This was the first attempt to force upon congress the policy of *væ victis*.

In a speech before the house of representatives, January 8th, 1863, Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, placed this view upon the grounds of expediency, not upon constitutional grounds. "They will find," he said, "that they cannot execute the constitution in the seceding states; that it is a total nullity there, and that this war must be carried on upon principles wholly independent of it. They will find that they must treat those states now outside of the Union as conquered provinces and settle them with new men, and drive the present rebels as exiles from this country."[2]

The Presidential Plan of Reconstruction is fully set forth in the proclamation of President Lincoln (1863) which was sent to congress with his annual message, in which he says:

"I, Abraham Lincoln, president of the United States, do proclaim, declare, and make known to all persons who have directly or by implication participated in the existing rebellion, except as hereinafter excepted, that a full pardon is hereby granted to them and each of them, with restoration of all rights of property, except as to slaves, and in property cases where rights of third parties shall have intervened, and upon the condition that every such person shall take and subscribe an oath, and thenceforth keep and maintain said oath inviolate, and which oath shall be registered for permanent preservation, and shall be of the tenor and effect following, to wit. And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known that whenever, in any of the states of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, and North Carolina, a number of persons, not less than one-tenth in number of the votes cast in such state at the presidential election of the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, each having taken the oath aforesaid and not having since violated it

[1] *Congressional Globe*, 736, 737. [2] *Congressional Globe*, 243.

and being a qualified voter by the election law of the state existing immediately before the so-called act of secession, and excluding all others, shall reestablish a state government which shall be republican, and in no wise contravening said oath, such shall be recognised as the true government of the state, and the state shall receive thereunder the benefits of the constitutional provision which declares that 'the United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the legislature, or the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.'

"And, for the same reason, it may be proper to further say that whether members sent to congress from any state shall be admitted to seats, constitutionally rests exclusively with the respective houses, and not to any extent with the executive; . . . and while the mode presented is the best the executive can suggest, with his present impressions, it must not be understood that no other possible mode would be acceptable." [1]

There were thus, shortly after the beginning of the war, two plans of reconstruction in the field, the Presidential Plan and the Congressional Plan. The government was carried by slow and imperceptible steps, though at the same time surely, from one to the other. That is to say, from the doctrine "that a state is indestructible, that it cannot commit treason, that upon its mere motion it cannot lawfully get out of the Union, to the arbitrary conclusion that its maintenance of secession by force works an abdication of all its rights under the constitution of the United States." How this change of attitude towards the seceding states was brought about is, in fact, the larger part of the history of reconstruction. Congress was compelled almost daily to consider its constitutional limitations.

The application of the Presidential Plan to actual conditions brought forth not only criticism of Lincoln but even vituperation. Congress looked upon it as a usurpation of its own sacred powers, and many people, to the extent that they understood it at all, considered it as at least ultra-constitutional. The president was accused of weakness, of despotism, of vacillation, of personal and party aggrandisement—all in one breath. Nor did these criticisms emanate from democratic sources alone; they came from republican sources as well. February 15th, 1864, Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, reported a bill from the house committee on rebellious states the purpose of which was clearly set forth in its title: "To guarantee to certain states whose governments have been usurped or overthrown, a republican form of government." [2] The bill was intended to give effect to Article IV, section 4, of the federal constitution, and represented an attempt to harmonise the conflicting views of the different factions of the republican party with regard to the status of the seceding states and their relation to the federal government.

The bill finally passed both house and senate (July 2nd) without modification and went to the president for his approval. There it was subjected to a pocket veto—congress having adjourned *sine die* before the expiration of the ten days allowed the president by the constitution in which to sign bills, or veto them, or not pass upon them at all.

On the 8th of July (1864) following, the president issued a proclamation, in which he stated that the bill had been presented to him for his approval "less than one hour before the *sine die* adjournment" of the session. That, while "unprepared by a formal approval" of the bill to be "inflexibly com-

[1] McPherson's *Political History of the United States during the Rebellion*, pp. 147, 148.
[2] *Congressional Globe*, 3,448, July 1st, 1864, and H. R., 244.

mitted to any single plan for restoration"; and, while also "unprepared that the free-state constitutions and governments already adopted and installed in Arkansas and Louisiana" should be "set aside and held for naught, thereby repelling and discouraging the loyal citizens" who had set up the same as to further effort, or "to declare constitutional competency in congress to abolish slavery in the states" (hoping, at the same time, that a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery throughout the nation might be adopted)—nevertheless, he was "fully satisfied with the system for restoration contained in the bill, as one very proper for the loyal people of any state choosing to adopt it." Furthermore, that he was at all times prepared to "give the executive aid and assistance to any such people, so soon as military resistance to the United States" should have been suppressed in any such state, and the people thereof should have "sufficiently returned to their obedience to the constitution and the laws of the United States." That, in such cases, military governors would be appointed with "directions to proceed according to the bill." This proclamation was, in effect, serving notice that he would proceed according to his own plan of reconstruction, and would adopt that embodied in the dead congressional bill only to the extent he deemed advisable.[1]

This proclamation created a furor among the adherents of the Congressional Plan of Reconstruction. A protest was issued signed by Henry Winter Davis, who had reported the bill in the house, and by Senator Wade, who had reported it in the senate. The proclamation was declared to be "a document unknown to the laws and constitution of the United States" and a "grave executive usurpation."

A final attempt to pass the Reconstruction Bill through congress failed on the 22nd of February, 1864, and the session closed on the 4th of March, thus leaving the Presidential Plan of Reconstruction, for the time being, the sole possessor of the field.

Tennessee was the first of the seceding states sufficiently under the control of the military forces of the United States to warrant an attempt at reorganisation. By the 25th of February, 1862, Nashville, the capital of the state, was occupied by the federal army. Prior to that event (February 22nd), and, in fact, in anticipation of it, General Grant had issued an order annulling the jurisdiction of state courts and placing the adjudication of cases in the hands of the authorities duly established by the United States government. West Tennessee was placed under martial law, but with the understanding that it would be restored to a normal government as soon as conditions warranted it. The president then appointed Senator Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, military governor with the rank of brigadier-general. Johnson was a former governor of Tennessee and became Lincoln's successor in the presidency. "Tennessee," said Johnson, "is not out of the Union, never has been, and never will be out. The bonds of the constitution and the federal power will always prevent that. This government is perpetual; provision is made for reforming the government and amending the constitution, and admitting states into the Union; not for letting them out of it. The United States sends an agent or a military governor, whichever you please to call him, to aid you in restoring your government. Whenever you desire, in good faith, to restore civil authority, you can do so, and a proclamation for an election will be issued as speedily as it is practicable to hold one."

By 1864 the state executive committee of the republican party deemed

[1] For text of proclamation, see Scott, *Reconstruction During the Civil War, Appendix C.*

conditions ripe for summoning a convention of the people. The convention met on the 9th of January, 1864, and exceeded its instructions by itself submitting to the people "amendments abolishing slavery, and prohibiting the legislature from making any law recognising the right of property in man." A full state ticket was nominated by the convention, including W. G. Brownlow for governor. The ticket was elected without opposition. The legislature met at Nashville on the 3rd of April, and two days later ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the constitution. The fact that the election was held according to the state law of 1852 is evidence of the intention of the federal authorities to restore the ancient government of the state except to the extent that it recognised slavery as an institution.

January 20th, 1864, General Steele, the military commander of Arkansas, was ordered to hold an election on March 28th, for the election of a governor. The amended constitution was adopted at the polls and a governor and state and county officials were elected. When the legislature assembled two United States senators were chosen.

A military governor, George F. Shepley, was appointed for Louisiana in 1862. Little or no progress was made under this organisation. None was made, in fact, until the president took the matter of reconstruction entirely into his own hands. This marks the change from the old faction of restoring the governments in the same condition as they were before the rebellion to the open application of the Presidential Plan of Reconstruction. Through General Banks, on January 8th, 1864, an election of state officers was ordered by proclamation to take place February 22nd. These officers were to constitute the civil government of the state, under the constitution and laws of Louisiana, except so much as relate to slavery. September 5th the new constitution emancipating the slaves and prohibiting property in man forever was adopted, and the government was organised on the 3rd of October. Five congressmen were chosen and members of the legislature, and later two United States senators. The senators and representatives were not admitted. This reconstruction of Louisiana in 1864 was the first instance of the kind under the plan set forth in the Amnesty Proclamation.

The beginning of the year 1865 ushered in many events that were clearly indicative of an early close of the war. In the mean time, however, the Thirteenth Amendment to the constitution, forever abolishing slavery, had been accepted by congress in January, though it was not proclaimed by the secretary of state until the 18th of December, after having been ratified by three-fourths of the states. On the 4th of March, upon the occasion of his second inauguration, Lincoln spoke the following truly great words: "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations." [1] But Lincoln's last public address was delivered on the evening of the 11th of April before a great multitude of people gathered about the White House, to convey their congratulations to the president and to signify their joy at the sure prospect of peace. It was his last public utterance, likewise, upon the subject of reconstruction and the criticisms levelled at his policy towards it as practically illustrated in Louisiana. It sums up very aptly his theory of reconstruction as modified by the experience of his first term in the presidential office:

[1] *A. Lincoln, Complete Works*, Vol. II, pp. 656, 657.

"We are all agreed that the seceded states, so called, are out of their proper practical relation with the Union, and that the sole object of the government, civil and military, in regard to those states is to again get them into the proper practical relation." Voicing the optimism which always was so pronounced an element of his mental equipment, Lincoln went on to say that he believed this could be accomplished far better without ever raising the question as to whether these states had or had not been out of the Union. He urged that everyone should join in restoring the practical relations throughout the Union, each man allowing to his neighbour the indulgence of a personal opinion on the subject, but not permitting that personal opinion to interfere with the practical working of the new scheme of reorganisation.[1]

No words could express greater common-sense than is found in this informal address. The question as to whether the states had ever been "out of the Union," he considered as academic; as bad when taken as the "basis of a controversy," as "good for nothing at all"; as merely a "pernicious abstraction"; as practically an immaterial question, that could have no other effect "than the mischievous one of dividing our friends." He frankly acknowledged that if his plan of reconstruction, then in practical operation in Louisiana, failed, he would withdraw it and try another plan.

Three days later—on the evening of the 14th—Lincoln was assassinated. The assassin entered the box at the theatre where Lincoln was seated with a party of friends, and shot the President with a pistol. The stricken man lost consciousness immediately, and died a few hours later. The effect of this blow upon the national mind can be better imagined than described. "The country had now to traverse an unexplored sea, with its unknown currents, without chart to point out rocks and shallows, and in ignorance, of course, of what new storms might rise."[2] "With the ship barely over the bar," said the London *Spectator*, "the pilot falls dead upon the deck, and it must be well, but the sailors may be pardoned if for the moment they feel as if the harbour would never be attained."

We can say with considerable degree of assurance that, had Lincoln lived, he would easily have triumphed in his policy of reconstruction and would have readily defeated the faction that had arisen against him under the leadership of Sumner. He had already triumphed over the protest of Wade and Davis. "He was master of the situation, and had he been left to command it, there is every reason to believe that the faction which disturbed him a few days before his death would have been crushed."[3] The assassin's pistol had deprived the Southerners of their kindest and most powerful friend.

### RECONSTRUCTION DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF JOHNSON

On the day after the assassination of President Lincoln—at eleven o'clock on the morning of the 15th—Andrew Johnson took the oath of office. In answer to the question as to what policy would be pursued, he replied that it must be left for development as the administration progressed, and that his own past course in connection with the rebellion would have to be regarded as a guarantee for the future. "I know it is easy, gentlemen," he said to a delegation from New Hampshire, "for anyone who is so disposed to acquire

[1] *A. Lincoln, Complete Works*, Vol. II, pp. 673–675.
[2] Henry Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, Vol. III, p. 589.
[3] Pollard, *The Lost Cause Regained*, p. 65.

a reputation for clemency and mercy. But the public good imperatively requires a just discrimination in the exercise of these qualities. The American people must be taught to know and understand that treason is a crime. It must not be regarded as a mere difference of political opinion. It must not be excused as an unsuccessful rebellion, to be overlooked and forgiven."

Many were disposed to regard his advancement to the presidency at that particular juncture as but another evidence of providential favour, if not of divine interposition, by which the nation was to be saved from what many feared might prove Mr. Lincoln's ill-timed leniency and misplaced confidence.[1] Johnson now found himself face to face with the great problem of reconstruction. His view of this momentous question seems to have been substantially much like that of Lincoln, but there was a wide difference between the characters of the two men. Johnson had not a "touch of Lincoln's genius for understanding and persuading men," and was at the same time sadly lacking in tact and discretion. Woodrow Wilson[2] points out that Johnson was as humble in origin as Lincoln himself. But, unlike Lincoln, he to the last retained his native roughness. He had not the full confidence even of the party that elected him. It was not forgotten that he had once been a democrat; he had even been sent as democratic senator from Tennessee. His sympathies were with the South in regard to almost every question except the one salient one of their attitude toward the Union. In everything short of this, he held that the state had the right to local sovereignty, and his opinions were both arbitrary and stubborn. He was sure to exasperate his opponents in putting forth his views.

He declined to seek the advice of congress in the embarrassment of his position, and subjected himself, in a large measure, to the counsel and influence of his cabinet. This was particularly significant inasmuch as he had made no changes in this body since Lincoln's death. Probably Mr. William H. Seward, the secretary of state, exerted more influence over the president than any other member of the cabinet. Mr. Blaine holds, that by his arguments and by his eloquence Mr. Seward "completely captivated the president. He effectually persuaded him that a policy of anger and hate and vengeance could lead only to evil results," and that the president was gradually influenced by Mr. Seward's arguments, though their whole tenor was against his strongest predilections and against his pronounced and public committals to a policy directly the reverse of that to which he was now, almost imperceptibly to himself, yielding assent. He points out that the president had completely changed his point of view within a few weeks. No longer ago than April he had declared himself in favour of "the halter for intelligent, influential traitors." He had again and again used language of similar import, advocating the arrest, conviction, and execution of traitors. But he was now brought over to the opposite point of view, and he was ready to advocate the policy of reconstruction that did not contemplate the indictment of a single traitor or the arrest of a single participant in the rebellion, with the sole exception of such as might be suspected of personal complicity in the conspiracy that led to the assassination of Lincoln,—an exception that merely implied a willingness to further the ends of ordinary justice contemplated by the criminal law.[3]

On the 29th of May two decisive steps were taken in the work of reconstruction. Both steps proceeded on the theory that every act needful for

[1] H. Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, Vol. III, pp. 593, 594.
[2] Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, pp. 257, 258.
[3] J. G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress*, Vol. II, pp. 67, 68.

the rehabilitation of the seceded states could be accomplished by the executive. The first step taken was the issuance of a Proclamation of Amnesty and Pardon to "all persons who have, directly or indirectly, participated in the existing rebellion." Thirteen classes of persons, however, were excepted from the benefit of this pardon. Of these classes, the first six were nearly identical with those excepted in President Lincoln's proclamation of December 8th, 1863.[1]

By the middle of July, three months after the assassination of Lincoln, the whole scheme of reconstruction was in operation. Proclamations appointed governors also for all the states but four. For the reconstruction of Virginia, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee, different provisions were made. The "Pierpont government," with headquarters at Alexandria, was recognised as the legitimate government of Virginia. A course very similar to that adopted in Virginia was followed in Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee.

The voters in those states who were qualified under the proclamation to do so at once held constitutional conventions and created governments more or less squaring with Johnson's idea of a republican form of government within the meaning of the constitution. This was done in every state, except Texas, by the autumn of 1865, and senators and representatives were elected ready to apply for admission to congress as soon as that body should assemble. When congress assembled, however, on the 4th of December, it was in no mood to consider favourably these new state governments. The unfavourable attitude was, in a measure, due to certain laws passed by those governments which seemed to have in view the direct purpose of keeping the negroes in "involuntary servitude." The South looked with apprehension upon the liberty accorded a "labouring, landless, homeless class." Consequently, a number of the "reconstructed" governments—especially Mississippi and South Carolina—had passed statutes restraining the freedmen in matters relating to employment, labour contracts, and vagrancy. To the Southern legislatures these restraints were considered reasonable enough, but to congress they were looked upon as evidences of bad faith. These circumstances made congress the more willing to listen to those who advocated a more radical policy of reconstruction, having as their professed object the complete submission of the Southern states to the will of the federal government. According to the views of those who advocated this radical policy, resistance to the laws and constitution of the United States had resulted in the suspension of all federal law in so far as the rebellious states were concerned. Furthermore, that law did not revive in those states until congress declared it in force after the conditions incident to its revival had been complied with satisfactorily. In brief, congress would rehabilitate the states when and in the manner it pleased.

The practical adoption of this theory of reconstruction by congress marks the beginning of the policy of "Thorough." Congress assembled in December with more than a two-thirds majority in both houses. The temper of congress was shown immediately upon organising. The names of all the states that had seceded were omitted from the roll-call.

On the 30th of April a reconstruction committee reported a joint resolution embodying a comprehensive amendment to the constitution. It was designed to protect the rights of the negroes of the South, and fix the basis of representation in congress. This resolution was concurred in by the two houses of congress, June 13th, 1866, and when ratified by the proper num-

[1] For text, see McPherson's *History of the Reconstruction*, pp. 9, 10.

ber of states became the Fourteenth Amendment. It made "all persons born or naturalised in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof," citizens both of the United States and of the several states of their residence. It provided for a reduction of the congressional representation of any state that should deny the franchise to male citizens of voting age. It likewise excluded from federal office those who had served the Confederacy until congress should pardon them, and likewise invalidated all debts or obligations "incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave." President Johnson had no power to veto the resolution, but he sent a message to congress on the 22nd of June expressing his disapproval of it.

But this was not the first clash between the president and congress. On February 6th, 1866, congress passed a bill establishing a second Freedmen's Bureau, the first one, passed March 3rd, 1865, having limited the existence of the "bureau" to one year. The first act had given the bureau rather wide authority to assist the liberated slaves in finding means of subsistence and in helping them to secure their new privileges and immunities. The second bill increased these powers greatly and made it a penal offence, triable and punishable by federal military tribunals, to attempt to interfere with in any way the civil rights and immunities of the freedmen. The president vetoed this bill, February 19th, on the ground that it violated constitutional guarantees in that no person by our organic code should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, and that taxation should never be imposed without representation. February 21st, the bill was again put upon its passage, but failed to become a law—not having secured the necessary two-thirds vote in the senate. There were still some republicans in congress who did not see fit to break with the president, at least openly. The third Freedmen's Bureau Bill, of July, 1866, was a much milder document, as it did not make violations of the proposed law a criminal offence. Nevertheless, July 16th the president vetoed the bill, and congress promptly repassed it the very same day the veto message was received.

In March, 1866, congress had sent to the president for his approval a bill "to protect all persons in the United States in their civil rights, and furnish the means of their vindication." This was the first Civil Rights Bill. The president vetoed it on the 27th of March, and on the 9th of April congress passed it over his veto. The president's veto was accompanied by an elaborate message, in which he claimed that the bill was both unwise and in excess of the constitutional powers of congress. This marks definitely the breaking-point between the president and congress. The president accepted the issue, and congress decided to follow its own plan of reconstruction without his assistance.

The president might yet have carried with him a considerable following had he showed the slightest tact and good judgment. His friends, both republicans and democrats, called a convention, at which they made a demonstration of loyalty to the Presidential Plan of Reconstruction. But Johnson took this show of support as a warrant for making violent speeches against congress and acting in a most intemperate manner generally. The fall election resulted in an overwhelming victory for congress. The republican majority in the next house would be as large as in the present one. Congress came together in December determined to curb the president and to formulate means by which the recalcitrant Southern states, that had rejected the Fourteenth Amendment, could be made to accept it. Besides the ten Southern states included in the rebellion, Kentucky, Delaware, and Maryland had voted

against the amendment. Tennessee was the only geographically Southern state that voted for it. Meanwhile, however, President Johnson, although thus obstructed in the work he had assumed in reorganising the Southern states, had continued issuing proclamations. On the 2nd of April, 1866, he issued a proclamation declaring the state of war ended, and civil authority existing throughout the United States. Later, he issued an amnesty proclamation, modifying that of May 29th, 1865, wherein "thirteen extensive classes of persons were altogether excepted and excluded from the benefits thereof," so that "the full and beneficent pardon conceded" in that proclamation "should be opened and further extended."

But all this was to go for naught before the high-handed congressional programme framed by a caucus of republican members upon the assembling of congress. Congress then proceeded to carry out its policy of "thorough" with regard to reconstruction. The Tenure of Office Act was passed over the president's veto, March 2nd, 1867—thus making the executive power of appointment to and removal from office subject to the approval of the senate. Then, by a rider to the Appropriation Bill, General Grant, already in command of the whole military force of the government, was made practically independent of the president. Johnson was compelled to approve this obnoxious rider in order to save the General Appropriation Bill. Congress also established universal suffrage in the District of Columbia over the president's veto, January 8th, 1867, and in the territories, January 10th, 1867. The latter bill became a law by reason of the failure of the president to sign, or return it with his objections, within ten days after presentation to him. Nebraska was admitted to the Union, March 1st, 1867—Nevada having been added to the list of states October 31st, 1864. The bill admitting Nebraska was passed over the president's veto.

All this legislation, however, was little more than paving the way for the great Reconstruction Act of March 2nd, 1867, which was repassed the same day the president's veto message was received. This remarkable piece of legislation was entitled "An act to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel states." Tennessee had already been admitted to representation and was excluded from the provision of the act. The Southern states were to be grouped into five military districts. It was made the duty of the president to "assign to the command of each of said districts an officer of the army, not below the rank of brigadier-general, and to detail a sufficient military force to enable such officer to enforce his authority." These officers were given full civil and criminal jurisdiction; and all interference under colour of state authority with the exercise of military authority under the act was to be null and void. The provisions were made, however, that no cruel or unusual punishment was to be inflicted and no sentence of death was to be carried into effect without the approval of the president. Section 5 of the act outlined the process of reconstruction. This process was outlined in still greater detail by a Supplemental Reconstruction Act, passed March 23rd, 1867. The military commanders were given the power to enroll in each state, upon oath, all the male citizens of one year's residence who were not disqualified to vote by reason of felony or excluded under the terms of the proposed Fourteenth Amendment. Then they were to hold a general election in each state for the purpose of selecting delegates to a state convention. These conventions were then to frame constitutions extending the franchise to all classes of citizens who had been permitted to vote for delegates—without restriction as to "race, colour, or previous condition of servitude." These constitutions were to conform with the constitution of

the United States "in every respect," and were to be submitted to the same body of electors for ratification. If congress passed favourably upon the constitution of a state thus submitted, then that state would be admitted to representation so soon as its new legislature should ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. After these provisions of the act had been complied with, military jurisdiction over that state was to cease. It was furthermore provided, that "until the people of said rebel states shall be by law admitted to representation in the congress of the United States, any civil governments which may exist therein shall be deemed provisional only, and in all respects subject to the paramount authority of the United States at any time to abolish, modify, control, or supersede the same." Such was this extraordinary act.

This act erected in each of the ten states a vice-royal rule outside of the constitution. President Johnson summed up his objection to the bill in a sentence of his veto message: "I submit to congress whether this measure is not, in its whole character, scope, and object, without precedent and without authority, in palpable conflict with the plainest provisions of the constitution, and utterly destructive to those great principles of liberty and humanity for which our ancestors on both sides of the Atlantic have shed so much blood and expended so much treasure." [1]

"Such was the policy of 'thorough' to which congress had made up its mind. Its practical operation was of course revolutionary in its effects upon the Southern governments. The most influential white men were excluded from voting for the delegates who were to compose the constitutional conventions, while the negroes were all admitted to enrolment. Unscrupulous adventurers appeared to act as the leaders of the inexperienced blacks in taking possession, first of the conventions, and afterwards of the state governments; and in the states where the negroes were most numerous, or their leaders most shrewd and unprincipled, an extraordinary carnival of public crime set in under the forms of law. Negro majorities gained complete control of the state governments, or, rather, negroes constituted the legislative majorities and submitted to the unrestrained authority of small and masterful groups of white men whom the instinct of plunder had drawn from the North. Taxes were multiplied, whose proceeds went for the most part into the pockets of these fellows and their confederates among the negroes. Enormous masses of debt were piled up, by processes both legal and fraudulent, and most of the money borrowed reached the same destination. In several of the states it is true that, after the conventions had acted, the white vote was strong enough to control, when united; and in these, reconstruction, when completed, reinstated the whites in power almost at once. But it was in these states in several cases that the process of reconstruction was longest delayed, just because the white voters could resist the more obnoxious measures of the conventions; and in the mean time there was military rule." [2]

On the 22nd of June, 1868, an act was passed for the admission of Arkansas. The president vetoed the bill on the 20th of March, but congress passed it over his veto on the 22nd. Three days later a similar act was passed admitting the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida. This bill was vetoed by the president on the 25th, and passed over his veto by congress on the same day.

January 27th, 1870, Virginia was admitted into the Union; on the 3rd of February, Mississippi; Texas, March 30th.

Virginia was required to ratify the Fifteenth Amendment to the federal

[1] For text, see McPherson's *History of Reconstruction*, pp. 166–172.
[2] Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, pp. 268, 269.

constitution, as well as the Fourteenth Amendment, before she could be admitted to the Union. The same requirement was made of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas. A sufficient number of ratifications had already been obtained for the Fourteenth Amendment, and on the 28th of July, 1868, it had been finally proclaimed part of the fundamental law. The Fifteenth Amendment was likewise adopted by the necessary number of states, and was finally declared in force March 30th, 1870. Congress had proposed it February 26th, 1869. It declared that the right of citizens of the United States to vote should not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude; and that congress should have power to enforce the amendment by appropriate legislation.

In the mean time the breach between congress and the president grew wider and wider. The congressional policy of "thorough" was met at every point by the presidential power of veto. Not content, however, with exercising his constitutional prerogatives, he went out of his way to show in every way possible his bitter contempt for congress and its policy of reconstruction. The Tenure of Office Act of March 2nd, 1867, had sought to deprive the president of the power of removing even cabinet officers without the approval of the senate.

This was the law that in the end furnished the issue that brought the quarrel between congress and the president to its finality. August 5th, 1867, President Johnson demanded the resignation of Edwin M. Stanton, secretary of war, in the following words: "Public considerations of a high character constrain me to say that your resignation as secretary of war will be accepted." Secretary Stanton replied to this demand for his resignation on the same day in the following words: "In reply," he said, "I have the honour to say that public considerations of a high character, which alone have induced me to continue at the head of this department, constrain me not to resign the office of secretary of war before the next meeting of congress." The president then suspended him from office, August 12th, as the terms of the act permitted him to do, and empowered General Ulysses S. Grant to act as secretary of war *ad interim*. Stanton "submitted under protest, to superior force," but denied the president's right to suspend him without the advice and consent of the senate. When congress reassembled, the senate, on January 13th, 1868, refused to sanction the removal. The president thereupon, in defiance of the Tenure of Office Act (which he considered a "palpable invasion of his constitutional privileges"), determined to remove Stanton. This he did on February 21st, 1868, and announced the fact to the senate in a communication to that body on the same date. General Lorenzo Thomas, adjutant-general of the army, was at the same time designated secretary of war *ad interim*. But Stanton refused to quit his office and made a direct appeal to the house for protection. The house then determined to impeach the president of high crimes and misdemeanours in office.

As early as November 25th, 1867, Mr. Boutwell, from the committee on the judiciary, had submitted a report to the house recommending the impeachment of the president, but the resolution had not prevailed by a large majority. On January 27th, 1868, a committee, called the committee on reconstruction, was appointed to inquire into the state of affairs. This committee, on February 24th, submitted a report recommending the impeachment of the president, and it was adopted by a vote of 128 to 47. A committee of two was appointed to notify the senate, and another committee of seven was appointed to prepare and report articles of impeachment. The trial was begun in the

senate on the 5th of March, and later eleven articles of impeachment were presented to the senate sitting as a court. Chief-Justice Salmon P. Chase presided at the trial, and after having had the oath administered to him by Associate Justice Nelson, in turn administered it to the various senators. On the 6th of March an order was adopted directing Johnson to file an answer to the articles, returnable on the 13th instant. The president's counsel asked for forty days in which to prepare an answer, but this request was denied, and the senate decided upon the 30th instant as the time for the beginning of the trial.

On May 16th the first vote of the court was taken on the eleventh article, with the result of thirty-five for "guilty" and nineteen "not guilty." Ten days later, May 26th, a vote was taken upon the second and third articles, with the same result as on the eleventh article. A motion was then carried that the court adjourn *sine die*. Judgment of acquittal was then entered by the chief justice on the three articles voted upon. Johnson's escape was very narrow; a two-thirds majority was required to convict, and but one vote was wanting. Five republican senators had declined to vote with their party. Stanton resigned his position of secretary of war on the same day of the adjournment of the court.

In the presidential election of that year (1868) Johnson was an impossible candidate for either party. The republican nominating convention, meeting at Chicago, just four days after the failure of the impeachment proceedings, nominated General Grant for the presidency. The democrats nominated Horatio Seymour of New York. The reconstruction issue was squarely met. Three Southern states did not take part in the election, not having been reconstructed, and most of the rest were in possession of negro majorities. Two hundred and fourteen electoral votes were cast for Grant and eighty for Seymour. The aggregate popular majority of the republicans, however, was but a little more than 300,000 in a total vote of nearly 6,000,000.

March 4th, 1869, Johnson's tempestuous administration came to a close. It was "crowded with perplexities for the constitutional lawyer and the judicious historian alike."[1] One event of considerable importance had marked the foreign relations of the government. On October 31st, 1861, a joint convention had been signed at London between England, France, and Spain. The object of this agreement was to send an expedition against Mexico, "to demand from the Mexican authorities more efficient protection for the persons and properties of their (the allied sovereigns') subjects, as well as a fulfilment of the obligations contracted towards their majesties by the republic of Mexico." It was not long, however, before the designs of the French became apparent to the other allies and to the world. The emperor of the French "walked his own wild road, whither that led him," and established a sort of feudatory monarchy in Mexico, and persuaded the archduke Maximilian, brother of the emperor of Austria, to accept the throne. The archduke was a man of pure and noble character, but evidently wanting in strength of purpose.

The United States government protested against these high-handed doings of the French from the very first. But the emperor Napoleon, quite positive that the United States were going to pieces and that he would have the Southern Confederacy as a friend and ally in his vast schemes, ignored these protests. After the tide turned, however, and the rebellion was at an end, the United States government demanded of Louis Napoleon the withdrawal of

[1] Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, p. 272.

his troops from Mexico. A significant movement of troops was made in the direction of the Mexican frontier and the French were compelled to withdraw (March, 1867). Maximilian remained and endeavoured to raise an army of his own to defend himself against the growing strength of the Mexicans under Juarez. But the latter conquered at last, and Maximilian was tried by court-martial, condemned, and shot, June 19th, 1867. The French Empire never recovered from the shock of this Mexican failure, and the Monroe doctrine was triumphantly asserted and maintained.

Another event of importance of an international character was the Fenian invasion of Canada. On the night of May 31st, 1866, about nine hundred men, under Colonel O'Neil, crossed from Buffalo to Fort Erie. Their object was the destruction of the Welland Canal. After a series of rather unimportant engagements with varying success, they were driven back by Canadian regular and volunteer troops. Another Fenian expedition aimed at reaching the capital at Ottawa, and a band of marauders crossed the border from Vermont, but both were easily driven back. The invasions continued spasmodically in 1870 and in 1871, but all with the like result. The Fenian troubles, being, as they were, attacks by the Irish-Americans upon British sovereignty, roused strong feeling in Canada against the American authorities.

In March, 1867, definite negotiations between the United States and Russia for the purchase of Alaska were opened by the Russian minister at Washington. After negotiations covering about two months, a treaty was ratified transferring Alaska to the United States for a consideration of $7,200,000 in gold. The usual proclamation was made by the president of the United States, June 20th, 1867, and the transfer was made on the 18th of October following.

### RECONSTRUCTION DURING THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF GRANT

During the two administrations of Grant normal conditions of government and of economic and intellectual life were gradually restored. Nevertheless, before this happy result was brought about the republican party had yet to complete its policy of reconstruction. President Grant communicated the fact of the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment to Congress in a special message on the 30th of March, 1870. May 31st, 1870, and April 20th, 1871, congress enacted laws having in view making effective the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. These laws were popularly known as the "Force bills." Conspiracy to take away from any person the rights of a citizen was made a penal offence. Furthermore, the acts provided that inability, neglect, or refusal by any state to suppress such conspiracy, to protect the rights of its citizens, or to call upon the president for aid, should be "deemed a denial by such state of the equal protection of the laws" under the Fourteenth Amendment. Such conspiracies, if not suppressed by the authorities, were likewise declared "rebellion against the government of the United States." The president was authorised to suspend the privileges of the writ of *habeas corpus* in any district. In the spring of 1872—conditions in the South having very materially improved—congress permitted some of the harsher portions of the act of 1871 to lapse. This was followed up, May 22nd of the same year, by a General Amnesty Act. Those who had served the Confederacy after having served the United States in a judicial, military, or naval capacity, or in the higher grades of administration and political freedom, were excepted from the provisions of the act.

The Force Bill of 1871 was enacted as a result of the peculiar conditions existing in the Southern states after the ratification of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. Reconstruction had resulted in a condition of affairs in which the most prominent whites were disfranchised and deprived of the right to hold public offices. Their slaves were enfranchised and unfriendly, and sometimes dishonest strangers from the North filled their judicial and other offices. Some of these offices were filled by ignorant negroes. The Southern states resisted this state of affairs, and resistance took the form of organised intimidation and terrorism. Cox[1] declares that it made an objective point of the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, including ministers of the gospel and school-teachers. The major part of these were doubtless adventurers from the North, or, at least, men of the pioneering spirit, who had come in quest of a fortune. By the people whose territory they had invaded they were regarded as public enemies, and they came to be known by the opprobrious title of "carpet-baggers." It is not strange that people so regarded should have met with public and private opposition. The outrages to which they were subjected fill many volumes of reports made by sundry committees of investigation appointed by the two houses of congress. These reports make it clear that there existed in the South, soon after the Civil War, a considerable number of secret societies, the express, even if guarded, object of which was to prevent the exercise of political rights by the negroes. These societies assumed a variety of fantastic names, such as the Brotherhood, the Pale Faces, the Invisible Empire, the Knights of the White Camellia. But they all had practically the same motives, and they were conducted along very much the same lines. Ultimately all of them came to be merged in the Ku-Klux Klan.

This formidable organisation was said to have originated in 1866 with the object at first of only scaring the superstitious blacks. From this, however, it soon went to using its power in the most cruel manner for the furtherance of political ends—to crush out republicanism in the Southern states, to prevent the negroes exercising their political rights, and to exclude from all political offices those who depended mainly upon negro votes for their election. The strength of the Ku-Klux Klan in Tennessee was estimated at forty thousand, and it was supposed to be still stronger in other states. Virginia was fairly well exempt from Ku-Klux outrages, while North Carolina and Tennessee presented numerous cases. According to Cox,[2] the members were sworn to secrecy under penalty of death for breach of fidelity. Armed bodies of masked men, well mounted, and wearing long white gowns, swept about the country at night, terrifying the community. They did not hesitate to surround and break into the cabins of the negroes, frightening and maltreating the inmates, and warning them that if they gave offence in any way they were marked out for future vengeance. In some instances they went farther, actually seizing an obnoxious negro or carpet-bagger, and subjecting him to physical injury. Senator Scott, in a speech in the senate, based upon personal investigation, gave a summary of the extent of the Ku-Klux outrages. In ninety-nine counties in different states he found five hundred and twenty-six homicides and two thousand and nine cases of whipping. Furthermore, it was stated by the congressional committee that investigated the subject, that in Louisiana alone in the year 1868 there were more than one thousand murders, and most of them were the result of the operations of the Ku-Klux. In October, 1871,

[1] S. S. Cox, *Three Decades of Federal Legislation*, p. 453.
[2] S. S. Cox, *Three Decades of Federal Legislation*, p. 455.

the president suspended the privilege of *habeas corpus* in South Carolina in nine counties, so flagrantly prevalent were the Ku-Klux outrages.

The Force Act, however, was destined to outrun popular feeling. The supreme court of the United States, moreover, showed a decided tendency towards a conservative construction of the changes brought about by the war. In the case of Texas *versus* White, it held that the states maintained their statehood intact, though at the same time it sustained congress even in its extreme policy of reconstruction. In 1873 the court was called upon to interpret the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the constitution in the celebrated Slaughter-House Cases. In these cases the political and constitutional powers of the Southern states were held to be unimpaired, and the control of the state over the general privileges of its citizens was declared intact, notwithstanding the last two amendments.

In fact, a general reaction from extreme partisanship and a violent reconstruction policy was noticeable throughout the North. The Force Act had come dangerously near the suspension of state government in the South, and there was a growing disposition in the North, even among republicans, to regard the treatment far more dangerous than the disease. As the first term of Grant's administration drew to a close, the political parties again made the Congressional Plan of Reconstruction the chief issue of the campaign. The president was in accord with this plan of reconstruction and was consequently subjected to much criticism. Nevertheless, he was renominated by the republicans for the presidency, with Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, as the vice-presidential nominee. The "liberal republicans" bolted the regular party and nominated for the presidency Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*. They adopted a platform declaring local self-government a better safeguard for the rights of all citizens than centralised power. Universal amnesty for the Southerners was favoured. The democrats accepted the nominees of the liberal party and endorsed the platform. The movement was supported by many other prominent republicans besides Greeley, among them Charles Sumner, Stanley Matthews, Carl Schurz, and David A. Wells.

The Greeley movement developed, as Andrews[1] remarks, both remarkable strength and remarkable weakness. Greeley had been influential for several years as a journalist. His chivalrous offer to give bail for Jefferson Davis, and his open advocacy of mercy for all rebellious subjects who had laid down their arms, had gained him a strong coterie of friends in the South. When he took the stump on his own behalf, making the tour of the central states, it was but natural that crowds of republicans should come to see and hear their former leader. But a very large number of those who may even have applauded his speeches, did not give him the sanction of their ballots. Nor could it be expected that the democrats as a whole would rally with enthusiasm about the standard of a man who had been one of their most bitter opponents. Naturally enough, then, some of these supported a third ticket, whilst others refrained from voting. The campaign was one of wild excitement and bitter denunciation, and the result was what might have been anticipated. Greeley was overwhelmingly beaten. The democrats carried but six states, and those were all in the South. Within a month after the election Mr. Greeley died, at the age of sixty-one, broken down by "overexertion, family bereavement, and disappointed ambition."

The Congressional Plan of Reconstruction was thus once more emphatically sustained at the polls. Election troubles were of frequent occurrence

[1] E. B. Andrews, *History of the United States*, Vol. II, pp. 205, 206.

during Grant's second term in those Southern states in which the negroes were most numerous or most thoroughly organised under white leaders. Both of the contestants, no doubt, were to a considerable extent in the wrong. In a number of these states the electoral machinery was in the hands of negro managers who had the support of the federal officers authorised by congress for the protection of the negroes in their political rights. These supervisors, marshals, and deputy-marshals were not slow, of course, to take advantage of every opportunity for their personal advancement. On the other hand, the Southerners used every means of preventing the negroes from voting. Where persuasion and bribery would not bring about the desired end, intimidation and actual violence were often resorted to. The turmoil finally reached a climax in Louisiana. Since 1872 the whites in that state had been chafing under the republican rule of Governor Kellogg, who was accused of ruinous extravagance in the use of the state's credit. In the autumn of 1872 rival returning boards in Louisiana certified to democratic and republican majorities in the choice of state officers and presidential electors. Both of these boards were irregularly constituted, but both claimed to be the legal board. As a result, rival governments were erected and it took congressional interference to effect a compromise. The republican governor was kept in office through the support of the federal troops, but his opponents were given control of the house of representatives of the state legislature.

"In August, 1874, a disturbance occurred which ended in the deliberate shooting of six republican officials. President Grant prepared to send military aid to the Kellogg government. Thereupon Penn, the defeated candidate for lieutenant-governor in 1872, issued an address to the people, claiming to be the lawful executive of Louisiana, and calling upon the state militia to arm and drive 'the usurpers from power.' Barricades were thrown up in the streets of New Orleans, and on September 14th a severe fight took place between the insurgents and the state forces, in which a dozen were killed on each side. On the next day the state-house was surrendered to the militia, ten thousand of whom had responded to Penn's call. Governor Kellogg took refuge in the custom-house. Penn was formally inducted in office. United States troops were hurried to the scene. Agreeably to their professions of loyalty towards the federal government, the insurgents surrendered the state property to the United States authorities without resistance, but under protest.

"A sullen acquiescence in the Kellogg government gradually prevailed. Other electoral difficulties occurred in 1874 and 1875 in Arkansas and Mississippi. The republican officials asked the president to send federal troops, but none were sent.

"General Grant declared that, while he felt bound to intervene, he found it an 'exceedingly unpalatable' duty; and when calls for troops came later from other states, he replied, with evident impatience, that the whole public was 'tired out with these annual autumnal outbreaks in the South,' and that the great majority were 'ready now to condemn any interference on the part of the government.' He had never shown any vindictive feeling towards the South, and there can be no doubt that in directing federal troops to interfere to cut the puzzling knots of Southern election snarls, he acted with the same simple sense of duty towards the laws that had characterised his soldier predecessors, Jackson and Taylor."[1]

The most important of the treaties that marked President Grant's terms

[1] Woodrow Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, pp. 276, 277.

of office was the Treaty of Washington, concluded with Great Britain May 8th, 1871. This treaty made provisions for the settlement of the following important questions: the northwestern boundary—a portion of which had been too vaguely determined by the treaty of 1847; the Canadian Fishery Dispute; and the *Alabama* Claims.

The question of the northwestern boundary was referred to the decision of the German emperor, William I. The treaty of 1847 had not left it clear whether the boundary line through the channel between Vancouver Island and the mainland should be run so as to include the island of San Juan, with its group, in the United States or in Canada. The emperor decided in 1872 in favour of the contention of the United States.

The fisheries dispute had its origin at the very beginning of the nation. It has continued to be a source of international trouble down to the present time. The treaty of 1871 seemed only to confuse matters more than before. The Canadians were permitted, by its provisions, to go as far south as the thirty-ninth parallel; free trade in fish-oil and in all salt-water fish was granted; and, in recognition of the fact that mere reciprocity was supposed to give the United States a decided advantage, that nation was required to pay Canada $5,500,000. This agreement was so thoroughly unsatisfactory that the United States took the earliest possible opportunity (July 1st, 1883) to abrogate it.

As early as 1863 the United States had sought satisfaction from Great Britain for the damages sustained to shipping from the Confederate cruisers sailing from English ports. Of these, the *Alabama* had proven most destructive. Attempts were made to settle the claims in 1865, but without success.

On the 26th of January, 1871, the British government proposed the appointment of a joint high commission to meet at Washington, for the settlement of questions connected with the Canadian fisheries.

On May 8th the commission completed a treaty which received the prompt approval of both governments. The British government expressed its regret for "the escape, under whatever circumstances, of the *Alabama* and other vessels from British ports, and for the depredations committed by those vessels." It furthermore agreed that the *Alabama* Claims should be referred to a tribunal of arbitration to be composed of five arbitrators, to meet at Geneva, at the earliest convenient day, when all questions considered by the tribunal, including the final award, should be decided by a majority of all the arbitrators.

The tribunal held its first conference at Geneva on the 15th of December, 1871.

The American claim for damages was based on losses inflicted by fourteen cruisers and four tenders, but the award did not allow the full claim. The tribunal found that the British government had "failed to use due diligence in the performance of its neutral obligation" with respect to the cruisers *Alabama* and *Florida*, and the several tenders of those vessels; and also with respect to the *Shenandoah* after her departure from Melbourne, February 18th, 1865, but not before that date. In fact, with regard to the *Alabama*, the culpability of the British government was so evident that even the English arbiter, Sir Alexander Cockburn, voted in favour of the American claim.

The tribunal, by a majority of four voices to one, awarded to the United States the sum of $15,500,000 in gold as indemnity. Of this sum about $2,000,000 represented interest at six per cent. Sir Alexander Cockburn, the British arbiter, was the only member of the tribunal who voted in the negative.[1]

[1] See in detail, C. Cushing, *The Treaty of Washington.*

A movement was made in the right direction when, after Grant had called attention to the need of reform, the first Civil Service Reform Act was passed by congress, March 3rd, 1871. The president appointed a commission, and congress appropriated $25,000 to defray its expenses. A like sum was voted next year, but after that nothing was granted until June, 1882, when $15,000 was grudgingly appropriated. Nevertheless, the act of 1871 was a beginning, and its provisions formed the basis of subsequent legislation and afforded encouragement for further efforts to those who had the reform of the civil service at heart.

The civil service was not the only branch of the government that needed reforming; congress itself was sorely in need of a reform movement. By 1869, both the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railroads had been completed across the continent with the aid of enormous government grants. The interests of the Union Pacific, financial as well as constitutional, had been assumed by a corporation chartered by the legislature of Pennsylvania. This corporation became known as the Crédit Mobilier. On the meeting of congress in December, 1872, the speaker of the house called attention to the charges made in the preceding campaign that the vice-president, Mr. Colfax, the vice-president elect, Mr. Henry Wilson, the secretary of the treasury, several senators, the speaker of the house, and a large number of representatives, had been bribed during the years 1867 and 1868 by presents of stock in a corporation known as the Crédit Mobilier, to vote and act for the benefit of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. On the motion of the speaker, an investigating committee was appointed.

This committee reported, February 18th, 1873, and recommended the expulsion of Oakes Ames, of Massachusetts, for "selling to members of congress shares of the stock of the Crédit Mobilier below their real value, with intent thereby to influence the votes of such members." Likewise the expulsion of James Brooks, of New York, for receiving such stock. The house modified the proposed expulsion into an "absolute condemnation" of the conduct of both members. Other members of congress were exonerated on the ground that they had no knowledge of the illegitimate purposes of the transaction. Still other members escaped because of the absence of conclusive proof of their guilt. Nor did this congress abate the public's suspicion of its guilt by passing the "Salary Grab" Bill. This bill increased the salaries of representatives and senators, and retroactively included the salaries of the members of the existing congress. It was repealed at the next session.

In 1875 the "whiskey ring" was brought to light. This was a more or less close association between distillers and federal officials for the purpose of defrauding the government of a large amount of the internal revenue tax on distilled spirits; and, furthermore, of employing a part of the proceeds in political corruption. Grant's secretary of war, W. W. Belknap, was impeached for accepting bribes in making the appointments in his department. He was impeached and tried, but was acquitted on the ground that, having resigned, the senate was without jurisdiction in the case. The civil suit brought against him was dismissed. The whole of Grant's second term was characterised by a state of official demoralisation. "Inefficiency and fraud were suspected even where they did not exist."

Two events of financial importance occurred during Grant's two terms that should not be passed over in silence. One was the speculation in gold and the consequent "Black Friday" of September 24th, 1869. The other was the so-called "demonetisation of silver" and the panic of 1873.

When gold ceased to circulate, in 1862, speculation in it began as a result

of the depreciation of paper. In 1869 a clique of speculators in New York (of which Jay Gould, president of the Erie Railway, was one) thought to corner the market in gold and thus make an immense fortune. This clique, succeeding in getting control of a large percentage of the gold in the East, forced the price of that metal up to 164. But there was some hundred millions of gold in the United States treasury, more or less, and the president of the United States or the secretary of the treasury might at any time throw it on the market. The price had reached its highest point and the whole speculative world was in a feverish condition, when it was suddenly announced that the government would sell. The price immediately fell to 135, and the power of the clique was broken. This day—September 24th—has passed into history as Black Friday.

By an act of February 12th, 1873, the silver dollar of 412½ grains was dropped out of the list of silver coins. It was merely a nominal demonetisation of silver, for the real demonetisation of that metal had been accomplished in 1853. Important consequences have been attached to this act of 1873. It has been charged that the law was the cause of the commercial crisis of September 1873; but so competent a critic as Laughlin ridicules the notion that a law which made no changes whatever in the actual metallic standard that had been in use for more than twenty years could produce financial disaster in seven months. He asserts that the act of 1873 "had little importance in changing existing conditions"; but he admits that its ultimate influences were of the utmost consequence. He claims that had it not been for the demonetisation of the silver dollar in 1873 and 1874, the country would have found itself in 1876 with a single silver standard. In that event the resumption of specie payment on January 1st, 1879, would have been in silver, not in gold. The result would have been the repudiation of 15 per cent. of existing contracts and obligations. In this view, the act of 1873 was a piece of the greatest good fortune, since its indirect effect was to save the financial credit of the nation.[1]

The panic of 1873 differed very materially from the great panics of 1837 and 1857. The causes of the earlier panics were fairly evident. But in 1873 trade was good; everyone was busy and wanted money to carry on industry. Railroads had been built to an unprecedented extent. During the half decade ending with 1873, $1,700,000,000 had been thus spent in the country. But these outward evidences of prosperity were the real evidences of a coming crisis. Industry was very largely upon a paper basis. Speculation was rife, and it was only a question of a short time before the crisis was bound to come. The supposed wealth consisted mainly of the bonds of these railroads that would not pay dividends for years, and worthless mining and manufacturing stock. During 1872 the balance of trade was strongly against the United States. The Chicago fire of October, 1871, by which $192,000,000 worth of property was destroyed, and the Boston fire of November, 1872, which resulted in the loss of $75,000,000, no doubt must be classed as a partial cause of the disturbed condition of industrial affairs of 1873. The circulation of depreciated paper money led to a free contraction of debts by individuals, corporations, towns, cities, and states, and this, of course, led to speculation.

On the 18th of September the panic came. On the morning of that day, Jay Cooke, the agent of the United States government, with some $4,000,000 held on deposit from all parts of the country, and with $15,000,000 of

[1] J. L. Laughlin, *History of Bimetallism in the United States*, p. 93.

Northern Pacific paper, suspended. Next day the banking firm of Fisk & Hatch went under. Terror became universal. At eleven o'clock on the 20th the New York Stock Exchange, for the first time in its history, closed its doors. For ten days the New York Clearing-House had to suspend. Products of all kinds declined in price, as well as stocks and bonds. Factories either ran on short time or shut down entirely. But money flowed into New York from Europe and the West, and the public began to purchase stocks freely, tempted by the low prices.

The United States continued to advance in material welfare notwithstanding these drawbacks. The Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia in 1876 would be sufficient proof of this. The Centennial was not a financial success, but it illustrated aptly the great material prosperity the United States had made during the century of its existence. On July 4th of the centennial year Colorado was admitted to the Union.

Before bringing President Grant's two eventful terms to a close, reference should be made to the act of July 14th, 1870, amending the naturalisation laws, and the act of January 14th, 1875, providing for the resumption of specie payments by the government on the 1st of January, 1879. The first act was merely a completion of the policy of the Fourteenth Amendment to the constitution. It admitted to citizenship, besides "free white persons," "aliens of African nativity and persons of African descent." Stringent provision was also made against the fraudulent naturalisation and registration of aliens. Federal supervisors were appointed to enforce the regulations in cities of over twenty thousand inhabitants.

### ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT HAYES

The scandals brought to light in the republican party during the second administration of Grant bore their fruits. The former vital question of reconstruction could no longer be made the winning issue of the campaign. Furthermore, the republican party had to bear, in a measure, the responsibility for the financial distress of 1873. The democrats had secured every Southern state except Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida, and the republican governments in these states were upheld only by the aid of bayonets. But what is more surprising is the fact that in the elections of 1874 and 1875 the democrats carried their state tickets in several Northern states, and elected their candidate for governor in Massachusetts. Moreover, they were overwhelmingly successful in the congressional elections. The republican majority of almost one hundred was supplanted by a democratic majority of almost the same size. There was every indication of a political revolution at the next presidential election.

The republicans, after a long struggle between rival factions, nominated Governor Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, with William A. Wheeler, of New York, for vice-president. The democrats nominated Governor Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana. Thirty-eight states participated in the election. Once more the democratic party seemed to sweep the country. The morning after the election, November 8th, nearly every republican newspaper conceded the election of Mr. Tilden. He was believed to have carried every Southern state, and New York, Indiana, New Jersey, and Connecticut in addition. The whole number of electoral votes was 369, and upon this estimate the democratic candidate would have had 203 and the republican candidate 166. But the existence of dual govern-

ments in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, and an election complication in Oregon, threw the whole result into grave doubt and precipitated the most extraordinary contest that has taken place in the history of the country. If the republicans lost a single vote, the democratic candidate would be elected.

In four states—South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, and Oregon—there were double returns. In South Carolina the republicans claimed that the negroes had been intimidated by white rifle-clubs, the democrats that "detachments of the United States army stationed near the polls had prevented a fair and free election.[1] Acting on this claim, the electors declined to be governed by the returns as specified by the state canvassers. Instead of casting their votes for Hayes, therefore, as they must have done, the democratic electors gave their ballots for Tilden and Hendricks. In Florida there were similar differences. The canvassing boards and the governor certified to the election of the republican ticket, but a court decision declared that the democratic electors were entitled to meet and register their vote. In Louisiana each party claimed victory, and each attempted to establish its governor, its returning board, and its electoral college. In Oregon, the democratic governor arbitrarily adjudged one of the republican electors ineligible, and gave a certificate to the highest candidate on the democratic list; notwithstanding which the republican electors met and voted for Hayes and Wheeler. Of course the democratic electors refused to take cognisance of this action on the part of their opponents, and, in a word, there was total chaos. Such uncertainty had never attended the result of any previous election, and it was impossible to say how the tangle was to be unsnarled.

The contest was now transferred to the halls of congress. The senate, which was republican, held that the Twenty-second Joint Rule, which had been in force in the counts of 1865, 1869, and 1873, and which provided that no disputed electoral vote could be counted unless both houses concurred in counting it, had not been re-enacted by the present congress, and hence was not in force. The house, which was democratic, took the opposite view. Republicans claimed that the power to count the votes belonged to the president of the senate; democrats maintained that it belonged to congress and that no vote could be counted against the wishes of the house. Threats were made that Hayes should never be inaugurated, and military organisations to support Tilden's claim were formed in several states. Happily, peaceful counsels prevailed, and in January, 1877, the famous Electoral Commission Act was passed. This act created a commission of fifteen—five to be selected by the senate, five by the house, four associate justices of the supreme court who were designated by the act, and a fifth to be selected from the remaining associate justices by these four. It had been expected that the fifteenth member would be David Davis, a justice with democratic leanings but supposedly free from any marked prejudice one way or the other. But just before the bill became a law the democrats and a few independent republicans in the Illinois legislature unexpectedly elected Justice Davis to the United States senate, and he therefore declined to serve upon the commission. Justice Bradly, a republican, was selected as the fifteenth member.

The commission thus contained eight republicans and seven democrats; and when the disputed cases were submitted to it, all were decided in favor of the republicans by a strict party vote. An attempt in the house to prevent the completion of the count failed because of the opposition of the speaker, Samuel J. Randall, and because friends of Hayes promised that if

[1] Stanwood, *History of Presidential Elections*, pp. 329, 330.

he were allowed to become president he would refuse to support the republican state governments in South Carolina and Louisiana. On the early morning of March 2 Hayes was declared elected by 185 to 184. On the 5th of March (the 4th being Sunday) he was inaugurated without any disturbance. The country acquiesced in the decision, but the democrats have always maintained that Tilden was elected.

One thing was perfectly manifest to men of both parties—that provision should be made against the recurrence of such a dispute. However, it was not until February 3rd, 1887, that a bill providing for the counting of the electoral votes was approved by the president. The Electoral Count Bill, as this bill was called, throws upon the state, as far as possible, the responsibility of determining how its own presidential vote has been cast. The president of the senate opens the electoral certificates in the presence of both houses; he then hands them to the tellers (two from each house), who read them aloud and record the votes. If there is a dispute, the set of returns certified to by the officially constituted state tribunal is accepted. Should there be two rival tribunals, the vote of the state is not counted unless each house separately agrees to accept one of them as official.

One of President Hayes' important acts after his inauguration was the withdrawal of federal troops in 1877 from South Carolina and Louisiana. The republican governments in these states were at once superseded by democratic governments. Inasmuch as Florida had already gone democratic, that party was now in entire control of the South. Hayes was criticised for what was termed his flagrant inconsistency for repudiating the very state governments to which he had been entirely indebted for his election to the presidency. However that may be, the action of the president brought a welcome peace. Affairs at once became normal and the congressional policy of reconstructions had almost run its course. Bryce[1] sees in the disappearance of the carpet-bag and the negro movements, the opening of the third era in the political history of the South since the war. In the first, the whites had exclusive right of suffrage; in the second, negro suffrage predominated; in the third, it was to appear that alleged universal suffrage meant the actual supremacy of the whites. The South was no longer the country it was before the war. During the sixteen years between 1860 and 1876 it had experienced something like an industrial revolution. It became a great economic force working along entirely new lines of industrial development. Its old labour system had been swept away, and it was now prepared to enter the industrial contest with the rest of the world.

Many believed that the so-called "demonetisation of silver" in 1873 would, if persisted in, work a hardship to taxpayers during the process of paying off the national debt. A bill was therefore passed through congress in 1878, known as the Bland Silver Bill. The passage of the act was due to causes easily described. In dealing with economic questions there must be some difference of opinion as to the share played by different elements. Tausig regards the opposition to the contraction of the currency as the most important episode in American history of this period. He admits that the movement in favour of the use of silver gained power from the desire of the silver-mining states to further their local interests by coining a larger quantity of this metal. But he contends that this was only a minor element in the agitation, though it was one to gain greater importance in later years. "The real strength of the agitation for the wider use of silver as money," he says, "comes

[1] J. Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. II, p. 483.

from the conviction of large masses of the people that the community has not enough money." [1] This act provided for the purchase by the government, each month, of not less than two million dollars' worth, and not more than four million dollars' worth, of silver bullion, for coinage into silver dollars at the rate of 412½ grains of standard silver (or 371¼ grains of fine silver) for each dollar. The secretary of the treasury was given discretion as to the amount he should purchase between those limits. No secretary purchased a greater amount than the minimum during the time the act was in force. The number of silver dollars actually coined each month depended, of course, upon the amount of silver bullion that could be purchased by two millions of dollars in the medium of exchange. After the resumption of specie payment, when greenbacks became redeemable in gold, the number of silver dollars coined was, of course, greater than before when the greenbacks were irredeemable. This piece of legislation restored the silver dollar to its full legal-tender character, but the disparity in value between it and the gold dollar at the ratio of 16 to 1 was so great that congress did not confer the right of free coinage upon silver. President Hayes vetoed the bill, but it was passed over his veto, February 28th, 1878. By another important provision of the act, silver certificates could be issued against the deposit of silver dollars. Those who supported monometallism prophesied that the issues of these silver dollars would drive out gold. But it is inflation of the currency, and not debasement of it, that tends to drive out the metal of greater value. The new coinage was limited in amount, and the increased demands of commerce for money more than took up the increased amount of the currency. Silver dollars and silver certificates floated at par with gold; and gold, instead of leaving the country, came into it in increased amounts.

In accordance with the act of January 14th, 1875, the government began the payment of specie in liquidation of greenbacks on the first day of January, 1879. Specie payment had been suspended since 1862. This resumption of specie payment was due very largely to the efforts of John Sherman, secretary of the treasury. He accumulated before January 1st, 1879, $138,000,000 of coin (nearly all of it gold) by the sale of 4½ per cent. government bonds redeemable in 1891. This was about 40 per cent. of the outstanding greenbacks. Thirteen days before the time appointed for the resumption of specie payment the greenbacks had reached par. As soon as the people were assured that the greenbacks were as valuable as gold, there was no inclination to demand the gold. The paper money was preferred as being more convenient.

Important labour difficulties marked a part of the administration of Hayes. In 1877 there was an extensive strike along the entire systems of the Baltimore and Ohio, the Pennsylvania, the Erie, and the New York Central railroads. The freight and passenger service was completely demoralised, and the militia and United States troops had to be called out to quell the rioting. Among the real causes of these labour troubles were, undoubtedly, the vast number of undesirable immigrants who had come to the country, the introduction of communist and anarchist doctrines from Europe, the arrogance of capitalists, and the greed and lawlessness of the newly developing trusts and gigantic corporations.

Nevertheless, great industrial progress was being made by the country, and was, in a way, responsible for some of the disturbance. The submarine cable between the United States and Europe was successfully laid in 1869,

[1] Taussig, *The Silver Situation in the United States*, p. 5.

and one likewise between the United States and England in 1875. Again, in 1869, continuous transportation between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts had been made possible by the junction of the Union Pacific Railway with the Central Pacific. Consolidation was the rule. The application of electricity to practical purposes received a decided impetus in 1875, when the dynamo was made practicable. The invention of Edison in lighting by electricity in 1878 took us several steps still farther in advance. Add to this the inventions of Alexander Graham Bell, in conveying sounds by means of the electric wire, and the practical utilisation of these inventions, in 1877, in the telephone, and we have a wonderful record of industrial development.

The second congress was democratic in both branches. But the democrats were not united, and were, in addition, inclined to be led astray by financial and industrial fallacies. Consequently the party was unable to reap any distinct advantage by reason of its control of congress. The Bland Silver Bill had been passed over the president's veto only by a combination with republicans. Real legislation was almost at a stand-still. With his own party Mr. Hayes had but little more influence than had Johnson. Nor did he have a real hold upon the country. Wilson[1] is doubtless right in suggesting that Hayes "was not aggressive enough to draw a party of his own about him." It is conceded that he had amiability of character, and that he intended to conciliate the South. But, as often happens in the case of a man who lacks the intense bias of the enthusiast, he succeeded in alienating the members of his own party in congress, without effecting the purpose of conciliation at which he aimed.

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF GARFIELD AND ARTHUR

Upon his return from a trip around the world, General Grant was again placed in nomination for the presidency at the republican national convention meeting at Chicago, June 5th, 1880. This was due to the efforts of the reactionary section of the republican party. A deadlock in the convention ensued, however, between Grant and Blaine, and as a result James A. Garfield, of Ohio, received the nomination. The democrats nominated General W. S. Hancock, of Gettysburg fame. Garfield was elected, having received 214 electoral votes, as against 155 for Hancock. The democrats carried every Southern state, but no Northern states except New Jersey, California, and Nevada. The popular vote was very close, being for Garfield 4,454,416, and for Hancock 4,444,952. The so-called greenback party (which had appeared four years before) received 308,578 votes for its presidential candidate, James B. Weaver, of Iowa; and the prohibition candidate, Neal Dow, of Maine, received but 10,305 votes. The object and principles of the greenback party were set forth in several paragraphs of its platform, to the effect that "the right to make and issue money is a sovereign power to be maintained by the people for the common benefit,"—an assertion that conveys no very new or startling principle. It is further declared that all money should be issued and controlled by the government directly, and not by or through banking corporations; and that the money thus issued, whatever its character, must be a full legal tender for all public and private debts. The express issue is made that the greenback notes of the Civil War period should be substituted for the notes of the national banks, the system of national banks abolished, and the unlimited coinage of silver, as well as of gold, established by law.[2]

[1] Wilson, *A History of the American People*, Vol. V, pp. 149–151.
[2] McPherson, *Handbook of Politics for 1880*, pp. 195, 196.

Garfield had owed his nomination to the deadlock created in the convention by the supporters of Grant and Blaine. This deadlock was caused largely by the continuation of the fight between two violent factions in the republican party called the "stalwarts" and the "half-breeds." The "stalwarts" controlled the distribution of appointed offices under the federal government during the administration of Grant, and contemptuously gave the name "half-breeds" to their dissatisfied republican opponents. Garfield did his best to effect a settlement between the hostile factions, and did not recognise one faction more than another. The inevitable outbreak of hostilities came, however, when the president made nominations in New York which were distasteful to Roscoe Conkling, the leader of the "stalwart" forces. Garfield had made up a strong cabinet with Blaine as secretary of state, and the New York appointees were supporters of the latter, and not of Conkling. The open break came in the presentation of the name of William H. Robertson for the collector of the port of New York, who was particularly objectionable to the New York senators. Consequently, in order to force an issue with the president, both of the senators, Conkling and Platt, resigned and appealed to the New York legislature to sustain them in their course by a re-election. This the legislature, to their very great chagrin, refused to do, though not until after a bitter contest.

The bitter passions engendered within the party as a result of this furious contest no doubt had something to do with the tragedy that soon ensued. On the morning of the 2nd of July, 1881, as President Garfield was upon the point of taking a train at the station of the Baltimore and Potomac Railway in Washington, he was shot by a disappointed office-seeker, Charles Jules Guiteau. The president lingered for eighty days, but finally died, on September 19th, at Elberon, New Jersey. Guiteau was tried and finally executed for the crime on June 30th, 1882, though there was much doubt as to his sanity. Vice-President Chester A. Arthur became president for the remainder of the term.

The assassination of President Garfield called the attention of the whole country to the need of civil service reform. Congress was no longer able to resist the pressure of public opinion. On January 9th, 1883, the Pendleton Civil Service Act was passed by congress with overwhelming majorities in its favour, both of the parties having united in its support. President Arthur promptly signed the bill on the 16th. This act authorised the president, with the consent of the senate, to order appointments to the civil service to be made after competitive examinations. Likewise, to appoint three civil service commissioners who were to have the management and development of the system.

The canvass of the twenty-fifth presidential election was bitterly personal. The republican national convention, meeting at Chicago, June 3rd, 1884, had nominated James G. Blaine, of Maine, for president, and General John A. Logan, of Illinois, for vice-president. The democratic national convention, meeting in the same city, July 8th, had put forward Governor Grover Cleveland, of New York, for president, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, for vice-president. The election was an exceedingly close one, its result turning upon a plurality of only 1,149 in New York, by which the thirty-six electoral votes of that state were given to Cleveland. This secured his election—he having secured 219 electoral votes to Blaine's 182. The democrats carried every Southern state, and, in addition, New York, Connecticut, Indiana, Delaware, Maryland, and New Jersey, and continued in control of the house of representatives, while the republicans continued to have a small majority in the senate.

This election was characterised by a "bolt" from the republican party of a group of men and their supporters noted for intelligence and social position. They supported civil service reform, denounced Blaine as a representative of corrupt political methods, and endorsed the democratic nominees. The movement was supported by George W. Curtis and Carl Schurz, among other prominent republicans, and likewise by several influential independent republican newspapers. These men called themselves "independent republicans," but were called "mugwumps" by the "straight-out" republicans.

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF CLEVELAND (1885–1889 A.D.)

The accession of the new administration to power brought two important subjects prominently before the country: (1) civil service reform and (2) tariff reform. Mr. Cleveland had pledged himself to a rigid enforcement of the Pendleton Act, and many of his supporters believed he would extend the reforms to other branches of the civil service. Mr. Cleveland did not make a clean sweep among the office-holders, but as his term advanced it became evident to many of his supporters who favoured civil service reform that the pressure of office-seekers and office-holders was proving too strong for the president's resolution.

In 1882 congress appointed a tariff commission which travelled through the country, taking testimony, and made a report to congress. With this report as a basis, congress made a slight reduction of duties. Little else was done until President Cleveland, in his message of December 6th, 1887, finally committed the democratic party to tariff reform. In this message the president stated that "our present tariff laws, the vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be at once revised and amended. Our progress towards a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling upon the theories of protection and free trade. This savours too much of bandying epithets. It is a condition which confronts us, not a theory."

This message inspired a more united effort in the house to modify and simplify the tariff. The committee on ways and means, under the leadership of Mr. Mills, of Texas, reported a bill to the house on April 2nd, 1888. This bill proposed a reduction in the *ad valorem* duties (which ranged from 40 per cent. to 90 per cent.) of from 30 per cent. to 45 per cent.

The bill passed the house, but was defeated in the senate, where the republicans had a majority. In fact, the protectionists of the senate substituted a bill generally raising the duties instead of lowering them. The tariff question thus became the great issue in the election of 1888.

In 1887 congress passed an Interstate Commerce Act which forbade discrimination in rates, the "pooling" of rates by competing lines of railways. Furthermore, such railways were not permitted to divide their earnings. The interstate commerce commission was likewise established with semi-judicial powers to enforce the act. Another important act of Cleveland's administration was the act regulating the presidential succession. This act was introduced by Senator Hoar, was passed by congress, and was approved by the president, January 18th, 1886. By previous statutes, in case of the death, removal, resignation, or disability of both president and vice-president, the presidency passed in order to the temporary president of the senate and the speaker of the house. This made possible the defeat of the will of the people as expressed in the election by putting in the presidency a man of the opposite party from the president's. Or, in case of the death of both president

and vice-president between two congresses, there would be no legal or constitutional successor to either place. The death of President Garfield, September 19th, 1881, brought this to the attention of the people in a most forcible manner. Had President Arthur died at any moment between September 19th, 1881, and the meeting of the forty-eighth congress in December, the latter eventuality would have occurred. The Presidential Succession Act, therefore, devolved the succession upon the members of the cabinet in the order of the historical establishment of their several departments, beginning with the secretary of state. Both parties in congress agreed to a repeal of the Tenure of Office Act, by which congress had attempted to limit President Johnson in his powers of dismissal from office in 1867. Two other important questions arose during this administration of President Cleveland—two questions that had become chronic in their recurrence—namely, the question of the exclusion of the Chinese and the fisheries dispute. Mr. Cleveland's tariff message made the issue of the next campaign. The democrats had accepted the issue under protest, but the president's message gave them an unmistakable policy with which to go before the people in 1888. The president had not taken counsel with the leaders of his party, and they warned him that his stand might cost him his re-election. Nevertheless, he was firmly convinced that he was in the right, and had made up his mind to meet the issue squarely.

The republican national nominating convention met at Chicago, June 19th. Mr. John Sherman, of Ohio, was at first the leading candidate; but on the eighth ballot Mr. Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, grandson of William Henry Harrison, received the nomination for president. The republican platform favoured bimetallism, the building up of the merchant marine, the reform of the civil service, and the admission of new states. The main issue, however, as in 1884, was the tariff, and the platform declared emphatically in favour of protection. The democrats met at St. Louis in July, and nominated Grover Cleveland and Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, for president and vice-president respectively. The convention declared for the Mills Bill—that is, not for absolute free trade, but for very heavy reductions in the tariff.

The campaign turned on the issue of protection or free trade in spite of the democratic disclaimer that their policy did not mean absolute free trade. The democrats were defeated. The popular vote for Mr. Cleveland was over one hundred thousand greater than that for Mr. Harrison; but the latter had a majority of sixty-five in the electoral college (233–168). The republicans also carried the house and retained their control of the senate. They thus once more had possession of the presidency and both branches of congress.

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF HARRISON

The republicans now took advantage of their control of both houses of congress and the presidency to revise the tariff. This step was undoubtedly due to the attack made upon the protective system by Cleveland in his message to congress in December, 1887. Under the chairmanship of William McKinley, of Ohio, the house committee on ways and means reported a tariff bill known as the McKinley Bill, which was finally accepted by both houses, and upon receiving the signature of the president became a law, October 1st, 1890. The bill swept away most of the duty on refined sugar (one-half cent a pound) and admitted all raw sugar free. For this action the republican party was accused of playing into the hands of the "Sugar Trust." To placate the domestic producers of sugar, a bounty of two cents a pound, the rate of the preceding

duty, was given them. These domestic producers produced only about one-tenth of the amount of sugar consumed in the country, and the bill had in view particularly the stimulation of the beet-root culture. This policy still further emphasised the determination of the republican party to rely solely upon protective duties for the customs revenue. There was a considerable advance on woollen goods, while on cotton goods of the better grades the duties were particularly high. The most important change in duties on metals was the increase of the duty upon tin plate. This commodity had never been produced in the United States, and the increase of the duty upon it to $2\frac{2}{10}$ cents per pound (equivalent to about 70 per cent. upon the value) was a direct manifesto by the republican party that not only should duties be placed upon commodities for the purpose of supporting an industry, but likewise with the direct object in view of establishing an industry. At the late instance of the state department, this tariff bill provided for reciprocity through special treaties with other countries. This congress also enacted what has become known as the Sherman Law. By its provisions, it became the duty of the secretary of the treasury to purchase monthly 4,500,000 ounces of silver and to issue in place of the silver thus purchased treasury notes. The amount of the silver that was to be coined was left to the discretion of the secretary—depending upon what he deemed necessary for the redemption of these notes. The avowed object of the bill was to keep the silver money equal to gold, for, as the bill declared, it is the "established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals at a parity with each other on the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law."[1] The coinage of silver dollars was accordingly suspended by the treasury on July 1st, 1891. Tausig declares that this change occasioned both abuse and praise, but that it was really of no consequence whatever. He points out that the price of silver advanced rapidly for a month or two after the act was passed, and that at its highest, in August 1890, it reached $1.21. The rise, however, proved to be but temporary, and after September a steady decline set in, which finally brought the price, in 1892, as low as 85 cents.

In addition to the unsettled fisheries dispute, President Harrison's administration inherited the always chronic Behring Sea controversy. The United States claimed that it had acquired from Russia exclusive rights in Behring Sea, at least with regard to seal-fishing. This the British government, representing the Canadians, denied, holding that there could be no exclusive rights outside three miles off shore. By an agreement of February 29th, 1892, the whole question was submitted to arbitration.

There were seven arbitrators in all—two represented the United States, two represented Great Britain, and one each was appointed by the French, the Italian, and the Swedish governments. The court of arbitration met at Paris on March 23rd, 1893, and decided that all the rights of Russia as to jurisdiction and the seal fisheries in Behring Sea east of the water boundary passed unimpaired to the United States under the treaty of March 30th, 1867; that the United States has not any right of protection or property in the fur-seals frequenting the islands of the United States in the Behring Sea when such seals are found outside the ordinary three-mile limit.

A bill "to absolutely prohibit the coming of Chinese persons into the United States," reported by Mr. Geary, of California, was passed by the house, April 4th, 1892. In the senate a substitute was reported and was adopted. A compromise bill, slightly modifying the house bill, was the result.

[1] F. W. Taussig, *The Silver Situation in the United States*, pp. 50, 51.

[1892-1893 A.D.]

Among the treaties of Harrison's term was a tripartite arrangement concerning the Samoan Islands with Germany and Great Britain, which gave omen of a coming departure from the traditional policy of continental confinement, so as to extend American influence, conjointly with that of European powers, far across the Pacific.

During this administration, Oklahoma Territory was opened up to settlement (March 22nd, 1889) and seven new states were admitted to the Union. North Dakota and South Dakota were proclaimed states by the president November 3rd, 1889; Montana, November 8th, and Washington, November 11th, of the same year; likewise Wyoming, July 10th, 1890, and Idaho, July 3rd, 1890.

On May 31st, 1889, occurred the Johnstown flood, caused by the breaking of a dam, and as a result of which at least five thousand persons lost their lives, and property worth $10,000,000 was utterly destroyed. October 2nd, 1889, representatives of the leading governments of Central and South America, together with the republic of Mexico, met representatives chosen by the United States in the so-called Pan-American congress held at Washington. The object of the congress was to bring the three Americas into a closer union for purposes of trade and of mutual advantage.

The revolution that occurred in Chili during the autumn of 1891 was the indirect cause of a controversy between that country and the United States. One act after another following the revolution finally led to an attack, October 16th, upon United States sailors who had landed at Valparaiso from the United States ship *Baltimore*. As a result, two United States sailors were killed and eighteen wounded. A suitable apology was not exacted from Chili until after the United States government had issued a practical ultimatum demanding one, and fortifying it by most ominous preparations for war.

The republicans, meeting at Minneapolis in June, 1892, nominated Benjamin Harrison and Whitelaw Reid for president and vice-president respectively. The democrats, meeting at Chicago in the same month, nominated Grover Cleveland and Adlai E. Stevenson. The republican party affirmed protection linked with reciprocity as the true tariff creed. Cleveland swept the country with an unexpectedly large electoral and popular vote. For the first time since 1861 the republicans lost control of the executive and both branches of congress. The most striking feature of the elections was the great losses of the republicans in the West.

## SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF CLEVELAND (1893–1897 A.D.)

"On the 4th of March, 1893, for the first time in the history, a president returned to the White House which he had once vacated, to resume official authority and succeed his own successor. Cleveland's new inaugural address was in a serious strain, as though foreboding the business distress of the country now near at hand, and his own doubts about uniting upon a judicious line of policy the new and incongruous elements that had borne him back to power." [1]

On the 4th of July, 1894, the republic of Hawaii, named from one of the Sandwich Islands, was established. It was modelled on the government of the United States, and President Cleveland formally recognised it as a "free, sovereign, and independent republic." This was not done, however, until

[1] James Schouler, *Encyclopædia Britannica* (10th edition), Vol. XXXIII, article on "United States," p. 592.

after an interesting chapter in the diplomatic history had nearly closed. In 1893 a part of the inhabitants of Hawaii had risen in revolt against an attempt of their queen, Liliuokalani, to promulgate a new constitution obviously for the purpose of increasing her power in the government. The revolution was successful, and the provisional government established was immediately recognised by the United States minister, Mr. Stevens. Commissioners were sent to Washington to apply for annexation, and on the 16th of February, 1893, President Harrison sent a message to the senate, submitting an annexation treaty and recommending its ratification. Meantime, the United States minister at Honolulu, on the 9th of February, acting without instructions, had established a protectorate over the islands. While the treaty was pending, Mr. Cleveland became president, and one of his first acts after inauguration was the withdrawal of the treaty from consideration by the senate. The president then despatched a commissioner, Mr. Blount, to the Hawaiian Islands to examine and report upon the circumstances attending the change of government. The report of the commissioner and the decision of the president, as given in the latter's message to congress, December 18th, 1893, was that "the lawful government of Hawaii was overthrown, without the drawing of a sword or the firing of a shot, by a process every step of which, it may safely be asserted, is directly traceable to and dependent for its success upon the agency of the United States, acting through its diplomatic and naval representatives. I mistake the American people if they favour the odious doctrine that there is no such thing as international morality; that there is one law for a strong nation and another for a weak one; and that even by indirection a strong power may, with impunity, despoil a weak one of its territory." The president offered to use his best efforts to restore the *status quo* if a general amnesty would be granted to the supporters of the provisional government and the past buried. This the queen refused to do, and the provisional government continued in power, promulgating a republican constitution, July 24th, 1894.

The annexation of the Hawaiian Islands was not accomplished until the administration of President McKinley. Their annexation was then urged by Captain Mahan and other naval men, who held that they were needed as a military base of defence and of naval operations in the Pacific. June 16th, 1897, the president transmitted to congress a new treaty providing for the annexation of the islands. The opposition to the treaty was so strong that in all probability the plan would have failed had the war with Spain not rendered the islands doubly desirable from a military and naval standpoint. A joint resolution to accept the offered cession was therefore carried through congress, and was approved by the President on the 7th of July, 1898.

December 17th, 1895, President Cleveland sent a message to congress relating to the disputed boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela, that startled the country. Preceding this message, the government had been engaged in an extensive correspondence with the government of Great Britain relative to a peaceful settlement of the whole difficulty. But the correspondence had come to naught, the British government having refused to submit the dispute to arbitration. The president's message was peremptory and threatening, and congress supported it with alacrity. Pursuant to the president's suggestion that a commission be appointed to ascertain the "true divisional line" between Venezuela and British Guiana, congress, December 20th, passed an act authorising the appointment of such a commission and appropriated $100,000 for the expenses of its work. Fortunately, the president's message did not provoke the same warlike feeling in England that it

did in the United States, and even in the latter country the bellicose spirit was soon superseded by a desire for arbitration. The president appointed a commission of five, which, after organisation, at once addressed a letter to the secretary of state suggesting a friendly intimation to the governments of Great Britain and Venezuela that their assistance and co-operation would be welcome in securing evidence. The British government met the overture in a friendly manner. However, before the labours of the commission were completed, the governments of the United States and Great Britain had already come to a practical understanding. After much preliminary correspondence, on the 2nd of February, 1897, a treaty between the two countries was signed at Washington embodying an agreement to arbitrate the dispute. The tribunal was to consist of five jurists: two on the part of Great Britain, two on the part of Venezuela, and the fifth to be selected by the other four. The first four were provided for in the treaty—the two representing Venezuela being justices of the supreme court of the United States. The tribunal met in Paris on the 15th of June, 1899, and on the 3rd of October of the same year rendered what is said to have been a unanimous decision. It was in the main favourable to the contention of Venezuela.

The victory of the democrats in the twenty-seventh presidential election led to a revision of the tariff, only four years after the embodiment of the extremest doctrine of protection in the McKinley Act. In 1894 the democratic members of the house committee on ways and means reported a tariff bill which, when finally enacted into a law, became known as the Wilson Bill. The senate, however, raised the duties somewhat and restored many specific duties. After a long and bitter struggle in conference between the two houses, the senate bill was finally accepted unchanged on the 13th of July, 1894. The president refused to sign the bill, but permitted it to become a law without his signature. In general, this tariff made but one important change —the placing of wool upon the free list.

By the summer of 1893 the country's financial condition had become so critical that on June 5th the president declared his purpose to call an extra session of congress to meet in the first half of September. "Hard times" had come to multitudes of people. There had been a money panic in the spring of the year, and it had been followed by many disastrous failures. Mr. Cleveland's message to congress, August 8th, embodied an exposition of what he considered to be the evils of the Sherman Act of 1890, and concluded with an earnest recommendation that its purchase clause be immediately repealed. The repeal measure was carried. This put a stop to further buying of great quantities of silver, and checked the making of silver dollars. Then a slow recovery of business confidence began, which was much retarded and disturbed, however, by the uncertainty of congressional action on tariff and currency questions.

On the 28th of January, 1895, President Cleveland, in a special message to congress, renewed his appeal which he had made at the opening of the session for legislation to correct the mischievous working of the existing currency system. But his suggestion was not acted upon by congress. The silver interests were too strong, and the government was forced to make a new issue of bonds under the old act for the replenishing of its gold reserve and the maintenance of its financial credit. In every instance, the issuance of bonds was condemned by the opponents of the administration.

The industrial disturbances throughout the country continued but little unabated. In the spring of 1894 (March 25th), a horse-dealer, named Coxey, led an "army" of the unemployed from Massillon, Ohio, to Washington, to

demand relief from the government. The movement was imitated in other parts of the country, and soon other "armies" began their march from the Pacific states, from Texas, and from Massachusetts. A more motley gathering had never taken place in the history of the country. In all, these "armies" were made up of five or six thousand persons and were composed of honest men seeking work, of tramps and criminals seeking to avoid work, and of younger men looking for fun and excitement. Coxey and a few of his men (about 350) succeeded in reaching Washington by May 1st, where Coxey was merely arrested for walking on the grass in the White House grounds. Having accomplished nothing, his "army" was soon disbanded.

The movement, however, was very significant of the unsettled and unsatisfactory condition of industrial affairs. It was followed shortly afterwards by a strike of some four thousand workmen employed in the car shops of the Pullman Company, at the town of Pullman, near Chicago. Acts of violence now followed, and the interruption of the United States mails brought the strikers within the jurisdiction of the Federal courts. The leaders of the strike were indicted and placed under arrest, and President Cleveland made known his intention to protect the mails and keep interstate commerce open. His proclamation to this effect was supported by the despatch of United States troops to Chicago and to places in California. The leaders of the American Railway Union attempted to precipitate a strike in all departments of industry throughout the country, but were unsuccessful. The Pullman strike came to an end practically by the 15th of July.

At the beginning of these industrial disturbances and right in the midst of them, two expositions of international importance were held. The World's Columbian Exposition was opened by the president in the spring of 1893, and the Cotton States and International Exhibition in the autumn of 1895. The former was held at Chicago and the latter at Atlanta. The World's Fair was a success in every respect except financially. The exhibition at Atlanta illustrated most aptly the wonderful progress made by the South since the Civil War. An act of congress approved by the president on the 31st of March, 1896, fittingly closed the period of "reconstruction." It provided for the removal of the disabilities placed upon Southern leaders as a result of their participation in the Civil War.

January 4th, 1896, upon proclamation of the president, Utah was admitted as a state after its citizens had adopted a constitution forever prohibiting polygamous or plural marriages.

The agitation for monetary reforms on the part of the financial leaders of the country, during the summer and autumn of 1896, and the counter agitation to force the unlimited coinage of silver on equal terms with gold, were clearly indicative of the direction the presidential campaign was to take. The free-silver propaganda was pushed by influential men in both parties. But, shortly, a financial policy began to crystallise around each of the two parties. Southern and Western influences carried the democratic party into advocacy of free silver, while Eastern and Central Western influences controlled the republican party in the interests of a gold standard. The republican national convention was held at St. Louis in June and nominated William McKinley, ex-governor of Ohio, for president on the first ballot. The democratic convention met at Chicago in July and resulted in the unexpected nomination for the presidency of William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, one of the leaders of the free-silver democracy of the West. The money question caused a split in both of these parties. The campaign was one of the most remarkable in many respects that the country had ever passed through.

Never in any former political contest were the questions involved discussed with more heat. McKinley won, however, receiving 271 electoral votes to Bryan's 176.

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF McKINLEY (1897-1901 A. D.)

President McKinley called congress together in extra session on the 15th of March, and asked for immediate action to increase the revenue of the government by increased duties. In response to this demand, congress passed the Dingley Tariff Bill, which became a law July 7th, 1897. The restoration of the duties on wool was the salient feature in the Dingley Act. In addition to wool, certain other raw materials, which the Wilson tariff of 1894 admitted free, were subjected to duties. Furthermore, the policy of reciprocity was not only revived, but its scope was even enlarged.

In his annual message to congress at the opening of the session in December, 1896, President Cleveland called attention to the unhappy state of Cuba. "The spectacle of the utter ruin of an adjoining country, by nature one of the most fertile and charming on the globe, would engage the serious attention of the government and people of the United States in any circumstances. In point of fact, they have a concern with it which is by no means of a wholly sentimental or philanthropic character. Our actual pecuniary interest in it is second only to that of the people and government of Spain. It should be added that it cannot be reasonably assumed that the hitherto expectant attitude of the United States will be indefinitely maintained."

When the liberal party came into power at Madrid with Sagasta at its head, Weyler was recalled and General Blanco put in his place. Furthermore, a new constitution was announced which gave the colony what seemed to be a fairly autonomous government under a parliament of its own. This constitution was not given a fair trial, for it had come too late for a test of its practicability. General Fitzhugh Lee, consul-general of the United States at Havana, said of it that it was "an elaborate system of 'home rule' with a string to every sentence."

On the 14th of December, 1897, and 8th of January, 1898, General Lee made reports to the department of state upon the condition of the *reconcentrados*, that stirred up public opinion throughout the United States to a high state of excitement. This feeling had been growing in intensity for months past and continuously threatened a rupture of peaceful relations between the United States and Spain. Such was the state of affairs when suddenly a crisis was precipitated on the morning of the 15th of February, 1898, by news that the United States battle-ship *Maine*, while paying a visit of courtesy to the harbour of Havana, had been totally destroyed on the previous evening by an explosion which killed most of her crew.

The United States appointed a naval court of inquiry to make an investigation, as did likewise the Spanish government. The former court reported that "the loss of the *Maine* was not in any respect due to the fault or negligence on the part of any of the officers or members of her crew; that the ship was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine, which caused the partial explosion of two or more of her forward magazines." The Spanish naval board of inquiry reported that the explosion resulted from causes within the ship itself. The Spanish government then urged that the whole question should be referred to a committee of persons chosen by different nations. The United States declined to accept this proposal.

The tension between the United States and Spain now approached the

breaking point. On the 11th of April President McKinley addressed a special message to congress, setting forth the unsatisfactory results of the negotiations with Spain, and declaring that "in the name of humanity, in the name of civilisation, in behalf of endangered American interests, which gives us the right and the duty to speak and act, the war in Cuba must stop." The message closed with a request that the president be authorised to take means for securing a "full and final termination of hostilities" in the oppressed island.[1]

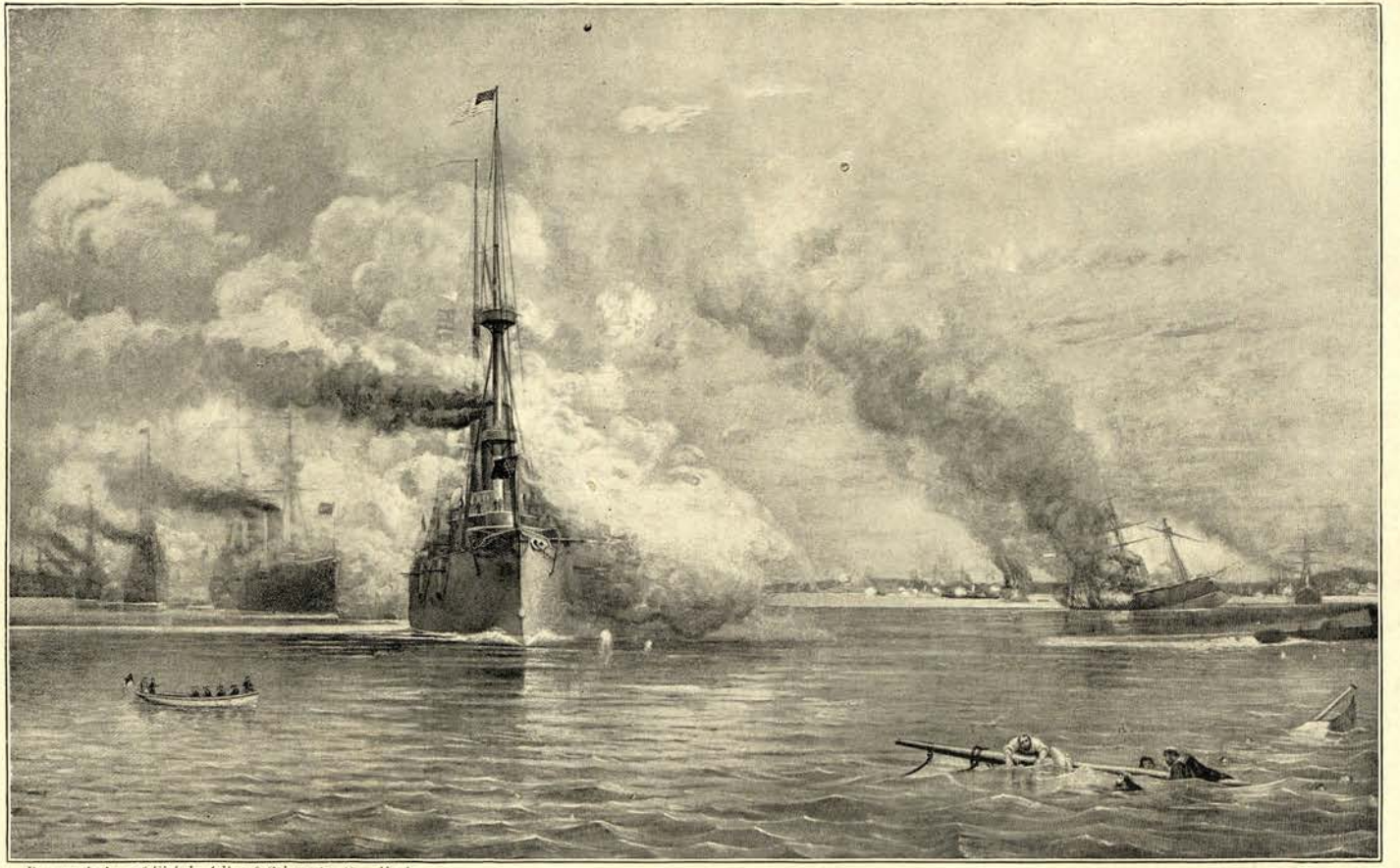
After a brief contest between the two houses over the method of procedure to carry out the suggestion of the president, a joint resolution was passed April 18th, declaring "that the people of the island of Cuba are and of a right ought to be free and independent." The resolution demanded, furthermore, that Spain should withdraw absolutely from Cuba, and the president was directed to use the military and naval force of the United States to make the resolution effective. In addition, the resolution disclaimed any intention on the part of the United States to assume in any way, except for pacification, jurisdiction over Cuba; and furthermore declared its intention to "leave the government and control of the island to its people." [2]

Following out a suggestion of the president in a message, April 25th, congress adopted a joint resolution on the same day declaring "that war be, and the same is hereby, declared to exist, and that war has existed since the 21st day of April, 1898, including said day, between the United States of America and the kingdom of Spain."

At the outbreak of the war the regular army of the United States numbered but 28,000 officers and men. Under an authority of congress, this was shortly increased to 2,191 officers and nearly 42,000 men. At the same time a volunteer army was speedily raised. The president issued a proclamation on April 23rd, calling for 125,000 volunteers; and another proclamation on May 25th, calling for 75,000 more. Before the end of May 118,580 of these volunteers had been mustered in, and later were assembled in various camps and prepared for service in a more or less hurried manner. Among the volunteer regiments organised, one known as that of the Rough Riders greatly excited public interest. The command of one of the proposed three regiments of rough riders was offered to Theodore Roosevelt (then assistant secretary of the navy), who had some knowledge of ranch life. Roosevelt promptly declined the honour, however, on the score that his military experience was insufficient to warrant him in taking command of a regiment. He asked for and received, however, the second place in the regiment commanded by Colonel Leonard Wood.

On the 21st of April a blockade of Cuban ports was ordered under the command of Admiral William T. Sampson. Likewise, Commodore W. S. Schley was ordered to organise a "flying squadron" of fast, armed steamers at Fortress Monroe. While these preparations were being made in the West, plans were being perfected for a successful attack upon Spain's colonial possessions in the Far East. The president had ordered Commodore George Dewey, who was in command of the United States Asiatic squadron at Hong-Kong, to proceed at once to Manila, the capital of the Philippines, and "capture or destroy" the Spanish squadron which guarded that fort. The Spaniards were in no condition to resist an attack, and on May 1st, 1898, Dewey was able to report the total destruction of the Spanish squadron without the loss of a man on the American fleet.

[1] *Congressional Record*, April 11th, 1898.
[2] *Congressional Record*, April 18th, 1898.



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THE BATTLE OF MANILA BAY

(From the painting by Professor Albert W. Holden)

[1898 A.D.]

Upon the opening of hostilities, a Spanish squadron of four armoured cruisers and some smaller vessels was assembled at the Cape Verde Islands under the command of Rear-Admiral Pascual Cervera. Being in Portuguese waters, the fleet was compelled to set sail after a proclamation of neutrality was issued by Portugal on the 29th of April. After causing the American people considerable anxiety of mind as to its ultimate destination, the fleet put in at Santiago de Cuba. May 29th a blockade of that port was established by the American fleet, inasmuch as it was found impracticable to attack the fleet within the harbour. Some weeks later (June 22nd–24th) the American troops under General Shafter disembarked at Daiquiri and advanced to Siboney. Their forces were to co-operate with the naval forces in operations for the capture of Santiago de Cuba. After a series of sharp skirmishes on the 1st and 2nd of July, the Americans succeeded in capturing the steep heights of El Caney and San Juan which overlooked the city of Santiago. In the mean time, while Admiral Sampson and General Shafter were in consultation about making an attack on the city, Commodore Schley, of the flagship *Brooklyn*, and the commanders of the other vessels of the fleet, guarded the entrance to the harbour of the city. Not long after the departure of Admiral Sampson, for the conference with General Shafter on the morning of July 3rd, Admiral Cervera made a desperate attempt to save his squadron by escaping to sea. But the attempt was futile—the whole squadron being destroyed and Cervera himself captured. These two naval victories—Manila and Santiago—effectually eliminated Spain as a sea-power.

July 17th the Spanish commander of Santiago de Cuba formally surrendered the city and the district to General Shafter. With the fall of Santiago the occupation of Porto Rico became the next strategic necessity. This duty was intrusted to General Miles, and by the 12th of August much of the island was in his possession. On the 13th of this same month the city of Manila passed into the hands of the United States forces in co-operation with the Philippine insurgents. It was not until the 16th of August that a cablegram reached Manila containing the text of the president's proclamation directing a cessation of hostilities. August 12th the secretary of state of the United States and the French ambassador had signed a protocol preliminary to the drawing up of a treaty of peace bringing about a cessation of hostilities between the United States and Spain. Correspondence leading to this issue had begun as early as July 26th. A discussion between the Spanish and American commissioners at Paris, based upon the provisions of the protocol, was prolonged until the 10th of December, 1898, when the former yielded to what they protested against as hard terms, and the treaty of peace was signed. By the terms of the treaty Spain (1) relinquished all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba; (2) she ceded Porto Rico and other islands under her sovereignty in the West Indies, and likewise the island of Guahan, or Guam, in the Ladrones; and finally (3) she ceded the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands for a consideration of $20,000,000. The United States, in turn, agreed to admit Spanish ships and merchandise to the ports of the Philippine Islands on the same terms as ships and merchandise of the United States for a period of ten years.

There developed considerable opposition to the ratification of the treaty in the senate by reason of the acquisition of the Philippine Islands. While this discussion was going on, the insurgent forces at Manila attacked the United States forces under General Otis and Rear-Admiral Dewey. The Filipinos were driven back, however, with great loss. This was the beginning

of a somewhat intermittent struggle of the Philippine insurgents against the establishment of the authority of the United States government in the archipelago. It practically disappeared, however, upon the capture of the insurgent leader, Emilio Aguinaldo, in the spring of 1901. The day after the beginning of this insurrection, that is, February 6th, 1899, the senate ratified the treaty by a vote of fifty-seven to twenty-seven. By its terms the United States was left the guardian of Cuba until the people of that island were in a position to establish a government of their own.

The direct cost of the war with Spain was about $130,000,000, while the indirect cost would undoubtedly foot up a vastly larger sum.

The conduct of the war department was criticised severely. Charges of the ill effects of administrative "red tape," politics, and positive inefficiency led to the appointment by the president, in September, 1898, of an investigating commission. The report of this commission, made in the following February, could not be described as entirely satisfactory to the country at large.

The three great results of the Spanish War, in so far as the United States is concerned, might be summarised as follows: (1) embarkation upon a policy of colonisation; (2) entrance upon the career of a world-wide power; (3) a greater unification of the different sections of the United States. The close of the war made it possible for the United States to take up for consideration other matters of international importance. In the spring of 1899 the United States sent commissioners to The Hague to meet representatives from other nations for the purpose of electing a tribunal for the pacific settlement of international conflicts. The Hague Peace Conference Treaty was drawn up and later was ratified by the senate of the United States. Near the end of the same year the joint control of the Samoan Islands by Germany, England, and the United States came to an end and the islands were partitioned between the three countries. Probably the most important negotiations of all were those leading to the signature of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty between the United States and Great Britain to facilitate the construction of an isthmian canal. The treaty was amended by the senate in so radical a manner that the British government, early in March, 1901, was compelled to reject it. Later, however, a satisfactory treaty was agreed upon.

Legislation leading to the establishment of the monetary system of the country upon a sound basis was secured March 14th, 1900, when the Financial Bill became a law. This bill had for its object "the fixing of the standard of value and the maintaining at a parity with that standard of all forms of money issued or coined by the United States." It affirmed that "the unit of value is the dollar, consisting of 25.8 grains of gold, nine-tenths fine," and made it the duty of the secretary of the treasury to maintain all forms of money issued or coined at a parity with this standard.[1]

Before the close of this administration congress provided (1900) a government for the people of Porto Rico. Late in the spring of 1901 the power of congress to deal as it sees fit with the colonies was sustained by a decision of the supreme court of the United States. At the same time congress authorised the president to leave the control of Cuba to its people provided they agreed to certain conditions. Among these conditions were that the Cubans should maintain their right of independence, and that they should recognise the right of the United States to preserve that independence, if necessary; and also to protect life, property, and individual liberty in that island. These

[1] *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury*, 1900, pp. 72, 73.

conditions were accepted, and on May 20th, 1902, the United States formally recognized the new republic of Cuba.

The census taken in 1900 revealed a population in the states, territories (including Hawaii), Indian reservations, and Alaska, of 76,303,387, which the population of the insular possessions not incorporated in the United States increased to about 85,271,730. The wealth of the country was estimated at $94,300,000,000.

In the presidential campaign of 1900 the platform adopted by the republican convention, which met at Philadelphia on the 19th of June, declared in favour of the gold standard and defended the American policy in the Philippines as the only one which could honourably have been followed; while the platform adopted by the democratic convention, which met at Kansas City on the 4th of July, reiterated the demand of 1896 for the unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one, but put forward the question of expansion, or "imperialism," as "the paramount issue of the campaign." For their candidates the republicans nominated President William McKinley for re-election and Theodore Roosevelt, then governor of New York, for vice-president; the democrats selected William J. Bryan for president and Adlai E. Stevenson for vice-president. When the election came, it resulted in republican success; for, though many republicans, among them ex-President Harrison, Senator Hoar, and Mr. Thomas B. Reed, were dissatisfied with the administration's course towards the Philippines, while others deplored its tenderness towards certain financial interests, most of them were prevented by their distrust of Mr. Bryan's free-silver ideas from joining with the Democrats. About fourteen million votes were cast, of which McKinley received 7,214,027, and Bryan 6,342,514. The former's electoral vote was 292, while the latter's was but 155.

### ADMINISTRATION OF McKINLEY AND ROOSEVELT

But President McKinley was not destined to fill out many months of his new term of office. In the spring of 1901 the Pan-American Exposition had been opened at Buffalo. It differed from other expositions in that it was especially designed to show the progress made by the nations of North, South, and Central America in agriculture, manufactures, and the arts. In addition to this, it had a distinct purpose to unite all the nations of the three Americas in closer commercial intercourse for their common benefit. President McKinley visited the exposition in September and gave expression to this latter sentiment. The day after his address, on Friday afternoon, September 6th, the president gave a public reception in the music-hall of the exposition. It was at this reception, while shaking hands with the people, that the president was shot twice by a young anarchist named Leon F. Czolgosz. Mr. McKinley lingered about a week, and died early on Saturday morning, September 14th. Under the provisions of the constitution, Mr. Roosevelt became president.

The new president brought to the duties of his office one of the most forceful and compelling personalities that has yet appeared in American public life. Although the youngest man who had ever occupied the presidential chair, his experience had been both long and varied. Soon after his graduation from Harvard he entered the New York legislature, where, despite his youth, he gained a high reputation as a leader of the reform forces. From 1884 to 1886 he lived on a ranch in western Dakota, and there acquired a knowledge of the men of the frontier which he was later to put to novel use. In 1886

he was an unsuccessful candidate on the republican ticket for mayor of New York; from 1889 to 1895 served with much credit on the United States civil service commission; and from 1895 to 1897 displayed great energy as president of the New York City police commission. Mr. Roosevelt was also a frequent contributor to the magazines; while by works on *The Naval War of 1812*, *The Winning of the West*, and other subjects he gained a prominent place among American historians. In 1897 he became assistant secretary of the navy; and foreseeing that a war with Spain was inevitable, he did much to prepare our navy for the splendid work which it accomplished. Upon the outbreak of the war he and his friend Dr. Leonard Wood organised, as already related, a volunteer regiment composed of cowboys, Indians, frontiersmen, football players, and other adventurous spirits; and when Wood was promoted to a brigadier-generalcy, Roosevelt took chief command. The regiment displayed remarkable fighting qualities in the campaign against Santiago, and went down to history as "Roosevelt's Rough Riders." Upon his return home Colonel Roosevelt was elected governor of New York. In 1900 his extraordinary popularity with the people of the country and the intrigues of certain politicians who wished to "shelve" him combined to make him against his will the republican nominee for the vice-presidency.

Upon his unexpected succession to the presidency Mr. Roosevelt retained the cabinet of his predecessor and pledged himself to carry out his predecessor's policy. In the summer and autumn of the following year a great strike paralyzed the anthracite coal industry of the country and brought much suffering to those who were dependent upon coal for fuel, but through the activity of the president the differences between the miners and their employers were finally arbitrated by a commission selected by him. In the same year suit was brought by his order against the Northern Securities Company, a corporation which had been formed with the object of uniting the Great Northern and Pacific railroads in such a way as to control transportation in the northwest and eliminate all competition. The contention on which the suit was based was that this merger amounted to a restraint of interstate trade as forbidden by the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890; this contention was sustained by the circuit court of appeals at St. Paul in April, 1903, and, upon appeal, by the supreme court in March, 1904. The outcome is believed to have prevented the formation of other similar companies and to have exercised a salutary effect upon financial circles. In 1903 the long standing controversy over the boundary line between Canada and Alaska was settled in favour of the United States; the same year saw the establishment of a department of commerce and labour; and in 1904 occurred at St. Louis a great exposition commemorative of the purchase of Louisiana.

By far the most important act of the administration, however, consisted in bringing to a head the long meditated plan for an Isthmian canal. After the abrogation, as already described, of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 a treaty was negotiated with Colombia for the right of way across the Isthmus of Panama; but the Colombian congress refused to ratify it. Angered by this refusal, the people of the Isthmus in November, 1903, set up the independent state of Panama; their independence was at once recognized by the president, and a favourable treaty was made with the new state. By this treaty the United States secured perpetual control over a strip ten miles wide across the Isthmus as well as other privileges; while in return it agreed to guarantee the independence of Panama and to pay $10,000,000 down and $250,000 yearly after the expiration of nine years. The French company's

works and rights on the Isthmus were also bought for $40,000,000; and further measures were taken for making the canal a reality.

As election-time drew near it became apparent that Mr. Roosevelt would be the republican nominee. Although his independent course had rendered him unsatisfactory to many politicians, and although, by insisting upon a "square deal" for the negro as well as for the white man, he had aroused a storm of criticism in the South, he had nevertheless won the confidence of the people to a remarkable degree. At the republican convention in Chicago in June, he was nominated by acclamation. As nominee for vice-president, the convention chose Senator Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana. In the democratic convention at St. Louis in July, a bitter struggle between the radical and the conservative elements resulted in a victory for the latter, and the nomination of Judge Alton B. Parker of New York, and for vice-president, ex-senator Henry Gassaway Davis of West Virginia. The platform adopted evaded the silver issue, but upon the news of his nomination Judge Parker telegraphed the convention that he considered the gold standard irrevocably established. Mr. Roosevelt swept the entire north, as well as West Virginia and Missouri, and received one electoral vote in Maryland; of the popular vote he received a plurality of 2,512,417 and received 338 electoral votes against 140 for Parker.

### THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION

On the 1st of July, 1905, occurred the death of the secretary of state, Mr. John Hay, who had gained an eminent position in diplomacy, notably by maintaining the "open door" in China. He was succeeded in the cabinet by Mr. Elihu Root, from 1899 to 1904 secretary of war. In the same summer the president induced Russia and Japan to send representatives to a peace conference at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, which brought the struggle in the far East to an end. The year was made noteworthy in a less honorable way by the disclosure of grave scandals in the management of the great life insurance companies.

In his message to Congress of December, 1904, the president recommended legislation to secure Federal control over great corporations carrying on interstate trade, and particularly Federal regulation of freight rates to destroy the rebate evil. No legislation on these matters was secured, and these recommendations were reiterated in the message of December, 1905.

On April 17th, 1906, there were repeated and terrific earthquake shocks along the Pacific coast, the maximum severity and mortality centering in San Francisco and its suburbs. In the city fire broke out immediately, was carried this way and that by the wind, and could be checked neither by the utterly inadequate supply of water nor by the liberal use of dynamite. In the greater part of the city only a few buildings, mostly of modern fire-proof, steel-frame construction, were left standing. The lives lost numbered hundreds, and shelter, provision, and clothing were for a short time almost absolutely lacking; but owing to the energy displayed by the authorities and others, and to the fact that many thousands were transported to surrounding towns, free of charge, the suffering was less than might have been expected from the severity of the disaster. The work of the War Department in the city was admirable and the entire country gave promptly and generously. Plans for rebuilding were speedily undertaken.

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CHAPTER XI. THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1865.

Written for the present work by FREDERICK ROBERTSON JONES.

The Reference to Authorities will be found in the footnotes.

# A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES (986–1907 A.D.)

## DISCOVERIES

986 Bjarni Herjulfson, sailing south from Greenland, sights the coast of Vinland, but does not land.
1000 Leif Ericson discovers Helluland (possibly Newfoundland); Markland (Nova Scotia) and Vinland (Nantucket).
1005 Thorvald Ericson coasts along Cape Cod and dies in Boston harbour.
1007-1009 Thorfinn establishes colony in Vinland.
1011 Colony destroyed by Indians.
1492 Columbus lands on Guanahani, one of the Bahama islands; discovers Cuba and Hayti, and establishes colony in Hayti.
1493 Columbus on second voyage discovers Lesser Antilles and Jamaica.
1497 John and perhaps Sebastian Cabot discover Newfoundland and explore coast to the south.
1498 Sebastian Cabot sails along the coast from Maine to Cape Hatteras.
1500 Cabral discovers Brazil.

## SIXTEENTH CENTURY

1501 Gaspar de Cortereal, a Portuguese, discovers the river St. Lawrence.
1501-1502 Portuguese explore coast from Florida to Cape Cod.
1502 Last voyage of Columbus. He discovers bay of Honduras, Veragua and Porto Bello.
1504 French fishermen on banks of Newfoundland.
1506 Jean Denys of Honfleur examines and charts gulf of St. Lawrence. Spaniards discover Yucatan.
1507 The name "America" coined by Waldseemüller from Amerigo Vespucci.
1508 First importation of negroes to Spanish West Indies.
1513 Juan Ponce de Leon discovers Florida. Vasco Nuñez Balboa discovers Pacific Ocean.
1518 Juan de Grijalva sails along Mexican coast and learns of Aztec Empire.
1519 Alvarez Pineda explores north coast of gulf of Mexico, and perhaps discovers the Mississippi. Hernando Cortes invades Mexico, captures Montezuma. Returning to the coast he defeats Narvaez and
1520 returns to Mexico. War with Aztecs.
1521 Cortes captures city of Mexico and subdues country.
1522 Bermudas discovered.
1524 Giovanni da Verrazano sails along the coast from 34° to 50° N. discovering the Hudson River and Block Island.

1525 Estevan Gomez sails along coast 34° to 44° N. Cabeza de Vaca reaches the mouth of the Mississippi.
1527 John Rut discovers coast of Maine.
1528 Panfilo Narvaez leads unsuccessful expedition to Florida.
1534 Jacques Cartier explores gulf of St. Lawrence, and
1535 sails up the St. Lawrence to site of Montreal.
1536 Cortes discovers Lower California.
1539 Hernando de Soto leads expedition to Florida.
1540 Francisco Vasquez de Coronado discovers cañon of the Colorado. Expedition of Cartier for colonisation of Canada. St. Lawrence river explored.
1542 Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo discovers Cape Mendocino and explores Pacific coast to 44° N. Hernando de Soto reaches the Mississippi river, explores it to mouth of the Ohio, and is buried in its waters.
1548 First act of English parliament regarding America. Regulation of Newfoundland fisheries.
1562 Admiral Coligny attempts to found a Huguenot colony near Port Royal in South Carolina. Settlement abandoned.
1563 John Hawkins brings three hundred slaves to West Indies.
1564 René de Laudonnière builds Fort Carolina on the St. John's river in Florida.
1565 Spaniards under Menendez de Aviles massacre garrison of Fort Carolina, build forts on St. John's river and at St. Augustine.
1568 Dominique de Gourgues captures Spanish forts and massacres garrisons.
1576-1577 Martin Frobisher attempts to discover northwest passage.
1578 Francis Drake reaches west coast in his voyage round the world, and claims country between 38° and 42° N. for England, under name of New Albion.
1580 Espejo founds Santa Fé, in New Mexico.
1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert leads expedition to Newfoundland.
1584 Sir Walter Raleigh sends expedition under Amadas and Barlow to explore coast north of Spanish possessions. Landing on the island of Roanoke (Woeokon) they take possession in the name of Queen Elizabeth and call the country Virginia.
1585 Sir Richard Grenville leads colony of one hundred and eighty persons to Roanoke Island; who are removed in
1586 by Drake. Grenville returns with one hundred and seventeen new colonists in
1587 and founds "Borough of Raleigh in Virginia." Virginia Dare, first English child, born in America.
1598 French explore Acadia, and
1600 establish colony at Tadousac.

## SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

1602 Bartholomew Gosnold discovers Cape Cod and Buzzard's Bay, erects fort on Cuttyhunk (Elizabeth Island).
1603 Voyage of Samuel Champlain up the St. Lawrence.
1604 Port Royal (Annapolis) in Nova Scotia founded by the French under De Monts. Champlain discovers St. John river.
1606 James I issues patent dividing Virginia into two parts; (1) The First colony, embracing country from 34° to 41° N., granted to the London Company. (2) The Second colony, embracing country from 41° to 45° N., granted to the Plymouth Company.
1607 Foundation of Jamestown, explorations by Captain John Smith. Plymouth Company sends expedition which builds Fort St. George at mouth of Kennebec river in Maine.
1608 Colonists abandon settlement and return to England. Quebec founded by French colony under Champlain.
1609 Henry Hudson coasts from Newfoundland to Chesapeake Bay and sails up the Hudson river. Champlain defeats the Mohawks at Ticonderoga.
1610 English colony in Newfoundland.
1613 Dutch trading post established on Manhattan Island at the mouth of the Hudson or North river (so-called to distinguish it from the South or Delaware river). French colony of St. Saviour, at Mount Desert on the coast of Maine, destroyed by expedition from South Virginia under Sir Samuel Argall.
1614 United New Netherland Company established in Holland. Fort built at Manhattan, another, Fort Orange, near the present Albany. John Smith explores coast from Penobscot to Cape Cod, names district New England.
1615 Voyage of Adrian Block through Long Island sound (Block Island). Change of land-tenures in South Virginia. Lake Huron discovered by Champlain.
1619 First General Assembly in South Virginia. Negro slaves first brought to Virginia.
1620 Pilgrims land at Plymouth. John Carver elected governor.

1621 Acadia granted to Sir William Alexander under name of Nova Scotia. Plymouth colony receives new charter. William Bradford elected governor.
1622 Maine granted to Sir Ferdinand Gorges and John Mason. Settlements at Dover and Portsmouth. Indians massacre three hundred and forty-seven colonists in Virginia.
1624 Charter of London Company annulled. The king assumes control of colony.
1626 Peter Minuit founds New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island.
1628 Salem colony established by John Endicott.
1629 Company of Massachusetts Bay established by charter from crown to Salem colony. John Mason receives grant of present New Hampshire. English capture Quebec.
1630 John Winthrop appointed governor of Massachusetts Bay Company, brings large colony to Charlestown. Settlement of Boston. First general court of Massachusetts. Sir William Alexander sells Nova Scotia patent to Huguenots.
1632 Maryland granted to Cecilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore. Treaty of St. Germain, ceding New France, Acadia, and Canada to France.
1634 First settlement in Maryland. Roger Williams expelled from Salem for heresy.
1635 French seize trading post at Penobscot. Death of Champlain. Charter of Plymouth colony surrendered to the crown. Connecticut colony founded. Settlements at Hartford, Saybrook, Windsor, and Wethersfield.
1636 Roger Williams founds Providence.
1637 First general court of Connecticut. War with Pequots.
1638 Colonies of Rhode Island and New Haven in Connecticut founded by settlers from Massachusetts. Harvard College established at Cambridge. Colony of New Sweden on the Delaware river.
1639 Union of Connecticut towns for separate government. The "Fundamental Orders," the first written constitution in history. Province of Maine established. First general assembly in Plymouth colony.
1641 Montreal settled by French under Maisonneuve.
1643 Formation of United Colonies of New England (Connecticut, New Haven, Plymouth, and Massachusetts Bay).
1644 Providence and Rhode Island colonies unite under one charter. Saybrook joins Connecticut. Indians massacre Virginia colonists.
1645 Clayborne rebellion in Maryland.
1646 John Eliot commences missionary labour among Indians at Nonantum. Peter Stuyvesant becomes governor of New Netherlands, and claims region from Cape Henlopen to Cape Cod.
1648 Petition of Rhode Island for admission to union of colonies rejected.
1649 Grant of land in Virginia to Lord Culpeper.
1650 Settlement of boundary disputes between New Netherlands and the united colonies.
1652 Province of Maine joined to Massachusetts. English parliament assumes control of Maryland.
1655 Governor Stuyvesant breaks up colony of New Sweden.
1658 Radisson and Groseilliers discover the Upper Mississippi.
1659 Virginia proclaims Charles II as king. Persecution of Quakers in New England.
1662 Charter of Connecticut granted. New Haven refuses to accept it. Lord Baltimore confirmed in government of Maryland.
1663 Grant of Carolina (31° to 36° N.) to earl of Clarendon and associates. Charter of Rhode Island and Providence plantations.
1664 New Netherlands granted to duke of York and Albany, including eastern Maine and islands south of Cape Cod. English capture New Amsterdam; name changed to New York. New Jersey granted to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. Name of Fort Orange changed to Albany.
1665 Union of Connecticut and New Haven.
1666 French settlement of St. Esprit on south shore of Lake Superior.
1667 Treaty of Breda. Acadia surrendered to France.
1668 Marquette founds Sault Sainte Marie.
1669 Fundamental constitutions of Carolina adopted. Hudson Bay Company incorporated.
1670 Charleston in Carolina founded. Treaty of Madrid settles boundaries of English and Spanish possessions. La Salle perhaps visits the Mississippi.
1673 Marquette and Joliet explore the Mississippi. Dutch recapture New York and New Jersey, but by the peace of
1674 they are restored to the English.
1675 Conflicts between New York and Connecticut. King Philip's War begins.
1676 King Philip killed. Indians defeated. Bacon's rebellion in Virginia. New Jersey divided into East and West Jersey.
1677 Maine finally united to Massachusetts.
1678 La Salle explores lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan.
1680 New Hampshire receives royal charter. Hennepin reaches the Mississippi.
1681 William Penn receives grant of Pennsylvania, and

1683 makes treaty with Indians. Foundation of Philadelphia. La Salle descends the Mississippi to the gulf and calls the valley Louisiana. First legislative assembly in New York.
1684 Charter of Massachusetts forfeited to the crown.
1686 Sir Edmund Andros appointed governor of New England.
1687 Andros unsuccessfully attempts to secure charter of Connecticut. Death of La Salle.
1689 Accession of William and Mary. Andros imprisoned. Former governments reinstated. King William's War begins.
1690 Sir William Phips captures Port Royal.
1692 New charter for Massachusetts. Salem witchcraft frenzy. William and Mary College established.
1693 Renewed conflicts between New York and Connecticut.
1695 French settlement at Kaskaskia in Illinois.
1697 King William's War ended by Peace of Ryswick.
1699 French settle at Biloxi in Mississippi.
1700 D'Iberville claims possession of Mississippi river for France.

## EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

1701 Foundation of Yale College. First settlement at Detroit.
1702 Queen Anne's War begins. D'Iberville founds Mobile in Alabama.
1704 Deerfield in Massachusetts destroyed by Indians.
1705 French settle at Vincennes in Indiana.
1706 French and Spanish invade Carolina.
1708 Indian massacre at Haverhill in Massachusetts.
1710 Port Royal captured, name changed to Annapolis.
1713 Peace of Utrecht ends Queen Anne's War. Boundary between Massachusetts and Connecticut established.
1715 Indian war in Carolina.
1718 Suppression of buccaneers in West Indies and pirates on the Carolina coast.
1722 Trading-house erected at Oswego.
1724 Indian war in New England.
1726 Treaties with Indians in New England and New York.
1728 Boundary between Virginia and Carolina established.
1729 Carolina divided into North and South Carolina.
1731 Settlement of boundary dispute between New York and Connecticut.
1733 James Oglethorpe establishes colony at Savannah in Georgia (the last of the thirteen colonies).
1738 Princeton College founded.
1740 Oglethorpe besieges St. Augustine.
1742 Spanish invade Georgia.
1745 Colonists under William Pepperell capture Louisburg on Cape Breton Island.
1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restores Cape Breton to France. Ohio Company formed.
1752 Georgia becomes a royal colony.
1753 Disputes between English and French settlers in Ohio valley. George Washington sent by Virginia to remonstrate with French.
1754 Washington leads expedition to the Ohio, but is captured at Fort Necessity. Columbia College founded.
1755 French and Indian War begins. Braddock's defeat at Fort Duquesne. Battle of Lake George. French fortify Ticonderoga.
1756 Montcalm captures forts at Oswego and Niagara.
1757 Fort William Henry captured, its garrison massacred.
1758 Abercrombie defeated at Ticonderoga, Louisburg captured. General Forbes takes Fort Duquesne, which is renamed Pittsburg.
1759 Wolfe defeats Montcalm in battle of the Plains of Abraham, Quebec surrenders.
1760 Canada surrenders to the English.
1761 The Writs of Assistance in Massachusetts.
1762 Expedition against Martinique, English seize French West Indies. Capture of Havana. France cedes Louisiana and New Orleans to Spain.
1763 Peace of Paris. France cedes to England Nova Scotia, Canada, and all possessions east of Mississippi river except New Orleans. Spain cedes Florida to England. The conspiracy of Pontiac.
1764 Parliament passes the Sugar Act. Massachusetts resolves not to use British manufactures.
1765 Passage of the Stamp Act. Colonial congress at New York. Declaration of Rights adopted. Stamp riot in Boston and New York.
1766 Repeal of the Stamp Act.

1767 Parliament imposes duties on imports to the colonies, creates custom house and commissioners for America.
1768 English troops sent to Boston. First settlement in Tennessee.
1770 Parliament removes duties on all imports but tea. The Boston massacre.
1771 Insurrection in North Carolina.
1772 Destruction of the *Gaspee*.
1773 Virginia assembly appoints committee on correspondence. The Boston Tea-party. Daniel Boone settles in Kentucky.
1774 Boston Port Bill. General Gage appointed governor of Massachusetts. First continental congress at Philadelphia adopts "the American association." Militia organised in Massachusetts.
1775 Battles of Lexington and Concord. Continental congress appoints George Washington commander-in-chief of provincial forces. Battle of Bunker Hill. Siege of Boston. Georgia joins the other colonies. Montgomery captures Montreal, besieges Quebec.
1776 English surrender Boston. Declaration of Independence adopted. Battles of Long Island and White Plains. Washington retreats to Pennsylvania. Battle of Trenton.
1777 Expedition of Burgoyne. Battle of Bennington. Burgoyne defeated at Stillwater, near Saratoga, surrenders his entire force to General Gates. Colonists defeated at Brandywine and Germantown. Congress adopts articles of confederation as "The United States of America." Washington at Valley Forge.
1778 France recognises independence of the United States. Parliament renounces right of taxation except for regulation of trade, and unsuccessfully negotiates for the submission of the colonies. English evacuate Philadelphia, are defeated at Monmouth. Count d'Estaing arrives with French fleet and four thousand troops. Massacres of Wyoming and Cherry Valley. English capture Savannah. John Paul Jones destroys many English ships and surprises White Haven.
1779 Anthony Wayne surprises and storms Stony Point. West Point fortified. John Paul Jones wins naval battle off English coast.
1780 English capture Charleston and subjugate South Carolina. Battle of Camden. General Rochambeau arrives with six thousand French troops. Treason of Benedict Arnold. Execution of André. English defeated at King's Mountain in North Carolina. Abolition of slavery in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.
1781 Battles of Cowpens, Guilford Court House, and Eutaw Springs. English retreat to Charleston. Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown in Virginia.
1782 English evacuate Savannah and Charleston. Preliminary articles of peace signed at Paris.
1783 Independence of the United States recognised by Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Spain and Russia. Treaty of Paris recognises the independence and establishes the boundaries of the United States. English evacuate New York.
1784 Temporary organisation of western territory.
1787 Shays's rebellion. Convention at Philadelphia formulates and adopts the constitution. Congress passes ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory (slavery forbidden).
1788 All the states, except Rhode Island and North Carolina, accept the constitution.
1789 **George Washington** unanimously elected President. First congress meets at New York. Ten amendments to the constitution submitted to the states. North Carolina accepts the constitution.
1790 Rhode Island accepts the constitution. District of Columbia established, city of Washington laid out. Indian War in Northwest Territory. Death of Franklin.
1791 Vermont admitted as fourteenth state.
1792 United States Bank and mint established at Philadelphia. Kentucky admitted as fifteenth state. Washington reëlected president.
1793 Fugitive Slave Act.
1794 Neutrality Act. Whiskey insurrection in Pennsylvania. Jay's Treaty concluded with England.
1795 Treaty with Spain secures free navigation of the Mississippi.
1796 Tennessee admitted as sixteenth state.
1797 **John Adams**, second President. War with France begins. Alien and Sedition laws.
1798 Eleventh amendment to the constitution adopted. Navy department organised.
1799 Death of Washington. Naval warfare with France.
1800 Congress meets at Washington for the first time.

## NINETEENTH CENTURY

1801 **Thomas Jefferson**, third president.
1802 Ohio admitted as seventeenth state.

1803 The Louisiana Purchase more than doubles original area of the United States.
1804 Tripolitan War. Bombardment of Tripoli. Twelfth amendment to the constitution adopted.
1805 Thomas Jefferson reëlected president.
1806 War between England and France injures American commerce. Berlin and Milan decrees.
1807 English ship *Leopard* fires on frigate *Chesapeake* and reclaims alleged deserters. Embargo declared. Aaron Burr tried for treason and acquitted. Robert Fulton successfully navigates steamboat *Clermont*.
1808 Congress prohibits importation of slaves.
1809 **James Madison,** fourth president.
1810 Non-importation act revived as to Great Britain.
1812 Louisiana admitted as eighteenth state. War declared against Great Britain. Unsuccessful invasion of Canada. American navy victorious in many combats.
1813 Battle of Lake Erie. English blockade Atlantic ports. James Madison reëlected president.
1814 Americans win battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane. British capture Washington and burn public buildings, but are defeated at Lake Champlain and at New Orleans. Treaty of Ghent ends war, but leaves all questions unsettled. The Hartford Convention.
1815 Treaty with Algiers.
1816 Second United States Bank chartered for twenty years. Indiana admitted as nineteenth state.
1817 **James Monroe,** fifth president. Mississippi admitted as twentieth state. Seminole War begins.
1818 Illinois admitted as twenty-first state. Pensions granted to survivors of Revolutionary War.
1819 Treaty with Spain. The United States secures all of Florida and gives up all claim to Texas. Alabama admitted as twenty-second state.
1820 Maine admitted as twenty-third state. Missouri Compromise adopted. Monroe reelected president.
1821 Missouri admitted as twenty-fourth state.
1823 The Monroe Doctrine enunciated.
1825 **John Quincy Adams,** sixth president. Erie Canal completed. The first railroad in America built.
1828 Congress passes the "Tariff of Abominations."
1829 **Andrew Jackson** seventh president. Inauguration of the "spoils system." General protest in the southern states against the tariff laws.
1830 Great debate in the senate upon states-rights between Webster and Hayne.
1831 Organisation of the abolitionists. Settlement of the French claims.
1832 Congress passes new tariff act. Nullification ordinance adopted in South Carolina. President Jackson issues the Nullification Proclamation, refuting states-rights doctrine.
1833 Compromise tariff enacted.
1835 Second war with Seminole Indians begins.
1836 Arkansas admitted as twenty-fifth state. Texas declares its independence of Mexico.
1837 **Martin Van Buren,** eighth president. Michigan admitted as twenty-sixth state. Great financial crisis. Rebellion in Canada. American steamer *Caroline* burned.
1838-1839 Congress passes the Gag Resolutions against slavery legislation.
1840 United States treasury and sub-treasuries established.
1841 **William Henry Harrison,** ninth president. Upon his death (April 4th) **John Tyler** vice-president, succeeds as tenth president.
1842 Webster-Ashburton Treaty settles northeastern boundary question with Great Britain. Dorr's rebellion in Rhode Island.
1844 Samuel F. B. Morse builds experimental telegraph line between Washington and Baltimore.
1845 **James K. Polk,** eleventh president. Florida admitted as twenty-seventh state. Texas annexed to United States and admitted as twenty-eighth state.
1846 The Oregon Treaty with Great Britain fixes northwestern boundary. Iowa admitted as twenty-ninth state. War with Mexico begins. General Zachary Taylor invades Mexico, wins battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, and captures Monterey.
1847 General Winfield Scott captures Vera Cruz, wins battles of Cerro Gordo and Churubusco, captures fortress of Chapultepec and enters city of Mexico. Gold discovered in California.
1848 By the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, Mexico gives up Texas and cedes to the United States New Mexico and Upper California (about 522,000 square miles). Wisconsin admitted as thirtieth state. Organisation of Free Soil party.

1849 **Zachary Taylor,** twelfth president, dies (July, 1850),
1850 and is succeeded by Millard Fillmore, vice-president, as thirteenth president. California admitted as thirty-first state. Fugitive Slave Law passed. Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with Great Britain.
1853 **Franklin Pierce,** fourteenth president. Gadsden Purchase establishes Mexican boundary, adds forty-five thousand square miles to the United States. Rise of Know Nothing party.
1854 Commodore Perry negotiates treaty with Japan. Reciprocity treaty with Great Britain. Congress passes Kansas-Nebraska Bill. The Ostend Manifesto.
1855-1856 "Border-ruffian" troubles in Kansas. Republican party organised.
1857 **James Buchanan,** fifteenth president. The Dred-Scott decision. Great financial panic.
1858 Minnesota admitted as thirty-second state. First Atlantic cable laid, but proves a failure. Lincoln-Douglas debate.
1859 Oregon admitted as thirty-third state. John Brown seizes arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, is captured and hanged.
1860 The republican party having been successful in the presidential election, South Carolina secedes from the Union, followed early in
1861 by Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Texas, Virginia, Tennessee and Arkansas. **Confederate States of America,** organised at Montgomery, Alabama, and **Jefferson Davis** elected president. **Abraham Lincoln** inaugurated as sixteenth president. Siege and capture of Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbour. Call for seventy-five thousand volunteers. Riots in Baltimore. Great Britain recognises Confederate States as belligerents. Battle of Bull Run. George B. McClellan appointed commander of Army of Potomac. Capture and release of Mason and Slidell (*Trent* affair). Kansas admitted as thirty-fourth state.
1862 General U. S. Grant captures forts Henry and Donelson in Tennessee. *Monitor* and *Merrimac.* Battle of Shiloh. Capture of New Orleans. McClellan fails in the Peninsular campaign after seven days' battle before Richmond. Second battle of Bull Run. Confederate army under General Robert E. Lee invades Maryland, but retreats after battle of Antietam. McClellan superseded by Burnside, who suffers severe defeat at Fredericksburg, and is succeeded in
1863 by General Joseph Hooker. President Lincoln issues Emancipation Proclamation. Hooker is defeated at Chancellorsville, and is succeeded by General George G. Meade. Lee again invades the North, but is defeated at Gettysburg. General Grant captures Vicksburg and opens the Mississippi; is made commander of the department of the Mississippi, and defeats the Confederates at Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. West Virginia admitted as thirty-fifth state.
1864 Grant becomes commander-in-chief, fights battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, and Cold Harbor, and begins siege of Petersburg. Sheridan defeats Early in Shenandoah valley. General William T. Sherman, commanding department of the Mississippi, begins the march to the sea, captures Atlanta and Savannah. Thomas defeats Hood at Nashville. The *Kearsarge* sinks the Confederate steamer *Alabama* off Cherbourg, France, and Admiral Farragut captures Mobile. Nevada admitted as thirty-sixth state. Lincoln reëlected president.
1865 Fort Fisher captured by General Terry. Battle of Five Forks compels evacuation by Confederates of Petersburg and Richmond. General Lee surrenders at Appomattox Court House. Assassination of Lincoln (April 14th). **Andrew Johnson,** vice-president, succeeds as seventeenth president. Last Confederate army surrenders. Proclamation of amnesty. Thirteenth amendment to the constitution adopted. Freedmen's bureau established.
1866 Telegraphic communication established with England.
1867 Reconstruction and Tenure of Office acts. Alaska purchased from Russia. Nebraska admitted as thirty-seventh state.
1868 Impeachment and acquittal of President Johnson. Fourteenth amendment to the constitution adopted.
1869 **Ulysses S. Grant,** eighteenth president. "Black Friday."
1870 Fifteenth amendment to the constitution adopted. The Ku-Klux-Klan. Congress passes the Force Act.
1871 Civil service commission authorised by congress. Treaty of Washington with Great Britain provides for settlement of Oregon boundary, the fishery disputes, and of the *Alabama* claims. Chicago fire.
1872 Crédit Mobilier scandals. The *Virginius* incident.
1873 Commercial crisis. Coinage Act (the "crime of 1873"). Reconstruction troubles in the South which in
1874 cause severe crisis in New Orleans.
1876 Centennial exhibition at Philadelphia. Indian War, destruction of General Custer's command. Colorado admitted as thirty-eighth state. The result of the presidential election being in doubt, congress appoints an electoral commission, which in

1877 declares the republican candidates elected. **Rutherford B. Hayes,** nineteenth president. Troops withdrawn from the southern states. The "solid South" an accomplished fact. Progress of civil service reform. Great railroad strikes and riots.
1878 Greenback party organised. Congress passes Bland-Allison Bill.
1879 Resumption of specie payments. Negro exodus from the southern states.
1881 **James A. Garfield,** twentieth president. Star route frauds. Congress passes anti-polygamy and anti-Chinese bills. Garfield assassinated and succeeded by **Chester A. Arthur,** vice-president, as twenty-first president.
1883 Civil Service Reform Bill enacted.
1885 **Grover Cleveland,** twenty-second president.
1886 Congress regulates succession to the presidency.
1887 Interstate Commerce Act. Electoral Count Bill.
1888 Chinese immigration prohibited.
1889 **Benjamin Harrison,** twenty-third president. Pan-American congress at Washington. Dispute with Germany over Samoan Islands. North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington admitted as states.
1890 McKinley Tariff Bill passes congress. Behring Sea troubles with Great Britain. Idaho and Wyoming admitted as states.
1891 Italian minister recalled on account of lynchings at New Orleans. American seamen slain at Valparaiso, Chile. Behring Sea troubles referred to arbitration. Labour disturbances at Homestead, Pennsylvania.
1892 Hawaiian Islands apply for annexation.
1893 **Grover Cleveland,** twenty-fourth president. Hawaiian Treaty withdrawn. Income tax declared unconstitutional. Commercial panic. World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago.
1894 Wilson tariff enacted. Bonds issued to maintain gold reserve. Treaties with China and Japan. United States troops quell riot at Chicago.
1895 Silver legislation vetoed. Venezuela message. Discovery of gold in Alaska.
1896 Utah admitted as forty-fifth state.
1897 **William McKinley,** twenty-fifth president.
1898 Battleship *Maine* blown up in Havana harbour. Congress appropriates $50,000,000 for national defence. War declared with Spain. Blockade of Cuban ports. Commodore George Dewey destroys Spanish fleet in the harbour of Manila, in Philippine Islands. United States troops land near Santiago in Cuba. Battles of Las Guasimas, El Caney, and San Juan Hill. Spanish fleet attempts to escape from Santiago, but is entirely destroyed. Santiago surrenders. United States troops occupy Porto Rico. Capture of Manila. Treaty of Paris cedes Spanish West Indies, Guam, and the Philippines to the United States. Military government established in Cuba. Annexation of Hawaii.
1899 Insurrection in the Philippines. Philippines Commission appointed. Cuba reorganised. Enormous growth of the trusts. Continued insurrection in the Philippines.
1900 Constitutional convention in Cuba. McKinley reëlected president. Boxer War in China.

## TWENTIETH CENTURY

1901 President McKinley assassinated, succeeded by **Theodore Roosevelt,** vice-president, as twenty-sixth president. Civil government established in the Philippines. Capture of Aguinaldo. Hay-Pauncefote Treaty settles Isthmian canal question.
1902 Republic of Cuba established. United States troops withdrawn. Congress authorises purchase of Panama canal. Reciprocity Treaty with Cuba. Coal miners' strike in Pennsylvania.
1903 Alaskan boundary tribunal grants claims of United States. Treaty with republic of Panama.
1904 Panama canal purchased. Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis. **Theodore Roosevelt** elected president for the term 1905–1909.
1905 Death of Secretary Hay. Scandals in management of insurance companies.
1906 Question of the regulation of railway rates. Earthquake and fire at San Francisco. Exclusion of Japanese children from Californian schools.
1907 Intervention of the Federal authorities in the Californian School dispute.

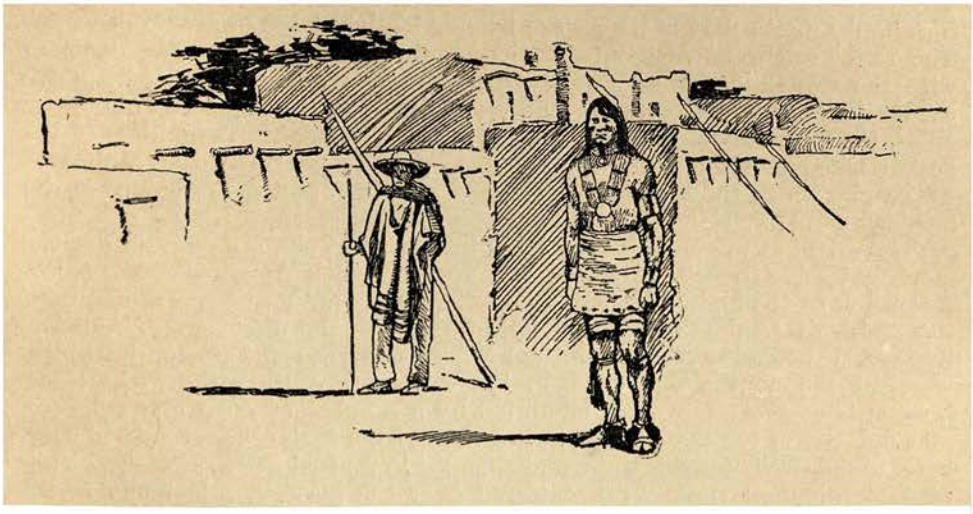
PART XXIV

# THE

# HISTORY OF SPANISH AMERICA

BASED CHIEFLY UPON THE WORKS OF THE FOLLOWING WRITERS

C. E. AKERS, J. L. AMAYA, J. ARMITAGE, F. DE PRIDA Y ARTEAGA, H. H. BANCROFT, F. A. BARRO, G. B. BLACK, T. C. DAWSON, L. ÉNAULT, J. FROST, A. FUNKE, GAULOT, F. VON HELLWALD, A. HELPS, J. HENDERSON, W. L. JORDAN, J. S. MANN, B. MAYER, J. NILES, W. H. PRESCOTT, W. ROBERTSON, M. SCHANZ, H. SCHULER, R. SOUTHEY, A. STERN, G. TORO, M. VILLAVICENCIO, G. WEBER



# CHAPTER I

## THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO

### EARLY HISTORY OF MEXICO

If a traveller, landing on that part of the coast of the Mexican gulf where Cortes and his Spaniards landed, were to proceed westward, across the continent, he would pass successively through three regions or climates. First, he would pass through the *tierra caliente*, or hot region, distinguished by all the features of the tropics—their luxuriant vegetation, their occasional sandy deserts, and their unhealthiness at particular seasons. After sixty miles of travel through this tierra caliente, he would enter the *tierra templada*, or temperate region, where the products of the soil are such as belong to the most genial European countries. Ascending through it, the traveller at last leaves wheat-fields beneath him, and plunges into forests of pine, indicating his entrance into the *tierra fria*, or cold region, where the sleety blasts from the mountains penetrate the very bones. This tierra fria constitutes the summits of part of the great mountain range of the Andes, which traverses the whole American continent. Fortunately, however, at this point the Andes do not attain their greatest elevation. Instead of rising, as in some other parts of their range, in a huge perpendicular wall or ridge, they here flatten and widen out, so as to constitute a vast plateau, or table-land, six or seven thousand feet above the level of the sea. On this immense sheet of table-land, stretching for hundreds of miles, the inhabitants, though living within the tropics, enjoy a climate equal to that of the south of Italy; while their proximity to the extremes both of heat and cold enables them to procure, without much labour, the luxuries of many lands. Across the table-land there stretches, from east to west, a chain of volcanic peaks, some of which are of immense height and covered perpetually with snow.

This table-land was called by the ancient Mexicans the plain of Anahuac. Near its centre is a valley of an oval form, about two hundred miles in circumference, surrounded by a rampart of porphyritic rock, and overspread

for about a tenth part of its surface by five distinct lakes or sheets of water. This is the celebrated valley of Mexico—called a valley only by comparison with the mountains which surround it, for it is seven thousand feet above the level of the sea. Round the margins of the five lakes once stood numerous cities, the relics of which are yet visible; and on an islet in the middle of the largest lake stood the great city of Mexico, or Tenochtitlan, the capital of the empire which the Spaniards were now invading, and the residence of the Mexican emperor, Montezuma.

The origin of the Mexicans is a question of great obscurity—a part of the more extensive question of the manner in which America was peopled. According to the highly discrepant theories of the authorities on the subject, the plains of Anahuac were overrun, previous to the discovery of America, by several successive races from the northwest [or, as some assert, the southwest] of the continent. Thus, in the thirteenth century the great tableland of Central America was inhabited by a number of races and subraces, all originally of the same stock, but differing from each other greatly in character and degree of civilisation, and engaged in mutual hostilities. The cities of these different races were scattered over the plateau, principally in the neighbourhood of the five lakes. Tezcuco, on the eastern bank of the greatest of the lakes, was the capital of the Acolhuans; and the city of Tenochtitlan, or Mexico, situated on an island in the same lake, was the capital of the Aztecs.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the dominant race in the plains of Anahuac was the Acolhuans, or Tezcucans, represented as a people of mild and polished manners, skilled in the elegant arts, and possessing literary habits and tastes—the Athenians, if we may so call them, of the New World. The most celebrated of the Tezcucan sovereigns was Nezahualcoyotl, who reigned early in the fifteenth century. By this prince a revolution was effected in the political state of the valley of Anahuac. He procured the formation of a confederacy between Tezcuco and the two neighbouring friendly cities of Mexico and Tlacopan, by which they bound themselves severally to assist each other when attacked, and to carry on wars conjointly. In this strange alliance Tezcuco was the principal member, as being confessedly the most powerful state; Mexico stood next; and lastly, Tlacopan, as being inferior to the other two.

Nezahualcoyotl died in 1440, and was succeeded on the Tezcucan throne by his son Nezahualpilli. During his reign the Tezcucans fell from their position as the first member of the triple confederacy which his father had formed, and gave place to the Aztecs, or Mexicans. These Aztecs had been gradually growing in consequence since their first arrival in the valley. Decidedly inferior to the Tezcucans in culture, and professing a much more bloody and impure worship, they excelled them in certain qualities, and possessed, on the whole, a firmer and more compact character. If the Tezcucans were the Greeks, the Aztecs were the Romans of the New World. Under a series of able princes they had increased in importance, till now, in the reign of Nezahualpilli, they were the rivals of their allies, the Tezcucans, for the sovereignty of Anahuac.

In the year 1502 a vacancy occurred in the throne of Tenochtitlan, or Mexico. The election fell on Montezuma II, the nephew of the deceased monarch, a young man who had already distinguished himself as a soldier and a priest or sage, and who was noted, as his name—Montezuma (sorrowful man)—implied, for a certain gravity and sad severity of manner. The first years of Montezuma's reign were spent in war. Carrying his victorious arms as far as Nicaragua and Honduras in the south, and to the shores of the

Mexican gulf in the east, he extended the sovereignty of the triple confederacy, of which he was a member, over an immense extent of territory. Distant provinces he compelled to pay him tribute, and the wealth of Anahuac flowed from all directions towards the valley of Mexico. Haughty and severe in his disposition, and magnificent in his tastes, he ruled like an oriental despot over the provinces which he had conquered; and the least attempt at rebellion was fearfully punished, captives being dragged in hundreds to the capital to be slaughtered on the stone of human sacrifice in the great war temple.[1] Nor did Montezuma's own natural-born subjects stand less in dread of him. Wise, liberal, and even generous in his government, his inflexible and relentless justice, and his lordly notions of his own dignity, made him an object less of affection than of awe and reverence. In his presence his nobles spoke in whispers; in his palace he was served with a slavish homage; and when he appeared in public his subjects veiled their faces as unworthy to gaze upon his person. The death of Nezahualpilli, in 1516, made him absolute sovereign in Anahuac. On the death of that king, two of his sons, Cacama and Ixtlilxochitl, contended for the throne of Tezcuco. Montezuma sided with Cacama; and the dispute was at length ended by compromise between the two brothers, by which the kingdom was divided into two parts—Cacama obtaining the southern half with the city of Tezcuco, and Ixtlilxochitl the northern half.

Thus, at the period of the arrival of the Spaniards, Montezuma was absolute sovereign of nearly the whole of that portion of Central America which lies between the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean—the kings of Tezcuco and Tlacopan being nominally his confederates and counsellors, according to the ancient treaty of alliance between the three states, but in reality his dependents.[b]

### THE COMING OF THE SPANIARDS

Hitherto the Spaniards had done little more than to enlarge their discoveries upon the continent of America; they had visited most of the islands in the Gulf of Mexico and off the coast of the mainland, and had discovered the great Southern Ocean, which opened extensive prospects and unbounded expectations in that quarter.

But although the settlements at Hispaniola and Cuba had become considerably flourishing and important, and afforded great facilities for enterprises on the continent, no colony had been maintained there, except the feeble and languishing one at Darien, and nothing had been attempted towards the conquest of the extensive country which had been discovered. The ferocity and courage of the natives, with the other obstacles attending such an enterprise, had discouraged the adventurers who had explored the continent, and they returned contented with the discoveries they had made, and the taking possession of the country, without attempting to maintain any foothold in it. This was the state of Spanish affairs in America in the year 1518, twenty-six years after the discovery of the country by Columbus. But at this period a new era commenced, and the astonishing genius and almost incredible exertions of one man conquered a powerful and populous nation, which, compared with those tribes with which the Spaniards had hitherto been acquainted,

[1] Besides the ordinary sacrifice, in which the victim's heart was cut out and laid on the altar, there was a gladiatorial sacrifice, where the victim contended with a succession of warriors before being offered up.

were a civilised people, understanding the arts of life, and were settled in towns, villages, and even large and populous cities.

Intelligence of the important discoveries made by Grijalva was no sooner communicated to Velasquez, than, prompted by ambition, he conceived the plan of fitting out a large armament for the conquest and occupation of the country; and so great was his ardour that, without waiting for the authority of his sovereign or the return of Grijalva, the expedition was prepared and ready to sail about the time the latter entered the port of Santiago de Cuba. Velasquez was ambitious of the glory which he expected would attend the expedition, yet, being sensible that he had neither the courage nor capacity to command it himself, he was greatly embarrassed in selecting a person who suited his views; as he wanted a man of sufficient courage, talents, and experience to command, but who at the same time would be a passive instrument in his hands. At length two of the secretaries of Velasquez recommended Hernando Cortes as a man suitable for his purpose; and, happily for his country but fatally for himself, he immediately fell in with the proposition. Cortes was one of the adventurers who came out to Hispaniola in the year 1504, when the island was under the governorship of Ovando, who was a kinsman of his; from which circumstance he was immediately employed in several lucrative and honourable stations; but not being satisfied with these, he accompanied Velasquez in his expedition to Cuba, and distinguished himself in its conquest.

So great and unremitted were his exertions in forwarding the expedition that he sailed from Santiago de Cuba on the 18th day of November, in the year 1518, a short time after he received his commission. Velasquez, who had been jealous of Cortes before he sailed, was confirmed in his suspicions of his fidelity as soon as he was no longer in his power, and immediately despatched orders to Trinidad to deprive him of his commission. But he had already acquired the confidence of his officers and men in such a degree as to be able to intimidate the chief magistrate of the place and depart without molestation. Velasquez, irritated and mortified at the failure of his first attempt to deprive Cortes of his commission, despatched a confidential friend to this place, with peremptory orders to Pedro Barba, his lieutenant-governor in that colony, instantly to arrest Cortes and send him, under a strong guard, a prisoner to Santiago, and to countermand the sailing of the fleet. Cortes having obtained information of the designs of Velasquez before his messenger arrived, immediately took measures to counteract them.

The fleet consisted of eleven vessels, one of a hundred tons, three of seventy or eighty, and the residue small open barks. There were on board five hundred and eight soldiers and one hundred and nine seamen and artificers, making in all six hundred and seventeen men. A part of the men had firearms, the rest crossbows, swords, and spears. They had only sixteen horses, and ten small field-pieces. With this force Cortes was about to commence war, with a view of conquest, upon a nation whose dominions were more extensive than all the kingdoms subject to the Spanish crown, and which was filled with people considerably advanced in civilisation. Although this expedition was undertaken for the purpose of aggression, and for plunder and conquest, upon the Spanish standards a large cross was displayed, with this inscription, "Let us follow the cross, for under this sign we shall conquer!"

The expedition touched at the several places which had been visited by Grijalva, and continued its course to the westward until it arrived at San Juan de Ulua, where a large canoe filled with people, two of whom appeared to be persons of distinction, approached the fleet with signs of friendship,

and came on board without any symptoms of fear or distrust. By means of a female Indian, who had previously been taken on board and was afterwards known by the name of Donna Marina, and who understood the Aztec, or Mexican, language, Cortes ascertained that the two persons of distinction were deputies despatched by the two governors of the province, and that they acknowledged the authority of a great monarch, whom they called Montezuma, who was sovereign of the whole country; and that they were sent to inquire what his object was in visiting their shores, and to offer him any assistance he might stand in need of in order to continue his voyage. Cortes informed them that he had visited their country with no other than the most friendly intentions, and for an object of very great importance to their king and country.

The next morning, without waiting an answer, the Spaniards landed; and the natives, like the man who warmed the frozen snake, which, reviving, bit his child to death, assisted them with great alacrity, little suspecting that they were introducing into their peaceful borders the invaders and despoilers of their country. In the course of the day Teutile and Pilpatoe, the two governors of the province, entered the camp of Cortes with a numerous retinue, and were received with much ceremony and apparent respect. Cortes informed them that he came as ambassador from Don Carlos, king of Castile, the most powerful monarch of the East, and that the object of his embassy was of such vast moment that he could communicate it to no one but Montezuma himself, and therefore requested that they would conduct him into the presence of the emperor. The Mexican officers were astonished at so extraordinary a proposition, and attempted to dissuade Cortes from it; but he insisted upon a compliance with his request, in a peremptory and almost authoritative manner. In the mean time he observed some of the natives delineating, on white cotton cloth, figures of the ships, horses, artillery, soldiers, firearms, and other objects which attracted their attention; and being informed that these were to be conveyed to Montezuma, he wished to fill their emperor with the greatest possible awe of the irresistible power of his strange guests. He instantly ordered the troops formed in order of battle; various martial movements and evolutions were performed; the horse exhibited a specimen of their agility and impetuosity; and the field-pieces were discharged into the wood, which made dreadful havoc among the trees. The Mexicans looked on in silent amazement, until the cannon were fired, when some fled, others fell on the ground, and all were filled with consternation and dismay, and were confounded at the sight of men who seemed to command the thunder of heaven, and whose power appeared so nearly to resemble that of the Great Spirit.

Messengers were immediately despatched to Montezuma, and returned in a few days, although Mexico, where he resided, was one hundred and eighty miles from San Juan de Ulua, where Cortes was. This despatch was in consequence of an improvement in police, which had not then been introduced into Europe; couriers were stationed at given distances along the principal roads, and, being trained to the business, they conveyed intelligence with great despatch. Teutile and Pilpatoe were empowered to deliver the answer of their master to Cortes; but previous to which, agreeably to their instructions, and with the mistaken hope of conciliating his favour, they offered to him the presents which had been sent by the emperor. These were introduced with great ceremony, by a train of one hundred Indians, each loaded with the presents of his sovereign. They were deposited on mats so placed as to show them to the greatest advantage, and consisted of the manufactures

of the country, such as fine cotton stuffs, so splendid as to resemble rich silks; pictures of animals, and other national objects, formed of feathers of various hues with such wonderful art and skill as to rival the works of the pencil. But what most attracted the attention of the Spaniards, whose avidity for the precious metals knew no bounds, were the manufactures of gold and silver. Among the bracelets, collars, rings, and trinkets of gold, were two large plates of a circular form, one of massive gold, representing the sun, the other of silver, an emblem of the moon. These specimens of the riches of the country, instead of conciliating the favour of the Spaniards and inducing them to quit the country, had the effect of oil cast upon fire with the view to extinguish it; they inflamed their cupidity for gold to such a pitch that they could hardly be restrained in their ardour to become masters of a country affording such riches.

The Mexican monarch and his counsellors were greatly embarrassed and alarmed, and knew not what measures to adopt to expel from their country such bold and troublesome intruders. Their fears were increased by the influence of superstition, there having long prevailed a tradition that their country would be invaded and overrun by a formidable race of men, who would come from the regions towards the rising of the sun. Montezuma and his advisers, dreading the consequences of involving their country in war with enemies who seemed to be of a higher order of beings, and to command and direct the elements, sent to Cortes a more positive command to leave the country, and most preposterously accompanied this with a rich present, which rendered the Spaniards the more bent on becoming masters of a country that appeared to be filled with the precious metals. This terminated all friendly intercourse between the natives and the Spaniards, and hostilities were immediately expected.

At this crisis the situation of Cortes was rendered more alarming by disaffection among his men, which had been produced by the danger of their situation and the exertions of some of the officers who were friendly to Velasquez. Diego de Ordaz, the leader of the malcontents, presented a remonstrance to Cortes, demanding, with great boldness, to be conducted immediately back to Cuba. Cortes listened with attention to the remonstrance, and, in compliance with it, immediately gave orders for the fleet to be in readiness to sail the next day. This was no sooner known than it produced the effect Cortes had foreseen. The whole camp was in confusion, and almost in mutiny. All demanded to see their leader; and when Cortes appeared, they asked whether it was worthy Castilian courage to be daunted by the first appearance of danger, and to fly before the enemy appeared. They insisted on pursuing the enterprise, the value of which had vastly increased from what they had seen, and declared that they would follow him with alacrity through every danger, to the possession and conquest of those rich countries, of which they had seen such satisfactory evidence. Cortes, delighted with their ardour, declared that his views were the same as their own. As the first step towards planting a colony, Cortes assembled the principal men of his party, who proceeded to elect a council of magistrates, in whom its government was to be vested. As he had arranged this matter with his friends in the council, the resignation of Cortes was accepted, and immediately he was chosen, by their unanimous voice, captain-general of the army and chief justice of the colony; his commission was made out in the king's name, with the most ample powers, and was to continue in force until the royal pleasure might be ascertained. Before accepting this appointment the troops were consulted, and they unanimously confirmed the choice, and

[1519 A.D.]

the air resounded with Cortes' name, and all swore to shed the last drop of their blood in support of his authority. Some of the adherents of Velasquez exclaimed against these illegal proceedings, but Cortes, by a prompt exercise of authority, and by arresting and putting in chains several of the leaders of the malcontents, suppressed a faction which, had it not been timely checked, might have endangered all his hopes. Cortes was now placed in a situation which he had long desired, having rendered himself entirely independent of the governor of Cuba.

Having employed some of his officers to survey the coast, he resolved to remove about forty miles to the northward, where there was a more commodious harbour, the soil more fertile, and in other respects a more eligible spot for a settlement. He immediately marked out the ground for a town, and, as avarice and religious fanaticism were the two principles which governed the conduct of all the Spanish adventurers in America, he named the town Villa Rica, de la Vera Cruz—the rich town of the true cross. In proceeding to this place the Spaniards had passed through the country of Cempoala and had an interview with several of the caciques of that nation, and learned, with much satisfaction, that they were unfriendly to Montezuma and anxious to throw off his yoke; he also learned many particulars concerning that monarch; that he was a great tyrant, and oppressed his subjects; and Cortes soon succeeded in persuading the caciques to acknowledge themselves, in a formal manner, to be the vassals of the Spanish monarch. Their example was followed by several other tribes. At this period Cortes despatched a vessel to Spain with a highly coloured description of the country he had discovered, confirmed by many of the specimens of wealth they had received from the natives, with an account of the progress he had made in establishing the Spanish authority over it; he attempted to justify his throwing off the authority of Velasquez and setting up for himself, and requested a confirmation of his authority from the crown.

Disaffection again appeared amongst the men, of a more alarming character than what had existed before, which, though promptly suppressed, filled the mind of Cortes with disquietude and concern, and led him to adopt one of the boldest measures of which history affords any account. After reflecting on the subject with deep solicitude, he resolved on destroying the fleet, which would place the Spaniards in a situation that they must conquer or perish; and, by the most plausible and artful representations, he succeeded in persuading his men to acquiesce in this desperate measure. With universal consent the ships were drawn on shore, and after being stripped of their sails, rigging, and everything of value, they were broken to pieces. His influence must have been unbounded, to be able to persuade his men to an act which is unparalleled in the annals of man; six hundred men voluntarily cut off their means of returning, and shut themselves up in a hostile country filled with warlike and ferocious inhabitants, whose savage mode of warfare spared their prisoners only for the torture or to be offered in sacrifice to their angry deities.

### ADVANCE INTO THE INTERIOR

Cortes now felt prepared to enter upon a career of victory and conquest in some measure suited to his ambition and rapacity. Having advanced to Cempoala, his zeal for religion led him to overturn the idols in the temples, and to place a crucifix and an image of the Virgin Mary in their stead; which rash step came near blasting all his hopes in the bud. The natives were

filled with horror, and were excited to arms by their priests; but Cortes had such an ascendency over them that he finally pacified them and restored harmony. He marched from Cempoala on the 16th of August, with five hundred men, fifteen horse, and six field-pieces, with the intention of penetrating into the heart of a great and powerful nation. The residue of his men, most of whom were unfit for service, were left as a garrison at Vera Cruz.[c]

The Tlaxcalans assembled their troops, in order to oppose those unknown invaders. Cortes, after waiting some days, in vain, for the return of his ambassadors, advanced into the Tlaxcalan territories. As the resolutions of people who delight in war are executed with no less promptitude than they are formed, he found troops in the field ready to oppose him. They attacked him with great intrepidity, and, in the first encounter, wounded some of the Spaniards and killed two horses—a loss, in their situation, of great moment, because it was irreparable. From this specimen of their courage Cortes saw the necessity of proceeding with caution. His army marched in close order; he chose the stations where he halted with attention, and fortified every camp with extraordinary care. During fourteen days he was exposed to almost uninterrupted assaults, the Tlaxcalans advancing with numerous armies and renewing the attack in various forms, with a degree of valour and perseverance to which the Spaniards had seen nothing parallel in the New World.

HERNANDO CORTES
(1485–1547)

When they perceived, in the subsequent engagements, that, notwithstanding all the efforts of their own valour, of which they had a very high opinion, not one of the Spaniards was slain or taken, they began to conceive them to be a superior order of beings, against whom human power could not avail. In this extremity they had recourse to their priests, requiring them to reveal the mysterious causes of such extraordinary events, and to declare what new means they should employ in order to repulse those formidable invaders. The priests, after many sacrifices and incantations, delivered this response: That these strangers were the offspring of the sun, procreated by his animating energy in the regions of the East; that by day, while cherished with the influence of his parental beams, they were invincible; but by night, when his reviving heat was withdrawn, their vigour declined and faded like the herbs in the field, and they dwindled down into mortal men. But Cortes had greater vigilance and discernment than to be deceived by the rude stratagems of an Indian army. The sentinels at his outposts, observing some extraordinary movement among the Tlaxcalans, gave the alarm. In a moment the troops were under arms, and, sallying out, dispersed the party with great slaughter, without allowing it to approach the camp. The Tlaxcalans being convinced by sad experience that their priests had deluded them, and satisfied that they attempted in vain either to deceive or to vanquish their enemies, their fierceness abated, and they began to incline seriously to peace.

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They were at a loss, however, in what manner to address the strangers, what idea to form of their character, and whether to consider them as beings of a gentle or of a malevolent nature. There were circumstances in their conduct which seemed to favour each opinion. On the one hand, as the Spaniards constantly dismissed the prisoners whom they took, not only without injury but often with presents of European toys, and renewed their offers of peace after every victory, this lenity amazed people who, according to the exterminating system of war known in America, were accustomed to sacrifice and devour without mercy all the captives taken in battle, and disposed them to entertain favourable sentiments of the humanity of their new enemies. But, on the other hand, as Cortes had seized fifty of their countrymen who brought provisions to his camp, and, supposing them to be spies, had cut off their hands, this bloody spectacle, added to the terror occasioned by the firearms and horses, filled them with dreadful impressions of the ferocity of their invaders. This uncertainty was apparent in their mode of addressing the Spaniards: "If," said they, "you are divinities of a cruel and savage nature, we present to you five slaves, that you may drink their blood and eat their flesh. If you are mild deities, accept an offering of incense and variegated plumes. If you are men, here are meat, and bread, and fruit to nourish you." The peace which both parties now desired with equal ardour was soon concluded. The Tlaxcalans yielded themselves as vassals to the crown of Castile, and engaged to assist Cortes in all his future operations. He took the republic under his protection, and promised to defend their persons and possessions from injury or violence.[d]

His troops being recruited, the Spanish general commenced his march towards Mexico, with six thousand Tlaxcalan warriors added to his force. He directed his route to Cholula, a considerable town fifteen miles distant, celebrated for its vast pyramid or temple, and as being regarded as the seat of their gods. Here, although they had entered the town without opposition and with much apparent respect, the Spaniards soon discovered a deep plot laid for their destruction, and, having obtained satisfactory proof, Cortes determined to make such an example as would inspire his enemies with terror. He drew his forces up in the centre of the town, and sent for most of the magistrates and chief citizens, under various pretences, who at a given signal were seized, and then the troops and the Tlaxcalans fell on the people, who, being deprived of their leaders and filled with astonishment, dropped their arms and remained motionless, without making the least effort to defend themselves. The slaughter was dreadful; the streets were filled with the dead and covered with blood. The priests and some of the chief families took refuge in the temples. These were set on fire and all consumed together. This scene of carnage continued for two days, during which six thousand of the natives perished, without the loss of a single individual of their destroyers.

### MEETING WITH MONTEZUMA

From Cholula it was but sixty miles to Mexico, and Cortes marched directly towards the capital; through every place he passed he was received as a deliverer, and heard the grievances of the inhabitants, all of which he promised to redress. He was highly gratified on perceiving that the seeds of discontent were scattered through the empire, and not confined to the remote provinces. As the Spaniards approached the capital, the unhappy monarch was distracted with hopes and fears, and knew not what to do.

One day he sent orders inviting them to advance; the next, commanding them to retire and leave the country. As the Spaniards drew near to the city, one thousand persons of distinction came out to meet them, clad in mantles of fine cotton and adorned with plumes; each, in his order, passed by and saluted Cortes in the manner deemed most respectful in their country. At length they announced the approach of the emperor himself. His retinue consisted of two hundred persons, dressed in uniform, with plumes and feathers, who marched two and two, barefooted, with their eyes fixed on the ground; to these succeeded a higher rank, with more showy apparel. Montezuma followed in a litter, or chair, richly ornamented with gold and feathers, borne on the shoulders of four of his favourites; a canopy of curious workmanship was supported over his head; three officers walked before him with gold rods, which at given intervals they raised as a signal for the people to bow their heads and hide their faces, as unworthy to behold so august a sovereign. As he approached Cortes, the latter dismounted and advanced in the most respectful manner; Montezuma at the same time alighted, and, leaning on two of his attendants, approached with a slow and stately pace, cotton cloth being strewed on the ground, that he might not touch the earth. Cortes saluted him with profound reverence, according to the European fashion, and Montezuma returned the salutation in the manner of his country: he touched with his hand the ground, and then kissed it. This being the mode of salutation of an inferior to a superior, the Mexicans viewed with astonishment this act of condescension in their monarch, whom they had been accustomed to consider as exalted above all mortals and related to the gods. Montezuma, having conducted the Spaniards to the quarters provided for them, on retiring addressed Cortes as follows: "You are now with your brothers, in your own house; refresh yourselves after your fatigue, and be happy until I return." The Spaniards were lodged in an ancient palace surrounded with a wall, with towers at proper distances which would serve for defence; the accommodations were not only sufficient for the Spaniards, but likewise for their Indian allies.[c]

Mexico was situated in a great salt lake communicating with a fresh-water lake. It was approached by three principal causeways of great breadth, constructed of solid masonry, which, to use the picturesque language of the Spaniards, were two lances in breadth. The length of one of these causeways was two leagues, and that of another a league and a half; and these two ample causeways united in the middle of the city, where stood the great temple. At the ends of these causeways were wooden drawbridges, so that communication could be cut off between the causeways and the town, which would thus become a citadel. There was also an aqueduct which communicated with the mainland, consisting of two separate lines of work in masonry, in order that if one should need repair the supply of water for the city might not be interrupted.

The streets were the most various in construction that have ever been seen in any city in the world. Some were of dry land, others wholly of water, and others, again, had pathways of pavement, while in the centre there was room for boats. The foot-passengers could talk with those in the boats. It may be noticed that a city so constructed requires a circumspect and polite population.

Palaces are commonplace things to describe, but the abodes of the Mexican kings were not like the petty palaces of northern princes. One of the most observant of those Spaniards who first saw these wonders speaks of a palace of Montezuma's in which there was a room where three thousand persons

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could be well accommodated, and on the terrace-like roof of which a splendid tournament might have been given. There was a market-place twice as large as that of the city of Salamanca, surrounded with porticoes, in which there was room for fifty thousand people to buy and sell.

The great temple of the city maintained its due proportion of magnificence. In the plan of the city of Mexico, which is to be found in a very early edition of the *Letters of Cortes*, published at Nuremberg, and which is supposed to be the one that Cortes sent to Charles V, the space allotted to the temple is twenty times as great as that allotted to the market-place. Indeed, the sacred inclosure was in itself a town; and Cortes, who seldom stops in his terrible narrative to indulge in praise or in needless description, says that no human tongue could explain the grandeur and the peculiarities of this temple. Cortes uses the word "temple," but it might rather be called a sacred city, as it contained many temples, and the abodes of all the priests and virgins who ministered at them; also a university and an arsenal. It was inclosed by lofty stone walls, and was entered by four portals surmounted by fortresses. No less than twenty truncated pyramids, probably cased with porphyry, rose up from within that inclosure. High over them all towered the great temple dedicated to the god of war. This, like the rest, was a truncated pyramid, with ledges round it, and with two small towers upon the highest surface, in which were placed the images of the great god of war (Huitzilopochtli) and of the principal deity of all (Tezcatlipuk), the Mexican Jupiter. It is sad to own that an entrance into these fair-seeming buildings would have gone far to dissipate the admiration which a traveller—if we may imagine one preceding Cortes—would up to this moment have felt for Mexico. The temples and palaces, the polished, glistening towers, the aviaries, the terraces, the gardens on the housetops (many-coloured, for they were not like those at Damascus, where only the rose and the jasmine are to be seen)—in a word, the bright, lively, and lovely city would have been forgotten in the vast disgust that would have filled the mind of the beholder when he saw the foul, blood-besmeared idols, with the palpitating hearts of that day's victims lying before them, and the black-clothed, filthy, unkempt priest ministering to these hideous compositions of paste and human blood.[e]

### MONTEZUMA MADE PRISONER

The Spaniards soon became alarmed for their safety, as it was apparent that by breaking down the bridges their retreat would be cut off, and they would be shut up in a hostile city, where all their superiority in arms could not prevent their being overwhelmed by the multitude of their enemies. Reflecting with deep concern on his situation, Cortes resolved on a measure scarcely less bold and desperate than that of destroying his ships; this was, to seize the sovereign of a great empire in his own capital, surrounded by his subjects, and retain him as a prisoner in the Spanish quarters. When he first proposed this measure to his officers, most of them were startled with its audacity; but he convinced them that it was the only step that could save them from destruction, and they agreed instantly to make the attempt. At his usual hour of visiting Montezuma, Cortes repaired to the palace with five of his bravest officers, and as many trusty soldiers; thirty chosen men followed at some distance, and appeared to be sauntering along the street. The rest of the troops and their allies were prepared to sally out at the first alarm. As the Spaniards entered, the Mexican officers retired, and

Cortes addressed the monarch in a very different tone from what he had been accustomed to do, and accused him of being the instigator of the attack made on his garrison left at Vera Cruz, in which several Spaniards were killed, and demanded reparation. The monarch, filled with astonishment and indignation, asserted his innocence with great warmth, and, as a proof of it, ordered the officer who attacked the Spaniards to be brought to Mexico as a prisoner. Cortes pretended that he was satisfied with this declaration, but said that his soldiers would never be convinced that Montezuma did not entertain hostile intentions towards them, unless he repaired to the Spanish quarters, as a mark of confidence, where he would be served and honoured as became a great monarch.

The first mention of so strange and alarming a proposal almost bereft the unhappy monarch of his senses; he remonstrated and protested against it; the altercation became warm, and continued for several hours, when Velasquez de Leon, a daring and impetuous young officer, exclaimed with great vehemence: "Why waste more words or time in vain? Let us seize him instantly, or stab him to the heart." The audacity of this declaration, accompanied with fierce and threatening looks and gestures, intimidated Montezuma, who submitted to his fate and agreed to comply with their request. Montezuma now called in his officers and informed them of his determination; they heard it with astonishment and grief, but made no reply. He was accordingly carried to the Spanish quarters with great parade, but bathed in tears. We consult history in vain for any parallel to this transaction, whether we consider the boldness and temerity of the measure or the success with which it was executed.

Qulpopoca, the commander who attacked the garrison at Vera Cruz, his son, and six of his principal officers were delivered to Cortes, to be punished as he deemed proper; and after a mock trial before a Spanish court-martial, they were condemned to be burned alive, which infamous and wicked sentence was carried into execution amidst vast multitudes of their astonished countrymen, who viewed the scene with silent horror.

Montezuma remained in the quarters of the Spaniards for six months, was treated with apparent respect and served by his own officers, but strictly watched and kept in "durance vile." During this period, Cortes, having possession of the sovereign, governed the empire in his name; his commissions and orders were issued as formerly and strictly obeyed, although it was known that the monarch was a prisoner in the hands of the invaders of the country. The Spaniards made themselves acquainted with the country, visited the remote provinces, displaced some officers whom they suspected of unfriendly designs, and appointed others more obsequious to their will; and so completely was the spirit of Montezuma subdued that at length Cortes induced him to acknowledge himself as tributary, and a vassal of the king of Castile. This last and most humiliating condition to which a proud and haughty monarch, accustomed to independent and absolute power, could be reduced, overwhelmed him with the deepest distress. He called together the chief men of the empire and informed them of his determination, but was scarcely able to speak, being frequently interrupted with tears and groans flowing from a heart filled with anguish.

Cortes had deprived Montezuma of his liberty, of his wealth, and of his empire; he wished now to deprive him of his religion. But though the unhappy monarch had submitted to every other demand, this he would not yield to; and Cortes, enraged at his obstinacy, had the rashness to order the idols of the temples thrown down by force; but the priests taking arms in their

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defence, and the people rallying in crowds to support them, Cortes was obliged to desist from an act which the inhabitants viewed as the highest sacrilege. This rash step excited the bitter enmity of the priests against the Spaniards, who regarded them as the enemies of the gods, who would avenge the insult which had been offered to them. They roused the leading men, and from this moment the Mexicans began to reflect on the means of destroying or expelling such audacious and impious invaders. They held frequent consultations with one another and with their captive prince. Being unwilling to have recourse to arms, if it could be avoided, Montezuma called Cortes into his presence and informed him that now all the objects of his mission were fulfilled, and it was the will both of the gods and of his people that the Spaniards should instantly depart from the empire, and if he did not comply with this request inevitable destruction would overtake them. Cortes, thinking it prudent not to appear to oppose the wishes of the Mexicans, informed Montezuma that he was expecting soon to leave the country, and had begun to make preparations for his departure.

Whilst Cortes was deeply anxious as to his situation, in consequence of the evident designs of the Mexicans, a more alarming danger threatened him from another quarter. Velasquez, governor of Cuba, having obtained intelligence of Cortes' proceedings—that he had renounced all dependence on his authority, was attempting to establish an independent colony, and had applied to the king to confirm his acts—was filled with indignation, and resolved to be avenged on the man who had so basely betrayed his confidence and usurped his authority. He engaged with great ardour in preparing an expedition which was destined to New Spain to arrest Cortes, bring him home in irons, and then to prosecute and complete the conquest of the country in his own name. The armament consisted of eighteen vessels, having on board eight hundred foot soldiers and eighty horsemen, with a train of twelve pieces of cannon. The command of this expedition was intrusted to Narvaez, with instructions to seize Cortes and his principal officers, and then complete the conquest of the country. The fatal experience of Velasquez had neither inspired him with wisdom nor courage, for he still intrusted to another what he ought to have executed himself.[c]

It was time for Cortes to appear upon the scene of greatest danger; and accordingly, quitting Mexico with but seventy of his own men, he commended those whom he left and his treasures to Montezuma's good offices, as to one who was a faithful vassal to the king of Spain. This parting speech seems most audacious, but plenary audacity was part of the wisdom of Cortes. At Cholula he came up with his lieutenant, Juan Velasquez, and his men, joined company with them, and pushed on towards Cempoala. When he approached the town he prepared to make an attack by night on the position which Narvaez occupied, and which was no other than the great temple at Cempoala.

In the encounter Narvaez lost an eye; he was afterwards sent as a prisoner to Vera Cruz. His men, not without resistance on the part of some of them, ultimately ranged themselves under the banner of Cortes, and thus was a great danger turned into a welcome succour. Cortes received the conquered troops in the most winning manner, and created an enthusiasm in his favour.[e]

### REVOLT OF MEXICANS

A few days after the discomfiture of Narvaez a courier arrived with an account that the Mexicans had taken arms, and, having seized and destroyed the two brigantines which Cortes had built in order to secure the command

of the lake and attacked the Spaniards in their quarters, had killed several of them and wounded more, had reduced to ashes their magazine of provisions, and carried on hostilities with such fury that, though Alvarado and his men defended themselves with undaunted resolution, they must either be soon cut off by famine or sink under the multitude of their enemies. This revolt was excited by motives which rendered it still more alarming. On the departure of Cortes for Cempoala, the Mexicans flattered themselves that the long-expected opportunity of restoring their sovereign to liberty, and of vindicating their country from the odious dominion of strangers, was at length arrived; that while the forces of their oppressors were divided, and the arms of one party turned against the other, they might triumph with greater facility over both. Consultations were held and schemes formed with this intention.

The Spaniards in Mexico, conscious of their own feebleness, suspected and dreaded those machinations. Alvarado, though a gallant officer, possessed neither that extent of capacity nor dignity of manners by which Cortes had acquired such an ascendant over the minds of the Mexicans as never allowed them to form a just estimate of his weakness or of their own strength. Alvarado fell upon them, unarmed and unsuspicious of any danger, and massacred a great number, none escaping but such as made their way over the battlements of the temple. An action so cruel and treacherous filled not only the city but the whole empire with indignation and rage. All called aloud for vengeance; and regardless of the safety of their monarch, whose life was at the mercy of the Spaniards, or of their own danger in assaulting an enemy who had been so long the object of their terror, they committed all those acts of violence of which Cortes received an account.

To him the danger appeared so imminent as to admit neither of deliberation nor delay. He set out instantly with all his forces, and returned from Cempoala with no less rapidity than he had advanced thither. At Tlaxcala he was joined by two thousand chosen warriors. On entering the Mexican territories, he found that disaffection to the Spaniards was not confined to the capital. The principal inhabitants had deserted the towns through which he passed, no person of note appearing to meet him with the usual respect. But uninstructed by their former error in admitting a formidable enemy into their capital, instead of breaking down the causeways and bridges, by which they might have inclosed Alvarado and his party, and have effectually stopped the career of Cortes, they again suffered him to march into the city without molestation, and to take quiet possession of his ancient station.

Cortes behaved on this occasion neither with his usual sagacity nor attention. He not only neglected to visit Montezuma, but embittered the insult by expressions full of contempt for that unfortunate prince and his people.

Later the Mexicans attacked a considerable body of Spaniards who were marching towards the great square in which the public market was held, and compelled them to retire with some loss. Emboldened by this success, and delighted to find that their oppressors were not invincible, they advanced next day, with extraordinary martial pomp, to assault the Spaniards in their quarters. Their number was formidable, and their undaunted courage still more so. Though the artillery pointed against their numerous battalions, crowded together in narrow streets, swept off multitudes at every discharge, though every blow of the Spanish weapons fell with mortal effect upon their naked bodies, the impetuosity of the assault did not abate. Fresh men rushed forward to occupy the places of the slain, and, meeting with the same fate, were succeeded by others no less intrepid and eager for vengeance.

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The utmost efforts of Cortes' abilities and experience, seconded by the disciplined valour of his troops, were hardly sufficient to defend the fortifications that surrounded the post where the Spaniards were stationed, into which the enemy were more than once on the point of forcing their way.

Cortes beheld with wonder the implacable ferocity of a people who seemed at first to submit tamely to the yoke, and had continued so long passive under it. The soldiers of Narvaez, who fondly imagined that they followed Cortes to share in the spoils of a conquered empire, were astonished to find that they were involved in a dangerous war, with an enemy whose vigour was still unbroken, and loudly execrated their own weakness in giving such easy credit to the delusive promises of their new leader. But surprise and complaints were of no avail. Some immediate and extraordinary effort was requisite to extricate themselves out of their present situation. As soon as the approach of evening induced the Mexicans to retire, in compliance with their national custom of ceasing from hostilities with the setting sun, Cortes began to prepare for a sally next day, with such a considerable force as might either drive the enemy out of the city, or compel them to listen to terms of accommodation.

He conducted in person the troops destined for this important service. Every invention known in the European art of war, as well as every precaution suggested by his long acquaintance with the Indian mode of fighting, was employed to insure success. But he found an enemy prepared and determined to oppose him. The force of the Mexicans was greatly augmented by fresh troops, which poured in continually from the country, and their animosity was in no degree abated. They were led by their nobles, inflamed by the exhortations of their priests, and fought in defence of their temples and families, under the eye of their gods and in presence of their wives and children. Notwithstanding their numbers, and enthusiastic contempt of danger and death, wherever the Spaniards could close with them the superiority of their discipline and arms obliged the Mexicans to give way. But in narrow streets, and where many of the bridges of communication were broken down, the Spaniards could seldom come to a fair rencounter with the enemy, and, as they advanced, were exposed to showers of arrows and stones from the tops of the houses. After a day of incessant exertion, though vast numbers of the Mexicans fell and part of the city was burned, the Spaniards, weary with the slaughter and harassed by multitudes which successively relieved each other, were obliged at length to retire, with the mortification of having accomplished nothing so decisive as to compensate the unusual calamity of having twelve soldiers killed and above sixty wounded. Another sally, made with greater force, was not more effectual, and in it the general himself was wounded in the hand.

### DEATH OF MONTEZUMA; LA NOCHE TRISTE

Cortes now perceived, too late, the fatal error into which he had been betrayed by his own contempt of the Mexicans, and was satisfied that he could neither maintain his present station in the centre of a hostile city nor retire from it without the most imminent danger. One resource still remained —to try what effect the interposition of Montezuma might have to soothe or overawe his subjects.[d]

Accordingly, the next morning, when the Mexicans advanced to the attack, the wretched prince, made the instrument of his own disgrace and of the

enslavement of his subjects, was constrained to ascend the battlement, clad in his royal robes, and to address his subjects and attempt to allay their rage and dissuade them from hostilities. As he came in sight of the Mexicans their weapons dropped from their hands, and they prostrated themselves on the earth; but when he stopped speaking, a deep and sullen murmur arose and spread through the ranks; reproaches and threats followed, and the feelings of the people swelling in a moment like a sudden rush of waters, volleys of arrows, stones, and every missile were poured upon the ramparts, so suddenly and with such violence that before the Spanish soldiers, appointed to protect Montezuma, could cover him with their bucklers, he was wounded by the arrows and struck by a stone on the temple, which felled him to the ground. His fall occasioned a sudden transition in the feelings of the multitude; being horror-struck with the crime they had committed, they threw down their arms and fled with precipitation.

Montezuma was removed to his apartments by the Spaniards, but his proud spirit could not brook this last mortification, and perceiving that he was not only the prisoner and tool of his enemies, but the object of the vengeance and contempt of his subjects, he tore the bandages from his wounds in a transport of feeling, and persisted in a refusal to take any nourishment with a firmness that neither entreaties nor threats could overcome, and thus terminated his wretched existence. He obstinately refused, to the last, all the solicitations, accompanied with all the terrors of future punishment, to embrace the Christian faith.[b]

With the death of Montezuma ended all hopes of pacifying the Mexicans, and Cortes was sensible that his salvation depended on a successful retreat. The morning following the fall of their prince the Mexicans renewed the assault with redoubled fury, and succeeded in taking possession of a high temple which overlooked the Spanish quarters and greatly exposed them to the missiles of the enemy. A detachment of chosen men ordered to dislodge them was twice repulsed, when Cortes, taking the command himself, rushed into the thickest of the combat with a drawn sword, and by his presence and example, after a dreadful carnage, the Spaniards made themselves masters of the tower and set fire to it. Cortes was determined to retreat from the city, but was at a loss in what way to attempt it, when a private soldier, who from a smattering of learning sustained the character of an astrologer, advised him to undertake it in the night, and assured him of complete success. Cortes the more readily fell in with this plan, as he knew it was a superstitious principle with the Mexicans not to attack an enemy in the night.[c]

They began to move, towards midnight, in three divisions. They marched in profound silence along the causeway which led to Tacuba. They reached the first breach in it without molestation, hoping that their retreat was undiscovered. But the Mexicans, unperceived, had not only watched all their motions with attention, but had made proper dispositions for a most formidable attack. While the Spaniards were intent upon placing their bridge in the breach, and occupied in conducting their horses and artillery along it, they were suddenly alarmed with a tremendous sound of warlike instruments and a general shout from an innumerable multitude of enemies; the lake was covered with canoes; flights of arrows and showers of stones poured in upon them from every quarter; the Mexicans rushing forward to the charge with fearless impetuosity, as if they hoped in that moment to be avenged for all their wrongs. Unfortunately, the wooden bridge, by the weight of the artillery, was wedged so fast into the stones and mud that it was impos-

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sible to remove it. Dismayed at this accident, the Spaniards advanced with precipitation towards the second breach. The Mexicans hemmed them in on every side, and though they defended themselves with their usual courage, yet, crowded together as they were on a narrow causeway, their discipline and military skill were of little avail, nor did the obscurity of the night permit them to derive great advantage from their firearms or the superiority of their other weapons.

All Mexico was now in arms; and so eager were the people in the destruction of their oppressors that they who were not near enough to annoy them in person, impatient of the delay, pressed forward with such ardour as drove on their countrymen in the front with irresistible violence. Fresh warriors instantly filled the places of such as fell. The Spaniards, weary with slaughter, and unable to sustain the weight of the torrent that poured in upon them, began to give way. In a moment the confusion was universal; horse and foot, officers and soldiers, friends and enemies, were mingled together; and while all fought, and many fell, they could hardly distinguish from what hand the blow came.

Cortes, with about a hundred foot-soldiers and a few horse, forced his way over the two remaining breaches in the causeway, the bodies of the dead serving to fill up the chasms, and reached the mainland. Having formed them as soon as they arrived, he returned with such as were yet capable of service, to assist his friends in their retreat, and to encourage them, by his presence and example, to persevere in the efforts requisite to effect it. He met with part of his soldiers who had broken through the enemy, but found many more overwhelmed by the multitude of their aggressors, or perishing in the lake, and heard the piteous lamentations of others, whom the Mexicans, having taken alive, were carrying off in triumph to be sacrificed to the god of war. Before day, all who had escaped assembled at Tacuba. But the morning dawned, and discovered to the view of Cortes his shattered battalion, reduced to less than half its number, the survivors dejected, and most of them covered with wounds.

All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage were lost; the greater part of the horses, and above two thousand Tlaxcalans, were killed, and only a very small portion of the treasure which they had amassed was saved. This, which had been always their chief object, proved a great cause of their calamity; for many of the soldiers, having so overloaded themselves with bars of gold as rendered them unfit for action and retarded their flight, fell ignominiously, the victims of their own inconsiderate avarice. Amidst so many disasters, it was some consolation to find that Aguilar and Marina, whose function as interpreters was of such essential importance, had made their escape.[d]

### RETREAT OF THE SPANIARDS

The Spaniards now commenced their march for Tlaxcala, and for six days continued it without respite, through swamps and over mountains, harassed by the Mexicans at a distance, and sometimes closely attacked. On the sixth day they approached near to Otumba, and discovered numerous parties moving in various directions. Their interpreter informed them that they often exclaimed, with exultation: "Go on, robbers; go to the place where you shall quickly meet with the fate due to your crimes." The Spaniards continued their march until they reached the summit of a mountain, when an extensive valley opened to their astonished visions, covered with an innu-

merable multitude, which explained the meaning of what they had just seen and heard. The vast number of their enemies, and the suddenness with which they had appeared, appalled the stoutest hearts, and despair was depicted in every countenance. But Cortes, who alone was unshaken, informed them that there remained but two alternatives, to conquer or to perish, and immediately led them to the charge. The Mexicans waited their approach with courage; but so great is the superiority of discipline and military science over brute force, that the small battalion of the Spaniards made an irresistible impression, and forced its way through the armed multitude. Although the Mexicans were dispersed, and obliged to give way wherever the Spaniards approached, yet as they retreated in one quarter they advanced in another; so that the Spaniards were constantly surrounded, and had become nearly exhausted by their own carnage. At this crisis, Cortes, observing the standard of the Mexican Empire, and recollecting to have heard that on the fate of that depended the success of a battle, assembled some of his bravest officers and rushed with great impetuosity through the crowd, and by the stroke of a lance wounded the general who held it and threw him to the ground; whereupon one of his officers dismounted, stabbed him to the heart, and secured the imperial standard. The fall of their leader and standard had an instantaneous and magical effect; every tie which held them together seemed dissolved; a universal panic prevailed; their weapons dropped from their hands, and they all fled with precipitation to the mountains, leaving everything behind them. The spoil which the Spaniards collected compensated them, in some measure, for their loss in retreating from the Mexican capital.

The next day they entered with joy the territories of Tlaxcala, and, notwithstanding their dreadful calamities, they were kindly received by their allies, whose fidelity was not at all shaken by the declining condition of the Spanish power. Notwithstanding all his misfortunes, Cortes did not abandon his plan of conquering the Mexican Empire. He obtained some ammunition and three field-pieces from Vera Cruz, and despatched four of the vessels of Narvaez's fleet to Hispaniola and Jamaica, to obtain ammunition and military stores and procure adventurers. Sensible that he could do nothing against Mexico without the command of the lake, he set about preparing the timber and other materials for twelve brigantines, which were to be carried by land to the lake in pieces and there put together and launched. These measures, which disclosed his intentions, occasioned disaffection again to appear among his troops; which with his usual address, but not without difficulty, he succeeded in suppressing.

### SECOND MARCH UPON MEXICO

Whilst anxiously waiting for the return of his ships, two vessels, which had been sent out by Velasquez to reinforce Narvaez, were decoyed into Vera Cruz, and the crews and troops induced to follow the fortunes of Cortes; and soon after several vessels put in there, and the seamen and soldiers on board were also persuaded to join the Spanish adventurer, by which means Cortes received a reinforcement of one hundred and eighty men and twenty horses. He now dismissed such of Narvaez's men as served with reluctance, after which he mustered five hundred and fifty foot-soldiers and forty horsemen, and possessed a train of nine field-pieces. With this force, and ten thousand Tlaxcalans and other friendly Indians, he set out once more for the

VICTORY OF CORTES OVER THE AZTECS AT OTUMBA

(From the painting by Manuel Ramirez)

[1521 A.D.]

conquest of the Mexican Empire. He began his march towards the capital on the 28th of December, 1520, six months after his disastrous retreat.[c]

Nor did he advance to attack an enemy unprepared to receive him. Upon the death of Montezuma, the Mexican chiefs, in whom the right of electing the emperor was vested, had instantly raised his brother, Quetlavaca, to the throne. His avowed and inveterate enmity to the Spaniards would have been sufficient to gain their suffrages, although he had been less distinguished for courage and capacity. He had an immediate opportunity of showing that he was worthy of their choice, by conducting in person those fierce attacks which compelled the Spaniards to abandon his capital; and as soon as their retreat afforded him any respite from action, he took measures for preventing their return to Mexico, with prudence equal to the spirit which he had displayed in driving them out of it.

But while Quetlavaca was arranging his plan of defence, with a degree of foresight uncommon in an American, his days were cut short by the small-pox. This distemper, which raged at that time in New Spain with fatal malignity, was unknown in that quarter of the globe until it was introduced by the Europeans, and may be reckoned amongst the greatest calamities brought upon it by its invaders. In his stead the Mexicans raised to the throne Guatemotzin, nephew and son-in-law of Montezuma, a young man of such high reputation for abilities and valour that, in this dangerous crisis, his countrymen were greatly encouraged and with one voice called him to the supreme command.

As soon as Cortes entered the enemy's territories he discovered various preparations to obstruct his progress. But his troops forced their way with little difficulty, and took possession of Tezcuco, the second city of the empire, situated on the banks of the lake about twenty miles from Mexico. Here he determined to establish his headquarters, as the most proper station for launching his brigantines as well as for making his approaches to the capital. In order to render his residence there more secure, he deposed the cacique, or chief, who was at the head of that community, under pretext of some defect in his title, and substituted in his place a person whom a faction of the nobles pointed out as the right heir of that dignity. Attached to him by this benefit, the new cacique and his adherents served the Spaniards with inviolable fidelity.[d]

Tezcuco stood about half a league from the lake. It would be necessary to open a communication with it, so that the brigantines, when put together in the capital, might be launched upon its waters. It was proposed, therefore, to dig a canal, reaching from the gardens of Nezahualcoyotl, as they were called from the old monarch who planned them, to the edge of the basin. A little stream or rivulet which flowed in that direction was to be deepened sufficiently for the purpose; and eight thousand Indian labourers were forthwith employed on this great work, under the direction of the young Ixtlilxochitl.

Meanwhile Cortes received messages from several places in the neighbourhood, intimating their desire to become the vassals of his sovereign and to be taken under his protection. The Spanish commander required, in return, that they should deliver up every Mexican who should set foot in their territories. Some noble Aztecs, who had been sent on a mission to these towns, were consequently delivered into his hands. He availed himself of it to employ them as bearers of a message to their master, the emperor.

It was the plan of Cortes, on entering the valley, to commence operations by reducing the subordinate cities before striking at the capital itself. The first point of attack which he selected was the ancient city of Iztapalapan,

a place containing fifty thousand inhabitants, according to his own account. In a week after his arrival at his new quarters, Cortes, leaving the command of the garrison to Sandoval, marched against this Indian city, at the head of two hundred Spanish foot, eighteen horse, and between three and four thousand Tlaxcalans. The barbarians showed their usual courage, but after some hard fighting were compelled to give way before the steady valour of the Spanish infantry, backed by the desperate fury of the Tlaxcalans, whom the sight of an Aztec seemed to inflame almost to madness. The enemy retreated in disorder, closely followed by the Spaniards. When they had arrived within half a league of Iztapalapan, they observed a number of canoes filled with Indians, who appeared to be labouring on the mole which hemmed in the waters of the salt lake. Swept along in the tide of pursuit, they gave little heed to it, but, following up the chase, entered pell-mell with the fugitives into the city.

The houses stood some of them on dry ground, some on piles in the water. Cortes, supported by his own men, and by such of the allies as could be brought to obey his orders, attacked the enemy in this last place of their retreat. Both parties fought up to their girdles in the water. A desperate struggle ensued, as the Aztec fought with the fury of a tiger driven to bay by the huntsmen. It was all in vain. The enemy was overpowered in every quarter. The citizen shared the fate of the soldier, and a pitiless massacre succeeded, without regard to sex or age. Cortes endeavoured to stop it; but it would have been as easy to call away the starving wolf from the carcass he was devouring, as the Tlaxcalan who had once tasted the blood of an enemy. More than six thousand, including women and children, according to the conqueror's own statement, perished miserably in the unequal conflict. While engaged in this work of devastation, a murmuring sound was heard as of the hoarse rippling of waters, and a cry soon arose amongst the Indians that the dikes were broken. Cortes now comprehended the business of the men whom he had seen in the canoes at work on the mole which fenced in the great basin of Lake Tezcuco. It had been pierced by the desperate Indians, who thus laid the country under an inundation, by suffering the waters of the salt lake to spread themselves over the lower level, through the opening. Greatly alarmed, the general called his men together and made all haste to evacuate the city. Had they remained three hours longer, he says, not a soul could have escaped. They came staggering under the weight of booty, wading with difficulty through the water, which was fast gaining upon them. For some distance their path was illumined by the glare of the burning buildings. But as the light faded away in the distance, they wandered with uncertain steps, sometimes up to their knees, at others up to their waists, in the water, through which they floundered on with the greatest difficulty. As they reached the opening in the dike the stream became deeper, and flowed out with such a current that the men were unable to maintain their footing. The Spaniards, breasting the flood, forced their way through; but many of the Indians, unable to swim, were borne down by the waters. All the plunder was lost. The powder was spoiled; the arms and clothes of the soldiers were saturated with the brine, and the cold night wind, as it blew over them, benumbed their weary limbs till they could scarcely drag them along. At dawn they beheld the lake swarming with canoes full of Indians, who had anticipated their disaster, and who now saluted them with showers of stones, arrows, and other deadly missiles. Bodies of light troops hovering in the distance disquieted the flanks of the army in like manner. The Spaniards had no desire to close with the enemy. They only

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wished to regain their comfortable quarters in Tezcuco, where they arrived on the same day, more disconsolate and fatigued than after many a long march and hard-fought battle.

The close of the expedition, so different from its brilliant commencement, greatly disappointed Cortes. His numerical loss had, indeed, not been great, but this affair convinced him how much he had to apprehend from the resolution of a people who, with a spirit worthy of the ancient Hollanders, were prepared to bury their country under water rather than to submit. Still the enemy had little cause for congratulation; since, independently of the number of slain, they had seen one of their most flourishing cities sacked, and in part, at least, laid in ruins—one of those, too, which in its public works displayed the nearest approach to civilisation. Such are the triumphs of war!

The expedition of Cortes, notwithstanding the disasters which checkered it, was favourable to the Spanish cause. The fate of Iztapalapan struck a terror throughout the valley. The consequences were soon apparent in the deputations sent by the different places eager to offer their submission, and, could they do so with safety, to throw off the Mexican yoke. But he was in no situation to comply with their request. He now felt, more sensibly than ever, the incompetency of his means to his undertaking. "I assure your majesty," he writes in his letter to the emperor, "the greatest uneasiness which I feel, after all my labours and fatigues, is from my inability to succour and support our Indian friends, your majesty's loyal vassals." Far from having a force competent to this, he had scarcely enough for his own protection. His Indian allies were in deadly feud with these places, whose inhabitants had too often fought under the Aztec banner not to have been engaged in repeated wars with the people beyond the mountains. Cortes set himself earnestly to reconcile these differences. His arguments finally prevailed, and the politic general had the satisfaction to see the high-spirited and hostile tribes forego their long-cherished rivalry, and, resigning the pleasures of revenge so dear to the barbarian, embrace one another as friends and champions in a common cause. To this wise policy the Spanish commander owed quite as much of his subsequent successes as to his arms.

Thus the foundations of the Mexican Empire were hourly loosening, as the great vassals around the capital, on whom it most relied, fell off one after another from their allegiance. The Aztecs, properly so called, formed but a small part of the population of the valley. This was principally composed of cognate tribes, members of the same great family of the Nahuatlacs, who had come upon the plateau at nearly the same time. They were mutual rivals, and were reduced one after another by the more warlike Mexican, who held them in subjection, often by open force, always by fear. Fear was the great principle of cohesion which bound together the discordant members of the monarchy, and this was now fast dissolving before the influence of a power more mighty than that of the Aztec. This, it is true, was not the first time that the conquered races had attempted to recover their independence; but all such attempts had failed for want of concert. It was reserved for the commanding genius of Cortes to extinguish their old hereditary feuds, and, combining their scattered energies, to animate them with a common principle of action.

While these occurrences were passing, Cortes received the welcome intelligence that the brigantines were completed and waiting to be transported to Tezcuco. He detached a body for the service, consisting of two hundred Spanish foot and fifteen horse, which he placed under the command of Sandoval.

There were thirteen vessels in all, of different sizes. They had been constructed under the direction of the experienced shipbuilder Martin Lopez, aided by three or four Spanish carpenters and the friendly natives, some of whom showed no mean degree of imitative skill. The brigantines, when completed, had been fairly tried on the waters of the Zahuapan. They were then taken to pieces, and as Lopez was impatient of delay, the several parts, the timbers, anchors, ironwork, sails, and cordage, were placed on the shoulders of the *tamanes*, and under a numerous military escort were thus far advanced on the way to Tezcuco. Sandoval dismissed a part of the Indian convoy as superfluous.

Twenty thousand warriors he retained, dividing them into two equal bodies for the protection of the *tamanes* in the centre. His own little body of Spaniards he distributed in like manner.

"It was a marvellous thing," exclaims the conqueror, in his letters, "that few have seen—or even heard of—this transportation of thirteen vessels of war on the shoulders of men, for nearly twenty leagues across the mountains!" It was, indeed, a stupendous achievement, and not easily matched in ancient or modern story; one which only a genius like that of Cortes could have devised, or a daring spirit like his have so successfully executed. Little did he foresee, when he ordered the destruction of the fleet which first brought him to the country, and with his usual foresight commanded the preservation of the ironwork and rigging—little did he foresee the important uses for which they were to be reserved. So important, that on their preservation may be said to have depended the successful issue of his great enterprise.

He greeted his Indian allies with the greatest cordiality, testifying his sense of their services by those honours and attentions which he knew would be most grateful to their ambitious spirits. "We come," exclaimed the hardy warriors, "to fight under your banner; to avenge our common quarrel, or to fall by your side"; and with their usual impatience they urged him to lead them at once against the enemy. "Wait," replied the general, bluntly, "till you are rested, and you shall have your hands full."

### CONSPIRACY AGAINST CORTES

At the very time when Cortes was occupied with reconnoitring the valley, preparatory to his siege of the capital, a busy faction in Castile was labouring to subvert his authority and defeat his plans of conquest altogether. The fame of his brilliant exploits had spread not only through the isles, but to Spain and many parts of Europe, where a general admiration was felt for the invincible energy of the man, who with his single arm, as it were, could so long maintain a contest with the powerful Indian empire. The absence of the Spanish monarch from his dominions, and the troubles of the country, can alone explain the supine indifference shown by the government to the prosecution of this great enterprise. To the same causes it may be ascribed that no action was taken in regard to the suits of Velasquez and Narvaez, backed, as they were, by so potent an advocate as Bishop Fonseca, president of the council of the Indies. The reins of government had fallen into the hands of Adrian of Utrecht, Charles' preceptor, and afterwards pope —a man of learning, and not without sagacity, but slow and timid in his policy, and altogether incapable of that decisive action which suited the bold genius of his predecessor, Cardinal Ximenes.

In the spring of 1521, however, a number of ordinances passed the council

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of the Indies which threatened an important innovation in the affairs of New Spain. It was decreed that the royal audience of Hispaniola should abandon the proceedings already instituted against Narvaez for his treatment of the commissioner Ayllon; that that unfortunate commander should be released from his confinement at Vera Cruz; and that an arbitrator should be sent to Mexico, with authority to investigate the affairs and conduct of Cortes, and to render ample justice to the governor of Cuba. There were not wanting persons at court who looked with dissatisfaction on these proceedings, as an unworthy requital of the services of Cortes, and who thought the present moment, at any rate, not the most suitable for taking measures which might discourage the general, and perhaps render him desperate. But the arrogant temper of the bishop of Burgos overruled all objections; and the ordinances, having been approved by the Regency, were signed by that body, April 11th, 1521. A person named Tapia, one of the functionaries of the audience at Santo Domingo, was selected as the new commissioner to be despatched to Vera Cruz. Fortunately circumstances occurred which postponed the execution of the design for the present, and permitted Cortes to go forward unmolested in his career of conquest.

But while thus allowed to remain, for the present at least, in possession of authority, he was assailed by a danger nearer home, which menaced not only his authority, but his life. This was a conspiracy in the army, of a more dark and dangerous character than any hitherto formed there. It was set on foot by a common soldier named Antonio Villafaña, a native of Old Castile, of whom nothing is known but his share in this transaction. He was one of the troop of Narvaez, that leaven of disaffection which had remained with the army, swelling with discontent on every light occasion, and ready at all times to rise into mutiny. They had voluntarily continued in the service, after the secession of their comrades at Tlaxcala; but it was from the same mercenary hopes with which they had originally embarked in the expedition, and in these they were destined still to be disappointed. They had little of the true spirit of adventure which distinguished the old companions of Cortes, and they found the barren laurels of victory but a sorry recompense for all their toils and suffering.

With these men were joined others, who had causes of personal disgust with the general; and others, again, who looked with distrust on the result of the war. The gloomy fate of their countrymen who had fallen into the enemy's hands filled them with dismay. They felt themselves the victims of a chimerical spirit in their leader, who with such inadequate means was urging to extremity so ferocious and formidable a foe; and they shrunk with something like apprehension from thus pursuing the enemy into his own haunts, where he could gather tenfold energy from despair.

These men would have willingly abandoned the enterprise and returned to Cuba, but how could they do it? Cortes had control over the whole route from the city to the seacoast, and not a vessel could leave its ports without his warrant. Even if he were put out of the way, there were others, his principal officers, ready to step into his place and avenge the death of their commander. It was necessary to embrace these also in the scheme of destruction; and it was proposed, therefore, together with Cortes, to assassinate Sandoval, Olid, Alvarado, and two or three others most devoted to his interests. The conspirators would then raise the cry of liberty, and doubted not that they should be joined by the greater part of the army, or enough, at least, to enable them to work their own pleasure. They proposed to offer the command, on Cortes' death, to Francisco Verdugo, a brother-in-law of

Velasquez. He was an honourable cavalier, and not privy to their design. But they had little doubt that he would acquiesce in the command thus in a manner forced upon him, and this would secure them the protection of the governor of Cuba, who, indeed, from his own hatred of Cortes, would be disposed to look with a lenient eye on their proceedings.

The conspirators even went so far as to appoint the subordinate officers, an *alguacil mayor* in place of Sandoval, a quartermaster-general to succeed Olid, and some others. The time fixed for the execution of the plot was soon after the return of Cortes from his expedition. A parcel, pretended to have come by a fresh arrival from Castile, was to be presented to him whilst at table, and when he was engaged in breaking open the letters the conspirators were to fall on him and his officers and despatch them with their poniards. Such was the iniquitous scheme devised for the destruction of Cortes and the expedition. But a conspiracy, to be successful, especially when numbers are concerned, should allow but little time to elapse between its conception and its execution.

On the day previous to that appointed for the perpetration of the deed, one of the party, feeling a natural compunction at the commission of the crime, went to the general's quarters and solicited a private interview with him. He threw himself at his commander's feet, and revealed all the particulars relating to the conspiracy, adding that in Villafaña's possession a paper would be found containing the names of his accomplices. Cortes, thunderstruck at the disclosure, lost not a moment in profiting by it. He sent for Alvarado, Sandoval, and one or two other officers marked out by the conspirators, and after communicating the affair to them, went at once with them to Villafaña's quarters, attended by four alguacils.

They found him in conference with three or four friends, who were instantly taken from the apartment and placed in custody. Villafaña, confounded at this sudden apparition of his commander, had barely time to snatch a paper containing the signatures of the confederates from his bosom and attempt to swallow it. But Cortes arrested his arm and seized the paper. As he glanced his eye rapidly over the fatal list, he was much moved at finding there the names of more than one who had some claim to consideration in the army. He tore the scroll in pieces, and ordered Villafaña to be taken into custody. He was immediately tried by a military court hastily got together, at which the general himself presided. There seems to have been no doubt of the man's guilt. He was condemned to death, and after allowing him time for confession and absolution, the sentence was executed by hanging him from the window of his own quarters.

Those ignorant of the affair were astonished at the spectacle; and the remaining conspirators were filled with consternation when they saw that their plot was detected, and anticipated a similar fate for themselves. But they were mistaken. Cortes pursued the matter no further. A little reflection convinced him that to do so would involve him in the most disagreeable and even dangerous perplexities. And however much the parties implicated in so foul a deed might deserve death, he could ill afford the loss even of the guilty, with his present limited numbers. He resolved, therefore, to content himself with the punishment of the ringleader.

He called his troops together and briefly explained to them the nature of the crime for which Villafaña had suffered. He had made no confession, he said, and the guilty secret had perished with him. He then expressed his sorrow that any should have been found in their ranks capable of so base

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an act, and stated his own unconsciousness of having wronged any individual among them; but if he had done so, he invited them frankly to declare it, as he was most anxious to afford them all the redress in his power. But there was no one of his audience, whatever might be his grievances, who cared to enter his complaint at such a moment; least of all were the conspirators willing to do so, for they were too happy at having, as they fancied, escaped detection, to stand forward now in the ranks of the malcontents. The affair passed off, therefore, without further consequences. The conduct of Cortes in this delicate conjuncture shows great coolness and knowledge of human nature. Had he suffered his detection, or even his suspicion, of the guilty parties to appear, it would have placed him in hostile relations with them for the rest of his life.

As it was, the guilty soldiers had suffered too serious apprehensions to place their lives hastily in a similar jeopardy. They strove, on the contrary, by demonstrations of loyalty and the assiduous discharge of their duties, to turn away suspicion from themselves. Cortes, on his part, was careful to preserve his natural demeanour, equally removed from distrust and—what was perhaps more difficult—that studied courtesy which intimates, quite as plainly, suspicion of the party who is the object of it. To do this required no little address. Yet he did not forget the past. Cortes kept his eye on all their movements, and took care to place them in no situation, afterwards, where they could do him injury.

### LAUNCHING OF BRIGANTINES

As was stated previously, the brigantines being completed, the canal also, after having occupied eight thousand men for nearly two months, was finished. It was a work of great labour, for it extended half a league in length, was twelve feet wide and as many deep. The sides were strengthened by palisades of wood or solid masonry. At intervals, dams and locks were constructed, and part of the opening was through the hard rock. By this avenue the brigantines might now be safely introduced on the lake.

Cortes was resolved that so auspicious an event should be celebrated with due solemnity. On the 28th of April the troops were drawn up under arms, and the whole population of Tezcuco assembled to witness the ceremony. Mass was performed, and every man in the army, together with the general, confessed and received the sacrament. Prayers were offered up by Father Olmedo, and a benediction invoked on the little navy, the first—worthy of the name—ever launched on American waters.

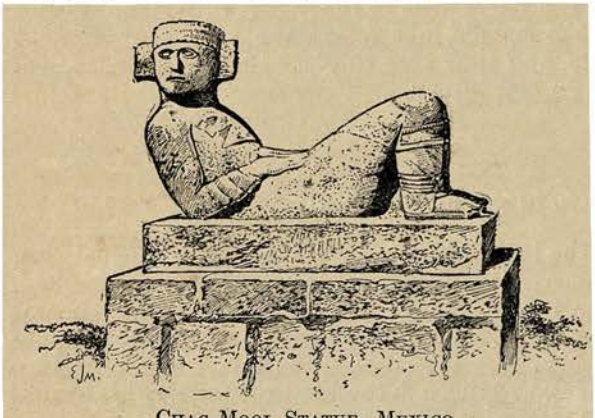
The general's next step was to muster his forces in the great square of the capital. He found they amounted to eighty-seven horse and eight hundred and eighteen foot, of whom one hundred and eighteen were arquebusiers and crossbow-men. He had three large field-pieces of iron, and fifteen lighter guns or falconets of brass. The heavier cannon had been transported from Vera Cruz to Tezcuco, a little while before, by the faithful Tlaxcalans. He was well supplied with shot and balls, with about ten hundred weight of powder, and fifty thousand copper-headed arrows, made after a pattern furnished by him to the natives. The number and appointments of the army much exceeded what they had been at any time since the flight from Mexico, and showed the good effects of the late arrivals from the islands.

He had already sent to his Indian confederates, announcing his purpose

of immediately laying siege to Mexico, and called on them to furnish their promised levies within the space of ten days at farthest. The Tlaxcalans arrived within the time prescribed. They came fifty thousand strong, according to Cortes, making a brilliant show with their military finery, and marching proudly forward under the great national banner, emblazoned with a spread eagle, the arms of the republic. With as blithe and manly a step as if they were going to the battle-ground, they defiled through the gates of the capital, making its walls ring with the friendly shouts of "Castile and Tlaxcala!" *f*

The siege of Mexico was full of picturesque incidents, in which the Spanish genius for fighting barbarians won a gradual success on sea and land. At length, after the brigantines had gained a complete victory over a swarm of canoes, and Cortes had reduced three-fourths of the city of Mexico to ashes, he forced his way into the central square. Guatemotzin, attempting to escape across the lake, was taken captive, and brought before Cortes.[a]

Cortes came forward with a dignified and studied courtesy to receive him. The Aztec monarch probably knew the person of his conqueror, for he first broke silence by saying, "I have done all that I could to defend myself and my people. I am now reduced to this state. You will deal with me, Malinche, as you list." Then, laying his hand on the hilt of a poniard stuck in the general's belt, he added, with vehemence, "Better despatch me with this, and rid me of life at once." Cortes was filled with admiration at the proud bearing of the young barbarian, showing in his reverses a spirit worthy of an ancient Roman. "Fear not," he replied, "you shall be treated with all honour. You have defended your capital like a brave warrior. A Spaniard knows how to respect valour even in an enemy." He then inquired of him where he had left the princess, his wife; and being informed that she still remained under protection of a Spanish guard on board the brigantine, the general sent to have her escorted to his presence. He invited his royal captives to partake of the refreshments which their exhausted condition rendered so necessary. Meanwhile the Spanish commander made his dispositions for the night, ordering Sandoval to escort the prisoners to Cojohuacan, whither he proposed himself immediately to follow. The other captains, Olid and Alvarado, were to draw off their forces to their respective quarters. It was impossible for them to continue in the capital, where the poisonous effluvia from the unburied carcasses loaded the air with infection. A small guard only was stationed to keep order in the wasted suburbs. It was the hour of vespers when Guatemotzin surrendered, and the siege might be considered as then concluded. The evening set in dark and the rain began to fall before the several parties had evacuated the city.



CHAC MOOL STATUE, MEXICO
(Aztec Antiquity)

During the night a tremendous tempest, such as the Spaniards had rarely witnessed, and such as is known only within the tropics, burst over the Mexican valley. The thunder, reverberating from the rocky amphitheatre of

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hills, bellowed over the waste of waters, and shook the *teocallis* and crazy tenements of Tenochtitlan—the few that yet survived—to their foundations. The lightning seemed to cleave asunder the vault of heaven, as its vivid flashes wrapped the whole scene in a ghastly glare for a moment, to be again swallowed up in darkness. The war of elements was in unison with the fortunes of the ruined city. It seemed as if the deities of Anahuac, scared from their ancient abodes, were borne along shrieking and howling in the blast, as they abandoned the fallen capital to its fate.

### EVACUATION OF THE CITY

On the day following the surrender Guatemotzin requested the Spanish commander to allow the Mexicans to leave the city, and to pass unmolested into the open country. To this Cortes readily assented, as, indeed, without it he could take no steps for purifying the capital. He gave his orders accordingly for the evacuation of the place, commanding that no one, Spaniard or confederate, should offer violence to the Aztecs, or in any way obstruct their departure. The whole number of these is variously estimated at from thirty to seventy thousand, besides women and children, who had survived the sword, pestilence, and famine. It is certain they were three days in defiling along the several causeways—a mournful train; husbands and wives, parents and children, the sick and the wounded, leaning on one another for support, as they feebly tottered along, squalid, and but half covered with rags, that disclosed at every step hideous gashes, some recently received, others festering from long neglect, and carrying with them an atmosphere of contagion. Their wasted forms and famine-stricken faces told the whole history of the siege; and as the straggling files gained the opposite shore they were observed to pause from time to time, as if to take one more look at the spot so lately crowned by the imperial city once their pleasant home, and endeared to them by many a glorious recollection.

On the departure of the inhabitants, measures were immediately taken to purify the place, by means of numerous fires kept burning day and night, especially in the infected quarter of Tlatelolco, and by collecting the heaps of dead which lay mouldering in the streets and consigning them to the earth. Of the whole number who perished in the course of the siege it is impossible to form any probable computation. The accounts range widely from one hundred and twenty thousand, the lowest estimate, to two hundred and forty thousand. The number of the Spaniards who fell was comparatively small, but that of the allies must have been large, if the historian of Tezcuco is correct in asserting that thirty thousand perished of his own countrymen alone. That the number of those destroyed within the city was immense cannot be doubted, when we consider that, besides its own redundant population, it was thronged with that of the neighbouring towns, who, distrusting their strength to resist the enemy, sought protection within its walls.

The booty found there—that is, the treasures of gold and jewels, the only booty of much value in the eyes of the Spaniards—fell far below their expectations. It did not exceed, according to the general's statement, a hundred and thirty thousand *castellanos* of gold, including the sovereign's share, which, indeed, taking into account many articles of curious and costly workmanship, voluntarily relinquished by the army, greatly exceeded his legitimate fifth. Yet the Aztecs must have been in possession of a much larger

treasure, if it were only the wreck of that recovered from the Spaniards on the night of the memorable flight from Mexico. Some of the spoil may have been sent away from the capital, some spent in preparations for defence, and more of it buried in the earth or sunk in the water of the lake. Their menaces were not without a meaning. They had, at least, the satisfaction of disappointing the avarice of their enemies.

Cortes had no further occasion for the presence of his Indian allies. He assembled the chiefs of the different squadrons, thanked them for their services, noticed their valour in flattering terms, and, after distributing presents among them, with the assurance that his master, the emperor, would recompense their fidelity yet more largely, dismissed them to their own homes. They carried off a liberal share of the spoils of which they had plundered the dwellings—not of a kind to excite the cupidity of the Spaniards—and returned in triumph—short-sighted triumph!—at the success of their expedition and the downfall of the Aztec dynasty.

### PRESCOTT ON THE FALL OF THE AZTECS

Thus, after a siege of nearly three months' duration, unmatched in history for the constancy and courage of the besieged, seldom surpassed for the severity of its sufferings, fell the renowned capital of the Aztecs. Unmatched, it may be truly said, for constancy and courage, when we recollect that the door of capitulation on the most honourable terms was left open to them throughout the whole blockade, and that, sternly rejecting every proposal of their enemy, they, to a man, preferred to die rather than surrender. More than three centuries had elapsed since the Aztecs, a poor and wandering tribe from the far northwest, had come on the plateau. There they built their miserable collection of huts on the spot—as tradition tells us—prescribed by the oracle. Their conquests, at first confined to their immediate neighbourhood, gradually covered the valley, then, crossing the mountains, swept over the broad extent of the table-land, descended its precipitous sides, and rolled onwards to the Mexican gulf and the distant confines of Central America. Their wretched capital, meanwhile, keeping pace with the enlargement of territory, had grown into a flourishing city filled with buildings, monuments of art, and a numerous population, that gave it the first rank among the capitals of the western world. At this crisis came over another race from the remote East, strangers like themselves, whose coming had also been predicted by the oracle, and, appearing on the plateau, assailed them in the very zenith of their prosperity, and blotted them out from the map of nations forever! The whole story has the air of fable rather than of history—a legend of romance—a tale of the genii.

Yet we cannot regret the fall of an empire which did so little to promote the happiness of its subjects or the real interests of humanity. Notwithstanding the lustre thrown over its latter days by the glorious defence of its capital, by the mild munificence of Montezuma, by the dauntless heroism of Guatemotzin, the Aztecs were emphatically a fierce and brutal race, little calculated, in their best aspects, to excite our sympathy and regard. Their civilisation, such as it was, was not their own, but reflected, perhaps imperfectly, from a race whom they had succeeded in the land. It was, in respect to the Aztecs, a generous graft on a vicious stock, and could have brought no fruit to perfection. They ruled over their wide domains with a sword instead of a sceptre. They did nothing to ameliorate the condition, or in

any way promote the progress, of their vassals. Their vassals were serfs, used only to minister to their pleasure, held in awe by armed garrisons, ground to the dust by imposts in peace, by military conscriptions in war. They did not, like the Romans, whom they resembled in the nature of their conquests, extend the rights of citizenship to the conquered. They did not amalgamate them into one great nation, with common rights and interests. They held them as aliens—even those who in the valley were gathered round the very walls of the capital. The Aztec metropolis, the heart of the monarchy, had not a sympathy, not a pulsation, in common with the rest of the body politic. It was a stranger in its own land.

The Aztecs not only did not advance the condition of their vassals, but, morally speaking, they did much to degrade it. How can a nation where human sacrifices prevail, and especially when combined with cannibalism, further the march of civilisation? How can the interests of humanity be consulted where man is levelled to the rank of the brutes that perish? The influence of the Aztecs introduced their gloomy superstition into lands before unacquainted with it, or where, at least, it was not established in any great strength. The example of the capital was contagious. As the latter increased in opulence, the religious celebrations were conducted with still more terrible magnificence, in the same manner as the gladiatorial shows of the Romans increased in pomp with the increasing splendour of the capital. Men became familiar with scenes of horror and the most loathsome abominations. Women and children—the whole nation—became familiar with and assisted at them. The heart was hardened, the manners were made ferocious, the feeble light of civilisation, transmitted from a milder race, was growing fainter and fainter, as thousands and thousands of miserable victims throughout the empire were yearly fattened in its cages, sacrificed on its altars, dressed and served at its banquets. The whole land was converted into a vast human shambles. The empire of the Aztecs did not fall before its time.

Whether these unparalleled outrages furnish a sufficient plea to the Spaniards for their invasion, whether we are content to find a warrant for it in the natural rights and demands of civilisation, or, on the one or the other of which grounds the conquests by most Christian nations in the East and the West have been defended, it is unnecessary to discuss. It is more material to inquire whether, assuming the right, the conquest of Mexico was conducted with a proper regard to the claims of humanity. And here we must admit that, with all allowance for the ferocity of the age and the laxity of its principles, there are passages which every Spaniard who cherishes the fame of his countrymen would be glad to see expunged from their history; passages not to be vindicated on the score of self-defence, or of necessity of any kind, and which must forever leave a dark spot on the annals of the conquest. And yet, taken as a whole, the invasion, up to the capture of the capital, was conducted on principles less revolting to humanity than most, perhaps than any, of the other conquests of the Castilian crown in the New World.

Whatever may be thought of the conquest in a moral view, regarded as a military achievement it must fill us with astonishment. That a handful of adventurers, indifferently armed and equipped, should have landed on the shores of a powerful empire inhabited by a fierce and warlike race, and, in defiance of the reiterated prohibitions of its sovereign, have forced their way into the interior; that they should have done this without knowledge of the language or of the land, without chart or compass to guide them, without any idea of the difficulties they were to encounter, totally uncertain

whether the next step might bring them on a hostile nation or on a desert, feeling their way along in the dark, as it were; that, though nearly overwhelmed by their first encounter with the inhabitants, they should have still pressed on to the capital of the empire, and, having reached it, thrown themselves unhesitatingly into the midst of their enemies; that, so far from being daunted by the extraordinary spectacle there exhibited of power and civilisation, they should have been but the more confirmed in their original design; that they should have seized the monarch, have executed his ministers before the eyes of his subjects, and, when driven forth with ruin from the gates, have gathered their scattered wreck together, and after a system of operations, pursued with consummate policy and daring, have succeeded in overturning the capital and establishing their sway over the country—that all this should have been so effected by a mere handful of indigent adventurers, is a fact little short of the miraculous, too startling for the probabilities demanded by fiction, and without a parallel in the pages of history.

Yet this must not be understood too literally; for it would be unjust to the Aztecs themselves, at least to their military prowess, to regard the conquest as directly achieved by the Spaniards alone. This would indeed be to arm the latter with the charmed shield of Ruggiero and the magic lance of Astolfo, overturning its hundreds at a touch. The Indian empire was in a manner conquered by Indians. The first terrible encounter of the Spaniards with the Tlaxcalans, which had nearly proved their ruin, did in fact insure their success. It secured to them a strong native support on which to retreat in the hour of trouble, and round which they could rally the kindred races of the land for one great and overwhelming assault. The Aztec monarchy fell by the hands of its own subjects, under the direction of European sagacity and science. Had it been united, it might have bidden defiance to the invaders. As it was, the capital was dissevered from the rest of the country, and the bolt, which might have passed off comparatively harmless had the empire been cemented by a common principle of loyalty and patriotism, now found its way into every crack and crevice of the ill-compacted fabric, and buried it in its own ruins. Its fate may serve as a striking proof that a government which does not rest on the sympathies of its subjects cannot long abide; that human institutions when not connected with human prosperity and progress must fall—if not before the increasing light of civilisation, by the hand of violence; by violence from within if not from without. And who shall lament their fall?*f*

## MEXICO AFTER THE CONQUEST

The accounts of Cortes' victories and conquests which were sent to Spain filled his countrymen with admiration, and excited the highest expectations with the people and the government. Charles V, who had succeeded to the throne, appointed Cortes captain-general of New Spain; and even before he had received any legal sanction, he assumed the power of governor, and adopted measures to secure the vast country he had conquered to his sovereign as a colony of Spain. He determined to rebuild the capital, and there to establish the seat of his government, and on an extended plan laid the foundations of the most magnificent city in the New World.

The Mexicans, conquered and degraded as they were, did not quietly submit to their new masters; but aroused by oppression or despair, they often, with more courage than discretion, rushed to arms, and were not only

[1521 A.D.]

defeated in every contest, but the Spaniards, regarding these attempts to regain their liberty as rebellion against their lawful sovereign, put the caciques and nobles who fell into their hands to death, and reduced the common people to the most humiliating and degrading servitude. The massacres and cruelties of the Spaniards are almost incredible. "In almost every district of the Mexican Empire," says Robertson,[d] "the progress of the Spanish arms is marked with blood. In the country of Panuco, sixty caciques or leaders and four hundred nobles were burned at one time; and, to complete the horror of the scene, the children and relations of the wretched victims were assembled and compelled to be spectators of their dying agonies." This sanguinary scene was succeeded by another, if possible still more revolting and horrible to the natives. On suspicion, or pretence, that Guatemotzin had conspired against the Spanish authority and excited his former subjects to take up arms, the unhappy monarch, with the caciques of Tezcuco and Tacuba, the two most distinguished personages in the empire, without even the formality of a trial, were brought to a public and ignominious execution, and hanged on a gibbet in the presence of their countrymen, who witnessed the scene with indescribable horror, as they had long been accustomed to reverence their sovereign with homage and awe.

For all his toils and sufferings, his splendid achievements, his extensive conquests, and all the cruelties and crimes he committed for his sovereign, Cortes received the reward which usually attends those who perform great services for their country: he was envied, calumniated, suspected, recalled, deprived of his authority and of all benefit from his exertions, except the glory of being the conqueror of Mexico and the oppressor and destroyer of a great and once prosperous and happy nation.[e]

## CHAPTER II

## THE CONQUEST OF PERU

Of the numerous nations which occupied the great American continent at the time of its discovery by the Europeans, the two most advanced in power and refinement were undoubtedly those of Mexico and Peru. But, though resembling one another in extent of civilisation, they differed widely as to the nature of it; and the philosophical student of his species may feel a natural curiosity to trace the different steps by which these two nations strove to emerge from the state of barbarism, and place themselves on a higher plane in the scale of humanity.

The empire of Peru, at the period of the Spanish invasion, stretched along the Pacific from about the second degree north to the thirty-seventh degree of south latitude; a line, also, which describes the western boundaries of the modern republics of Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chili. Its breadth cannot so easily be determined; for, though bounded everywhere by the great ocean on the west, towards the east it spread out, in many parts, considerably beyond the mountains, to the confines of barbarous states, whose exact position is undetermined, or whose names are effaced from the map of history. It is certain, however, that its breadth was altogether disproportioned to its length.

By a judicious system of canals and subterraneous aqueducts, the waste places on the coast were refreshed by copious streams, that clothed them in fertility and beauty. Terraces were raised upon the steep sides of the Cordillera; and, as the different elevations had the effect of difference of latitude, they exhibited in regular gradation every variety of vegetable form, from the stimulated growth of the tropics, to the temperate products of a northern clime; while flocks of llamas — the Peruvian sheep — wandered with their shepherds over the broad, snow-covered wastes on the crests of the sierra, which rose beyond the limits of cultivation. An industrious population settled along the lofty regions of the plateaus, and towns and hamlets, clustering amidst orchards and wide-spreading gardens, seemed suspended in the air far above the ordinary elevation of the clouds.

[— 1450 A.D.]

On Lake Titicaca extensive ruins exist at the present day, which the Peruvians themselves acknowledge to be of older date than the pretended advent of the incas, and to have furnished them with the models of their architecture. The date of their appearance, indeed, is manifestly irreconcilable with their subsequent history. No account assigns to the inca dynasty more than thirteen princes before the conquest. But this number is altogether too small to have spread over four hundred years, and would not carry back the foundations of the monarchy, on any probable computation, beyond two centuries and a half — an antiquity not incredible in itself, and which, it may be remarked, does not precede by more than half a century the alleged foundation of the capital of Mexico. The fiction of Manco Capac and his sister-wife was devised, no doubt, at a later period, to gratify the vanity of the Peruvian monarchs, and to give additional sanction to their authority by deriving it from a celestial origin.

We may reasonably conclude that there existed in the country a race advanced in civilisation before the time of the incas; and, in conformity with nearly every tradition, we may derive this race from the neighbourhood of Lake Titicaca; a conclusion strongly confirmed by the imposing architectural remains which still endure, after the lapse of so many years, on its borders. Who this race were, and whence they came, may afford a tempting theme for inquiry to the speculative antiquarian. But it is a land of darkness that lies far beyond the domain of history.

### EMPIRE OF THE INCAS

The same mists that hang round the origin of the incas continue to settle on their subsequent annals; and, so imperfect were the records employed by the Peruvians, and so confused and contradictory their traditions, that the historian finds no firm footing on which to stand till within a century of the Spanish conquest. At first, the progress of the Peruvians seems to have been slow, and almost imperceptible. By their wise and temperate policy, they gradually won over the neighbouring tribes to their dominion, as these latter became more and more convinced of the benefits of a just and well regulated government.

As they grew stronger, they were enabled to rely more directly on force; but, still advancing under cover of the same beneficent pretexts employed by their predecessors, they proclaimed peace and civilisation at the point of the sword. The rude nations of the country, without any principle of cohesion among themselves, fell one after another before the victorious arm of the incas. Yet it was not till the middle of the fifteenth century that the famous Topa Inca Yupanqui, grandfather of the monarch who occupied the throne at the coming of the Spaniards, led his armies across the terrible desert of Atacama, and, penetrating to the southern region of Chili, fixed the permanent boundary of his dominions at the river Maule. His son, Huayna Capac, possessed of ambition and military talent fully equal to his father's, marched along the Cordillera towards the north, and, pushing his conquests across the equator, added the powerful kingdom of Quito to the empire of Peru.

The ancient city of Cuzco, meanwhile, had been gradually advancing in wealth and population, till it had become the worthy metropolis of a great and flourishing monarchy.

Towards the north, on the sierra or rugged eminence already noticed, rose a strong fortress, the remains of which at the present day, by their vast size, excite the admiration of the traveller.

The nobility of Peru consisted of two orders, the first and by far the most important of which was that of the incas, who, boasting a common descent with their sovereign, lived, as it were, in the reflected light of his glory. As the Peruvian monarchs availed themselves of the right of polygamy to a very liberal extent, leaving behind them families of one or even two hundred children, the nobles of the blood royal, though comprehending only their descendants in the male line, came in the course of years to be very numerous.

The other order of nobility was the *curacas*, the caciques of the conquered nations, or their descendants. They were usually continued by the government in their places, though they were required to visit the capital occasionally, and to allow their sons to be educated there as the pledges of their loyalty.

It was the inca nobility, indeed, who constituted the real strength of the Peruvian monarchy. Attached to their prince by ties of consanguinity, they had common sympathies and, to a considerable extent, common interests with him. Distinguished by a peculiar dress and insignia, as well as by language and blood, from the rest of the community, they were never confounded with the other tribes and nations who were incorporated into the great Peruvian monarchy. After the lapse of centuries, they still retained their individuality as a peculiar people. They were to the conquered races of the country what the Romans were to the barbarous hordes of the empire, or the Normans to the ancient inhabitants of the British Isles. Clustering around the throne, they formed an invincible phalanx, to shield it alike from secret conspiracy and open insurrection. Though living chiefly in the capital, they were also distributed throughout the country in all its high stations and strong military posts, thus establishing lines of communication with the court, which enabled the sovereign to act simultaneously and with effect on the most distant quarters of his empire. They possessed, moreover, an intellectual pre-eminence which, no less than their station, gave them authority with the people. Indeed, it may be said to have been the principal foundation of their authority. The crania of the inca race show a decided superiority over the other races of the land in intellectual power; and it cannot be denied that it was the fountain of that peculiar civilisation and social polity, which raised the Peruvian monarchy above every other state in South America. Whence this remarkable race came, and what was its early history, are among those mysteries that meet us so frequently in the annals of the New World, and which time and the antiquary have as yet done little to explain.[b]

## EARLY HISTORY OF ECUADOR

Whether all the tribes who populated this country were of the same race is unknown, also what kings and what number of them reigned over the land; mention only is made of Quitu, the last king, more powerful than his predecessors, who appears to have given his name to this kingdom situated in the centre of more than fifty provinces, larger or lesser states, nearly all independent.

This was their condition for some centuries, when a strange tribe called the Cara tribe, whose king was named Shyri Caran (lord or king of the Caras), came up from the shores of the Pacific Ocean (their country) by the valley of the river Esmeraldas, and took possession of the kingdom of Quito, about the year 280 of the Christian era. In the three hundred and twenty years preceding the year 1300, eleven shyris succeeded one another as kings of the land.

Three other shyris reigned over the land until 1450, and extended the dominion of their ancestors either by conquest or alliance. The fame of this

[1475–1525 A.D.]

country excited the envy of the incas of Peru, and Tupac Yupanqui, then the reigning inca, made several conquests in the kingdom of Quito and advanced as far as Mocha in 1460, where his progress was checked by the stubborn resistance of this province. Hualcopo Duchisela, the fourteenth shyri, was reigning at the period.

Hualcopo's son Cacha, the fifteenth shyri, ascended the throne, and regained the province of Puruhu (Chimborazo), which as we have said had been usurped by the conqueror Tupac Yupanqui; but that of Cacha remained under the dominion of the incas. Upon the death of his father Tupac Yupanqui, the inca Huainacapac, called the Great or the Conqueror, ascended the throne, raised an army, and in 1475 set his troops of Cuzco in movement, to undertake the conquest of the kingdom of Quito. He personally conducted the march, and after partial victories and advantages, by which he became master of nearly the whole kingdom, he completed his conquest of it by the celebrated battle of Hatuntaqui in which Cacha, the fifteenth shyri, was killed. Huainacapac believed that this victory would leave him in peaceful possession of the kingdom, and observed with surprise that the nobles and the army proclaimed Pacha, legitimate daughter of Cacha, queen. Foreseeing that this proclamation would lead to fresh annoyances and difficulties, he adopted the measure of marrying Pacha, the lawful shyri, which enabled him to legally add to the crown the emerald, emblem of the kings of Quito. Huainacapac never returned to the capital of Cuzco, but made Quito his residence, and governed the whole empire for thirty-eight years. This was the most brilliant and flourishing period in the history of the kingdom of Quito.

By his wife Pacha, Huainacapac had a son, the beloved Atahualpa, another son having previously been born to him in Cuzco, fruit of his first marriage with Rava Oello. Huainacapac died in 1525, after residing thirty-eight years in Quito, and left the kingdom divided between his two sons.

The inca Huascar came into the empire of Cuzco, such as it was when governed by his paternal ancestors, and the shyri Atahualpa inherited the kingdom of Quito, as possessed by his maternal ancestors.[c] It was about this time that the Spaniards arrived in Peru, and, as the history of the Spanish conquest of that country is closely connected with that of Quito, the two may be considered together.

## EARLY HISTORY OF CHILI

The story of the Spanish conquest of Peru includes also that of Chili.[a] Before the arrival of the Spaniards in Chili, the country was inhabited by the Moluches, or warriors; though speaking the same tongue, they were divided into different groups. The Huilliches inhabited the country now comprised between Chiloé and Valdivia. The Pehuenches lived more to the north, reaching as far as the Moule or Napel. The Pehuenches were the strongest and most numerous, and among them were the warlike Aucas or Araucanos. This celebrated tribe eventually gave its name to all the native inhabitants to the south of Biobio, divided into four groups or *butalmapus*. The name *pehuenches* still exists, and is principally applied to those inhabiting the eastern skirts and valleys of the Andes to the north. Each group was formed of various tribes, and each tribe of different families united by common interests. Each tribe obeyed an ulmen or chief warrior, whom the Spaniards called a *cacique*. Occasionally in times of war several tribes formed an alliance, and then they recognised the supreme authority of a chief called a *toqui*.

More than half a century before the Spaniards arrived for the first time in Chili the country had been invaded by the army of the inca Yupanqui. The invaders entered by Tucuman, and subjected all the territory between Copiapo and the Maule, but to the south of this river they met with stout resistance from the valiant Promaucaes and Araucanians. After fierce fighting the Peruvians were compelled to retreat to the north of the Maule or Rapel and Cachapoal, where they defended themselves with extensive fortifications. The northern territory, converted into a tributary state of the incas, greatly benefited by the Peruvians' advanced civilisation. Their government was mild and paternal, they perfected agriculture and different industries, and made canals for irrigation, and also bridges and roads. When the Spaniards arrived prepared for conquest, the Indians of the north and centre of Chili had already acquired habits of peace and labour.[d]

### EXPEDITION OF PIZARRO

The success of Cortes, and other Spanish adventurers in America, stimulated the ambition of their countrymen, and gave additional impulse to the spirit of enterprise and discovery, which was the prevailing passion of the day. The discoveries and conquests which had been made, and the settlements that had been established, served both as incentives and facilities to new and bolder enterprises. The settlement at Panama, on the western coast of the isthmus of Darien, greatly facilitated the plans of adventurers in that quarter, and became, in some measure, the parent of most of the early settlements on the coast of the Southern Ocean.

Soon after the conquest of Mexico, about the year 1524, three obscure individuals, residing at Panama, formed a plan for discovering and conquering the rich countries to the eastward of that colony, which had long attracted the attention of adventurers. These individuals were Francisco Pizarro, the natural son of a Spanish gentleman, a soldier, and one of the early adventurers to the New World; Diego de Almagro, also a soldier, and whose origin was equally humble with that of his associate, one being a bastard and the other a foundling; and Hermando Luque, an ecclesiastic, who was employed in the double capacity of priest and schoolmaster at Panama. The last, by some means not known, had acquired considerable wealth, but his two associates possessed but little; each, however, was to embark his whole fortune in the enterprise, together with all his hopes. The contract between them was solemnised by religious sanctions, although its object was rapine and murder.

With all their united means and exertions they were enabled only to fit out one small vessel, with one hundred and twelve men, Pedrarias [Pedro Arias de Avila], the governor of Panama, having first authorised the expedition. This was commanded by Pizarro, and afterward Almagro sailed with seventy men more as a re-inforcement. Such were the men, and such the means, by which one of the most extensive empires on the globe was to be conquered — an empire where civilisation and the arts had made great progress, and whose government was not only established on divine authority, but its sovereign claimed relationship with the gods, and was venerated by his subjects accordingly.

Their first expedition was productive of little more advantage than the discovery of the opulent country of which they were in pursuit, whose existence had become a matter of doubt, in consequence of the failure of several attempts at discovery. After having touched at various places, and suffered incredible hardships, they discovered the coast of Chili, and landed at Tacamez, where

[1525 A.D.]

they beheld with pleasure a fertile and inviting country, very different from any they had discovered in the Southern Ocean. The country was cultivated, and the natives were clad in garments of white cotton stuffs, and adorned with trinkets of gold and silver. Although delighted with these appearances, the adventurers did not presume to invade so populous a country with a handful of men, worn out with hardships and wasted by disease. They stopped at the island of Gallo, and Almagro returned to Panama to obtain re-inforcements, leaving Pizarro with part of the men.

Pedro de los Rios, having succeeded Pedrarias as governor of the colony, and apprehending that the settlement of Panama would be weakened, and even exposed, by sending off adventurers in a distant and uncertain enterprise, he prohibited Almagro from raising more recruits, and despatched a vessel to bring back Pizarro and his followers, who were left behind. When the vessel arrived, Pizarro, inflexibly bent on his purposes, peremptorily refused to obey the orders of the governor, and used every persuasion to induce his men to remain with him. He drew a line on the sand with his sword, and informed his followers that those who wished to abandon their leader and the glorious enterprise, would pass over: thirteen only remained to share the fortune of their commander. This small and dauntless band removed to the island of Gorgona, as being a more safe situation, where they remained for more than five months, constantly tortured with hopes and fears, and suffering everything, short of death, from an unhealthy climate and the want of provisions. At length a vessel arrived from the governor, to convey them to Panama, which occasioned such excessive joy, such a sudden transition of feeling, that not only his followers, but the crew of the vessel, agreed to follow Pizarro, and, instead of returning to Panama, they bore away to the southeast, and had the good fortune to discover the coast of Peru.

After touching at several places, they landed at Tumbez, situated about three degrees south of the equatorial line; here was a magnificent temple, and a palace of the incas, or sovereigns of the empire. The fertility of the country, the improvements, civilisation, and wealth of the inhabitants, was now, for the first time, fully unfolded to the view of the Spaniards; the rich stuffs, in which many of the inhabitants were clad, the ornaments of gold and silver which adorned their persons, and the more massy and splendid ornaments of the precious metals which enriched their temples, and even the common utensils, composed of gold and silver, attracted their enraptured vision, convinced them that their fondest dreams were realised, and that at last they had discovered the land of Ophir — the country of gold. They feasted their eyes and their hopes on these inviting objects; and gazed until they almost imagined themselves masters of the country, and possessed of all the wealth they saw and coveted. But, with his small force, Pizarro did not attempt anything against the country, and contented himself with sailing along the coast, and trading with the inhabitants; he procured several llamas, vessels of silver and gold, and several curious specimens of their manufactures, to be exhibited as memorials of the opulent country he had discovered and explored. He also brought off two native youths, under the pretence of instructing them in the Castilian language, but with the real intention of employing them as interpreters.

But the flattering accounts which Pizarro gave of the opulence of the country, supported by the specimens he had brought with him, did not change the inflexible resolution of the governor of Panama; he still refused to authorise, or even countenance, the scheme of Pizarro and his two associates; in consequence of which, they determined to apply directly to their sovereign.

Having agreed among themselves that Pizarro should be governor, Almagro adelantado, or lieutenant-governor, and Luque bishop of the country they might conquer, Pizarro set sail for Spain, and succeeded beyond the utmost extent of his hopes. He obtained the appointment of captain-general and adelantado of the country he had discovered, described to extend six hundred miles along the coast south of the river Santiago; but his unbounded ambition led him to grasp everything for himself, and to disregard the rights of Almagro; yet as the views of Luque did not interfere with his own, he obtained for him the expected appointment. When Pizarro arrived at Panama he found Almagro so exasperated at his conduct, that he was exerting all his influence to embarrass and frustrate his plans, and at the same time to fit out an expedition himself, on his own account. Alarmed at the consequences of an opposition from one who had been connected with him in the enterprise, Pizarro exerted himself to effect a reconciliation; and, by offering to relinquish to Almagro the office of adelantado, a reunion among the confederates was established.

The confederates now exerted themselves to fit out an armament for the conquest of the country: but with all their united efforts, aided by the alluring accounts of the country, three small vessels, with one hundred and eight men, was the extent of the force which they could raise, and with this Pizarro did not hesitate to invade an extensive country, filled with people. He landed in the bay of St. Matthew, and advancing toward the south, in the province of Coaque they plundered the inhabitants of gold and silver to the amount of $40,000, a large portion of which they remitted in one of their vessels to Almagro, at Panama, to enable him to procure recruits; and despatched another vessel to Nicaragua. This display of the riches of the country, and the wealth they had already acquired, had a most happy influence on the cause, and procured several small re-inforcements. Pizarro continued his march along the coast, and met with little resistance from the inhabitants, who, surprised and terrified at the sudden appearance of such formidable invaders, either deserted their habitations and fled, or sued for peace and favour. He proceeded to Tumbez, and from thence to the river Piura, near the mouth of which, at a favourable site, he planted the first colony in Peru, which he called St. Michael.[e]

### STATE OF PERU AT COMING OF SPANIARDS

When the Spaniards first visited the coast of Peru, in the year 1526, Huana Capac, the twelfth monarch from the founder of the state, was seated on the throne. He is represented as a prince distinguished not only for the pacific virtues peculiar to the race, but eminent for his martial talents. By his victorious arms the kingdom of Quito was subjected, a conquest of such extent and importance as almost doubled the power of the Peruvian empire. He was fond of residing in the capital of that valuable province which he had added to his dominions; and [as we have already seen], notwithstanding the ancient and fundamental law of the monarchy against polluting the royal blood by any foreign alliance, he married the daughter of the vanquished monarch of Quito. She bore him a son named Atahualpa, whom, on his death at Quito, which seems to have happened about the year 1529, he appointed his successor in that kingdom, leaving the rest of his dominions to Huascar, his eldest son, by a mother of the royal race.

Greatly as the Peruvians revered the memory of a monarch who had reigned with greater reputation and splendour than any of his predecessors,

[1529-1534 A.D.]

the destination of Huana Capac concerning the succession appeared so repugnant to a maxim coeval with the empire, and founded on authority deemed sacred, that it was no sooner known at Cuzco than it excited general disgust. Encouraged by those sentiments of his subjects, Huascar required his brother to renounce the government of Quito, and to acknowledge him as his lawful superior. But it had been the first care of Atahualpa to gain a large body of troops which had accompanied his father to Quito. These were the flower of the Peruvian warriors, to whose valour Huana Capac had been indebted for all his victories. Relying on their support, Atahualpa first eluded his brother's demand, and then marched against him in hostile array.

Thus the ambition of two young men, the title of the one founded on ancient usage, and that of the other asserted by the veteran troops, involved Peru in civil war, a calamity to which, under a succession of virtuous princes, it had hitherto been a stranger. In such a contest the issue was obvious. The force of arms triumphed over the authority of laws. Atahualpa remained victorious, and made a cruel use of his victory. Conscious of the defect in his own title to the crown, he attempted to exterminate the royal race, by putting to death all the children of the sun descended from Manco Capac, whom he could seize either by force or stratagem. From a political motive, the life of his unfortunate rival Huascar, who had been taken prisoner in a battle which decided the fate of the empire, was prolonged for some time, that, by issuing orders in his name, the usurper might more easily establish his own authority.

When Pizarro landed in the bay of St. Matthew, this civil war raged between the two brothers in its greatest fury. Had he made any hostile attempt in his former visit to Peru in the year 1527, he must then have encountered the force of a powerful state, united under a monarch, possessed of capacity as well as courage, and unembarrassed with any care that could divert him from opposing his progress. But at this time, the two competitors, though they received early accounts of the arrival and violent proceedings of the Spaniards, were so intent upon the operations of a war, which they deemed more interesting, that they paid no attention to the motions of an enemy, too inconsiderable in number to excite any great alarm, and to whom, it would be easy, as they imagined, to give a check when more at leisure.

### PIZARRO'S MARCH INTO THE INTERIOR

By this fortunate coincidence of events, whereof Pizarro could have no foresight, and of which, from his defective mode of intercourse with the people of the country, he remained long ignorant, he was permitted to carry on his operations unmolested, and advanced to the centre of a great empire before one effort of its power was exerted to stop his career. During their progress, the Spaniards had acquired some imperfect knowledge of this struggle between the two contending factions. The first complete information with respect to it, they received from messengers whom Huascar sent to Pizarro, in order to solicit his aid against Atahualpa, whom he represented as a rebel and an usurper.

Pizarro perceived at once the importance of this intelligence, and foresaw so clearly all the advantages which might be derived from this divided state of the kingdom, which he had invaded, that, without waiting for the re-inforcement which he expected from Panama, he determined to push forward, while intestine discord put it out of the power of the Peruvians to attack him with their whole force, and while, by taking part, as circumstances should incline him, with one of the competitors, he might be enabled with greater ease to

crush both. Enterprising as the Spaniards of that age were in all their operations against Americans, and distinguished as Pizarro was among his countrymen for daring courage, we can hardly suppose, that, after having proceeded hitherto slowly, and with much caution, he would have changed at once his system of operation, and have ventured upon a measure so hazardous, without some new motive or prospect to justify it.

As he was obliged to divide his troops, in order to leave a garrison in St. Michael, sufficient to defend a station of equal importance as a place of retreat in case of any disaster, and as a port for receiving any supplies which should come from Panama, he began his march with a very slender and ill-accoutred train of followers. They consisted of sixty-two horsemen, and a hundred and two foot-soldiers, of whom twenty were armed with cross-bows, and three with muskets. He directed his course towards Caxamalca, a small town at the distance of twelve days' march from St. Michael, where Atahualpa was encamped with a considerable body of troops. Before he had proceeded far, an officer despatched by the inca met him with a valuable present from that prince, accompanied with a proffer of his alliance, and assurances of a friendly reception at Caxamalca. Pizarro, according to the usual artifice of his countrymen in America, pretended to come as the ambassador of a very powerful monarch, and declared that he was now advancing with an intention to offer Atahualpa his aid against those enemies who disputed his title to the throne.

As the object of the Spaniards in entering their country was altogether incomprehensible to the Peruvians, they had formed various conjectures concerning it, without being able to decide whether they should consider their new guests as beings of a superior nature, who had visited them from some beneficent motive, or as formidable avengers of their crimes, and enemies to their repose and liberty. The continual professions of the Spaniards that they came to enlighten them with the knowledge of truth, and lead them in the way of happiness, favoured the former opinion; the outrages which they committed, their rapaciousness and cruelty, were awful confirmations of the latter.

While in this state of uncertainty, Pizarro's declaration of his pacific intentions so far removed all the inca's fears, that he determined to give him a friendly reception. In consequence of this resolution, the Spaniards were allowed to march in tranquillity across the sandy desert between St. Michael and Motupè, where the most feeble effort of an enemy, added to the unavoidable distresses which they suffered in passing through that comfortless region, must have proved fatal to them. From Motupè they advanced towards the mountains which encompassed the low country of Peru, and passed through a defile so narrow and inaccessible, that a few men might have defended it against a numerous army. But here, likewise, from the same inconsiderate credulity of the inca, the Spaniards met with no opposition, and took quiet possession of a fort erected for the security of that important station. As they now approached near to Caxamalca, Atahualpa renewed his professions of friendship; and, as an evidence of their sincerity, sent them presents of greater value than the former.

On entering Caxamalca, Pizarro took possession of a large court, on one side of which was a house which the Spanish historians call a palace of the inca, and on the other a temple of the Sun, the whole surrounded with a strong rampart or wall of earth. When he had posted his troops in this advantageous station, he despatched his brother Ferdinand and Hernando de Soto to the camp of Atahualpa, which was about a league distant from the town. He instructed them to confirm the declaration which he had formerly made of his

pacific disposition, and to desire an interview with the inca, that he might explain more fully the intention of the Spaniards in visiting his country.

They were treated with all the respectful hospitality usual among the Peruvians in the reception of their most cordial friends, and Atahualpa promised to visit the Spanish commander next day in his quarters. The decent deportment of the Peruvian monarch, the order of his court, and the reverence with which his subjects approached his person and obeyed his commands, astonished those Spaniards, who had never met in America with anything more dignified than the petty cacique of a barbarous tribe. But their eyes were still more powerfully attracted by the vast profusion of wealth which they observed in the inca's camp. The rich ornaments worn by him and his attendants, the vessels of gold and silver in which the repast offered to them was served up, the multitude of utensils of every kind formed of those precious metals, opened prospects far exceeding any idea of opulence that an European of the sixteenth century could form.

### CAPTURE OF THE INCA

On their return to Caxamalca, while their minds were yet warm with admiration and desire of the wealth which they had beheld, they gave such a description of it to their countrymen, as confirmed Pizarro in a resolution which he had already taken. From his own observation of American manners during his long service in the New World, as well as from the advantages which Cortes had derived from seizing Montezuma, he knew of what consequence it was to have the inca in his power. For this purpose he formed a plan as daring as it was perfidious. Notwithstanding the character that he had assumed of an ambassador from a powerful monarch, who courted an alliance with the inca, and in violation of the repeated offers which he had made to him of his own friendship and assistance, he determined to avail himself of the unsuspicious simplicity with which Atahualpa relied on his professions, and to seize the person of the inca during the interview to which he had invited him. He prepared for the execution of his scheme with the same deliberate arrangement, and with as little compunction, as if it had reflected no disgrace on himself or his country. He divided his cavalry into three small squadrons, under the command of his brother Ferdinand, Soto, and Benalcazar; his infantry were formed in one body, except twenty of most tried courage, whom he kept near his own person to support him in the dangerous service which he reserved for himself; the artillery, consisting of two field-pieces, and the cross-bowmen, were placed opposite to the avenue by which Atahualpa was to approach. All were commanded to keep within the square, and not to move until the signal for action was given.

Early in the morning the Peruvian camp was all in motion. But as Atahualpa was solicitous to appear with the greatest splendour and magnificence in his first interview with the strangers, the preparations for this were so tedious, that the day was far advanced before he began his march. Even then, lest the order of the procession should be deranged, he moved so slowly that the Spaniards became impatient, and apprehensive that some suspicion of their intention might be the cause of this delay. In order to remove this, Pizarro despatched one of his officers with fresh assurances of his friendly disposition. At length the inca approached. First of all appeared four hundred men, in an uniform dress, as harbingers to clear the way before him. He himself, sitting on a throne or couch adorned with plumes of various colours, and almost covered with plates of gold and silver enriched with

precious stones, was carried on the shoulders of his principal attendants. Behind him came some chief officers of his court, carried in the same manner. Several bands of singers and dancers accompanied this calvacade; and the whole plain was covered with troops, amounting to more than thirty thousand men.

As the inca drew near the Spanish quarters, Father Vincent Valverde, chaplain to the expedition, advanced with a crucifix in one hand, and a breviary in the other, and in a long discourse explained to him the doctrine of the creation, the fall of Adam, the incarnation, the sufferings and resurrection of Jesus Christ, the appointment of St. Peter as God's vice-gerent on earth, the transmission of his apostolic power by succession to the popes, the donation made to the king of Castile by Pope Alexander of all the regions of the New World. In consequence of all this, he required Atahualpa to embrace the Christian faith, to acknowledge the supreme jurisdiction of the pope, and to submit to the king of Castile, as his lawful sovereign; promising, if he complied instantly with this requisition, that the Castilian monarch would protect his dominions, and permit him to continue in the exercise of his royal authority; but if he should impiously refuse to obey this summons, he denounced war against him in his master's name, and threatened him with the most dreadful effects of his vengeance.

This strange harangue, unfolding deep mysteries, and alluding to unknown facts, of which no power of eloquence could have conveyed at once a distinct idea to an American, was so lamely translated by an unskilful interpreter, little acquainted with the idiom of the Spanish tongue, and incapable of expressing himself with propriety in the language of the inca, that its general tenor was altogether incomprehensible to Atahualpa. Some parts in it, of more obvious meaning, filled him with astonishment and indignation. His reply, however, was temperate. He began with observing, that he was lord of the dominions over which he reigned by hereditary succession; and added, that he could not conceive how a foreign priest should pretend to dispose of territories which did not belong to him; that if such a preposterous grant had been made, he, who was the rightful possessor, refused to confirm it; that he had no inclination to renounce the religious institutions established by his ancestors; nor would he forsake the service of the Sun, the immortal divinity whom he and his people revered, in order to worship the God of the Spaniards, who was subject to death; that with respect to other matters contained in his discourse, as he had never heard of them before, and did not now understand their meaning, he desired to know where the priest had learned things so extraordinary. "In this book," answered Valverde, reaching out to him his breviary. The inca opened it eagerly, and turning over the leaves, lifted it up to his ear: "This," says he, "is silent; it tells me nothing"; and threw it with disdain to the ground. The enraged monk, running towards his countrymen, cried out, "To arms, Christians, to arms; the word of God is insulted; avenge this profanation on those impious dogs."

Pizarro, who, during this long conference, had with difficulty restrained his soldiers, eager to seize the rich spoils of which they had now so near a view, immediately gave the signal of assault. At once the martial music struck up, the cannon and muskets began to fire, the horse sallied out fiercely to the charge, the infantry rushed on sword in hand. The Peruvians, astonished at the suddenness of an attack which they did not expect, and dismayed with the destructive effect of the fire-arms, and the irresistible impression of the cavalry, fled with universal consternation on every side, without attempting either to annoy the enemy, or to defend themselves. Pizarro, at the head of

his chosen band, advanced directly towards the inca; and though his nobles crowded around him with officious zeal, and fell in numbers at his feet, while they vied one with another in sacrificing their own lives, that they might cover the sacred person of their sovereign, the Spaniards soon penetrated to the royal seat; and Pizarro, seizing the inca by the arm, dragged him to the ground, and carried him as a prisoner to his quarters. The fate of the monarch increased the precipitate flight of his followers. The Spaniards pursued them towards every quarter, and with deliberate and unrelenting barbarity continued to slaughter wretched fugitives, who never once offered to resist. The carnage did not cease until the close of day. Above four thousand Peruvians were killed. Not a single Spaniard fell, nor was wounded but Pizarro himself, whose hand was slightly hurt by one of his own soldiers, while struggling eagerly to lay hold on the inca.

The plunder of the field was rich beyond any idea which the Spaniards had yet formed concerning the wealth of Peru; and they were so transported with the value of the acquisition, as well as the greatness of their success, that they passed the night in the extravagant exultation natural to the indigent adventurers on such an extraordinary change of fortune.

At first the captive monarch could hardly believe a calamity which he so little expected to be real. But he soon felt all the misery of his fate, and the dejection into which he sunk was in proportion to the height of grandeur from which he had fallen. Pizarro, afraid of losing all the advantages which he hoped to derive from the possession of such a prisoner, laboured to console him with professions of kindness and respect, that corresponded ill with his actions. By residing among the Spaniards, the inca quickly discovered their ruling passion, which, indeed, they were nowise solicitous to conceal, and, by applying to that, made an attempt to recover his liberty. He offered as a ransom what astonished the Spaniards, even after all they now knew concerning the opulence of his kingdom. The apartment in which he was confined was twenty-two feet in length and sixteen in breadth; he undertook to fill it with vessels of gold as high as he could reach. Pizarro closed eagerly with this tempting proposal, and a line was drawn upon the walls of the chamber, to mark the stipulated height to which the treasure was to rise.

### DEATH OF THE INCA

Atahualpa, transported with having obtained some prospect of liberty, took measures instantly for fulfilling his part of the agreement, by sending messengers to Cuzco, Quito, and other places, where gold had been amassed in largest quantities, either for adorning the temples of the gods, or the houses of the inca, to bring what was necessary for completing his ransom directly to Caxamalca.[f]

The Peruvians, accustomed to obey implicitly the mandates of their sovereign, flocked in, from all parts of the empire, loaded with the precious metals, so that in a short period the greater part of the stipulated quantity was produced, and Atahualpa assured Pizarro that the residue would arrive as soon as there was sufficient time to convey it from the remote provinces. But such piles of gold so inflamed the avarice of a needy soldiery, that they could no longer be restrained, and Pizarro was obliged to order the whole melted down, and divided among his followers. The captive monarch, having performed his part of the contract, now demanded to be set at liberty; but the perfidious Spanish leader had no such intention, his only object being to secure the plunder; and he even meditated taking the life of his credulous

captive, at the very time the latter was employed in amassing the treasures for his ransom. Atahualpa was subjected to a mock trial, and condemned to be burned: his last moments were embittered by the friar Valverde, who, although he had used his influence to procure his condemnation, and sanctioned the sentence with his own signature, attempted to console him in his awful situation, and to convert him to Christianity. The only argument that had any influence on the trembling victim was that of mitigating his punishment; and on the promise of being strangled, instead of consumed by a slow fire, he consented to be baptised, by the hand of one of his murderers, who exercised the holy functions of priest.

After the death of Atahualpa, Pizarro invested one of his sons with the ensigns of royalty; Manco Capac, a brother of Huascar, was also declared sovereign at Cuzco, and the governors of many of the provinces assumed independent authority, so that the empire was torn to pieces by intestine dissensions.

The intelligence of the immense wealth acquired by Pizarro and his followers, which those who had returned had conveyed to Panama, Nicaragua, and Guatemala, confirmed by a display of the treasures, produced such an electric effect, that it was with difficulty the governors of those places could restrain their people from abandoning their possessions and embarking for Peru, as adventurers. Numerous reinforcements arrived from various quarters, which enabled Pizarro to force his way into the heart of the country, and take possession of Cuzco, the capital of the empire. The gold and silver found here, after all that had been removed, exceeded what had been received as the ransom of Atahualpa.

### REVOLT OF PERUVIANS

Whilst the Spanish commander was thus employed, Benalcazar, who had been left in command at St. Michael, having received some reinforcements, left a garrison at that place, and set out with the rest of the troops under his command for the conquest of Quito. After a long and difficult march, over mountains and rivers, exposed to the fierce attacks of the natives, he entered the city of Quito. The tranquillity of the interior, and the arrival of Ferdinand Pizarro, brother of the commander-in-chief, with considerable reinforcements, induced the latter to march back to the seacoast, where, in the year 1534, he laid the foundation of the city of Lima, distinguished in after times for its wealth and earthquakes. In the mean time, Amalgro set out on an expedition for the conquest of Chili; and several parties were ordered by Pizarro into distant provinces, which had not been subjugated. These various enterprises had reduced the troops at Cuzco to a small number. The Peruvians, aware of this circumstance, and being now persuaded that the Spaniards would not voluntarily retire from their country, but intended to establish themselves in it, were at last aroused from their inactivity, and seemed determined to expel their rapacious invaders.

Preparations, through the whole empire, were carried on with such secrecy and despatch, as to elude the utmost vigilance of the Spaniards; and Manco Capac, who was acknowledged by all as sovereign at this time, having made his escape from the Spaniards at Cuzco, where he had been detained as a prisoner, the standard of war was immediately raised; troops assembled from all parts of the empire, and, according to the Spanish writers of that period, two hundred thousand men laid siege to Cuzco, which was defended for nine months by one hundred and seventy Spaniards. A numerous army also

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invested Lima, and all communication between the two cities was cut off. The Peruvians not only displayed the utmost bravery, but, imitating the discipline of their enemies, large bodies were marshalled in regular order: some of their bravest warriors were armed with swords and spears; others appeared with muskets, obtained from the Spaniards, and a few of the boldest, at the head of whom was the inca himself, were mounted on horses, which they had taken from their invaders, and charged like Spanish cavaliers. All the exertions of the Spanish garrison, directed by the two brothers of the commander-in-chief, and rendered desperate from their situation, could not resist the incessant attacks of the Peruvians; they recovered possession of one half of their capital; and the Spaniards, worn out with uninterrupted service, suffering for the want of provisions, and ignorant as to their brethren in other stations, and the number of their enemies daily increasing, were ready to despair; the stoutest hearts sunk under such accumulated, such appalling difficulties and dangers.

At this hour of darkness, when the lamp of hope emitted but a glimmering ray, Almagro appeared at Cuzco. But even this event the Pizarros hardly knew whether to regard as auspicious or calamitous, as they knew not whether he had come as a friend or foe. Whilst in Chili, he had received a patent from the crown, constituting him governor of Chili, and defining its limits, which, by his own construction, included the city of Cuzco; and being informed of the revolt of the Peruvians, he marched back to prevent the place from falling into the possession of the natives, and also to rescue it from the hands of the Pizarros. Almagro was, therefore, the enemy of both parties, and both attempted to negotiate with him. The inca, knowing his situation and pretensions, at first attempted to make terms with him; but soon being convinced that no faith could be had with a Spaniard, he fell suddenly upon him, with a numerous body of his bravest troops. The discipline and good fortune of the Spaniards once more prevailed, and the Peruvians were defeated with an immense slaughter, and their whole army dispersed. Almagro's attention was now directed against the garrison; and having surprised the sentinels, he entered the town by night, surrounded the house where the two Pizarros quartered, and compelled the garrison to surrender at discretion. Francisco Pizarro, having defeated and driven off the Peruvians who invested Lima, sent a detachment of five hundred men to Cuzco to the relief of his brothers, in case they had not already fallen into the hands of the Peruvians. On their arrival they were astonished to find an enemy in their own countrymen, which was the first knowledge they had of the events that had occurred at Cuzco. After first attempting, without success, to seduce Alvarado, their commander, Almagro surprised and fell upon them in the night in their camp, took Alvarado and his principal officers prisoners, and completely routed the party.

### CONFLICT BETWEEN ALMAGRO AND PIZARRO

Pizarro, alarmed for the safety of his two brothers, as well as for the security of his possessions, opened a negotiation with Almagro; and having artfully prolonged the same for several months, and by deception and perfidy procured the liberation of his brothers, threw off all disguise, abandoned the negotiation, and prepared to settle the dispute in the field; and seven hundred men, ready to march to Cuzco, attested the rapidity of his preparations. The command of these troops he gave to his two brothers, who anxious for victory, and thirsting for revenge, penetrated through the defiles of one branch of the Andes, and appeared on the plain before Cuzco. Almagro had five hundred

men, veteran soldiers, and a greater number of cavalry than his enemy: being worn out by services and fatigues, too great for his advanced age, he was obliged to entrust the command to Orgognez, who, though an officer of much merit, had not the same ascendancy over the troops as their chief, whom they had long been accustomed to follow in the career of victory. Pizarro had a superiority in numbers, and an advantage from two companies armed with muskets, and disciplined to their use. Whilst countrymen and brethren, who had made common cause in plundering and massacring the natives, were drawn up in hostile array, and under the same banners, to shed each other's blood, the Indians, like distant clouds, covered the mountains, and viewed with astonishment, but with pleasure, that rapacity and violence of which they had been the victims, about to recoil on the heads of their invaders, and to be inflicted by their own hands. They were prepared to fall on the victorious party, who, exhausted by the contest, might be an easy prey, and thus appropriate the victory to themselves.

The conflict was fierce and tremendous; for "when Greek meets Greek then comes the tug of war"; for a considerable time the result was doubtful, but Orgognez, having received a dangerous wound, his party was completely routed, himself slain in cold blood, one hundred and forty killed, and the rest fell into the hands of the victors. Almagro, who had witnessed the action from a litter with the deepest emotions, attempted to escape, but was made a prisoner. After being detained in custody for several months, he was subjected to a mock trial, and sentenced to death.[e]

The Indians, instead of executing the resolution which they had formed, retired quietly after the battle was over; and in the history of the New World there is not a more striking instance of the wonderful ascendant which the Spaniards had acquired over its inhabitants, than that, after seeing one of the contending parties ruined and dispersed, and the other weakened and fatigued, they had not courage to fall upon their enemies, when fortune presented an opportunity of attacking them with such advantage.

Cuzco was pillaged by the victorious troops, who found there a considerable booty, consisting partly of the gleanings of the Indian treasures, and partly of the wealth amassed by their antagonists from the spoils of Peru and Chili. But so far did this, and whatever the bounty of their leader could add to it, fall below the ideas of the recompense which they conceived to be due to their merit, that Ferdinand Pizarro, unable to gratify such extravagant expectations, had recourse to the same expedient which his brother had employed on a similar occasion, and endeavoured to find occupation for this turbulent assuming spirit, in order to prevent it from breaking out into open mutiny. With this view, he encouraged his most active officers to attempt the discovery and reduction of various provinces which had not hitherto submitted to the Spaniards. To every standard erected by the leaders who undertook any of those new expeditions, volunteers resorted, with the ardour and hope peculiar to the age. Several of Almagro's soldiers joined them; and thus Pizarro had the satisfaction of being delivered both from the importunity of his discontented friends, and the dread of his ancient enemies.

### DELIBERATIONS IN SPAIN CONCERNING PERU

As, during the civil dissensions in Peru, all intercourse with Spain was suspended, the detail of the extraordinary transactions there did not soon reach the court. Unfortunately for the victorious faction, the first intelligence was brought thither by some of Almagro's officers, who left the country

upon the ruin of their cause; and they related what had happened, with every circumstance unfavourable to Pizarro and his brothers. Their ambition, their breach of the most solemn engagements, their violence and cruelty, were painted with all the malignity and exaggeration of party hatred. Ferdinand Pizarro, who arrived soon after, and appeared in court with extraordinary splendour, endeavoured to efface the impression which their accusations had made, and to justify his brother and himself by representing Almagro as the aggressor. The emperor and his ministers, though they could not pronounce which of the contending factions was most criminal, clearly discerned the fatal tendency of their dissensions. It was obvious that while the leaders, entrusted with the conduct of two infant colonies, employed the arms which should have been turned against the common enemy in destroying one another, all attention to the public good must cease; and there was reason to dread that the Indians might improve the advantage which the disunion of the Spaniards presented to them, and extirpate both the victors and vanquished. But the evil was more apparent than the remedy. Where the information which had been received was so defective and suspicious, and the scene of action so remote, it was almost impossible to chalk out the line of conduct that ought to be followed; and before any plan that should be approved of in Spain could be carried into execution, the situation of the parties, and the circumstances of affairs, might alter so entirely as to render its effects extremely pernicious.

Nothing therefore remained but to send a person to Peru, vested with extensive and discretionary power, who, after viewing deliberately the posture of affairs with his own eyes, and inquiring upon the spot into the conduct of the different leaders, should be authorised to establish the government in that form which he deemed most conducive to the interest of the parent state, and the welfare of the colony. The man selected for this important charge was Christoval Vaca de Castro, a judge in the court of royal audience at Valladolid, and his abilities, integrity, and firmness, justified the choice. His instructions; though ample, were not such as to fetter him in his operations. According to the different aspect of affairs, he had power to take upon him different characters. If he found the governor still alive, he was to assume only the title of judge, to maintain the appearance of acting in concert with him, and to guard against giving any just cause of offence to a man who had merited so highly of his country. But if Pizarro were dead, he was entrusted with a commission that he might then produce, by which he was appointed his successor in the government of Peru. This attention to Pizarro, however, seems to have flowed rather from dread of his power, than from any approbation of his measures; for, at the very time that the court seemed so solicitous not to irritate him, his brother Ferdinand was arrested at Madrid, and confined in a prison, where he remained above twenty years.

While Vaca de Castro was preparing for his voyage, events of great moment happened in Peru. The governor, considering himself, upon the death of Almagro, as the unrivalled possessor of that vast empire, proceeded to parcel out its territories among the conquerors; and had this division been made with any degree of impartiality, the extent of country which he had to bestow was sufficient to have gratified his friends, and to have gained his enemies. But Pizarro conducted this transaction, not with the equity and candour of a judge attentive to discover and to reward merit, but with the illiberal spirit of a party leader. Large districts, in parts of the country most cultivated and populous, were set apart as his own property, or granted to his brothers, his adherents, and favourites. To others, lots less valuable and inviting were

assigned. The followers of Almagro, amongst whom were many of the original adventurers to whose valour and perseverance Pizarro was indebted for his success, were totally excluded from any portion of those lands, towards the acquisition of which they had contributed so largely. As the vanity of every individual set an immoderate value upon his own services, and the idea of each concerning the recompense due to them rose gradually to a more exorbitant height in proportion as their conquests extended, all who were disappointed in their expectations exclaimed loudly against the rapaciousness and partiality of the governor. The partisans of Almagro murmured in secret, and meditated revenge.

### EXPEDITION OF GONZALO PIZARRO

Rapid as the progress of the Spaniards in South America had been since Pizarro landed in Peru, their avidity of dominion was not yet satisfied. The officers to whom Ferdinand Pizarro gave the command of different detachments, penetrated into several new provinces, and though some of them were exposed to great hardships in the cold and barren regions of the Andes, and others suffered distress not inferior amidst the woods and marshes of the plains, they made discoveries and conquests which not only extended their knowledge of the country, but added considerably to the territories of Spain in the New World.[f]

One of these territories was that part of Peru which is now known as Bolivia. At the time of the coming of the Spaniards it formed a part of the empire of the incas, but ruins of buildings found in the country show traces of a much older civilisation. Almagro passed through Bolivia on his way to Chili, and afterwards the Pizarro brothers established their authority on the high plateau. In 1545 the silver mines of Potosi were discovered. According to Mr. Dawson,[g] "the discovery of Potosi revolutionised Upper Peru — as Bolivia was then called." He thinks it probable that the high and relatively inaccessible plateau would long have escaped Spanish settlement had it not been for the appeal that the mines made to Spanish cupidity. It is well known that Pizarro's followers came as conquerors and not as settlers. They cared only for the gold that had been accumulated by the civilised natives, and when they had secured that, there was nothing to induce them to remain in Bolivia. As soon, however, as it became known that there were seemingly inexhaustible deposits of silver at Potosi, Bolivia was seen to be the greatest source of that metal in the known world, and its importance to the Castilian king was proportionately enhanced. Dawson declares that a single mountain had produced two billion ounces of silver. Little wonder, then, that the supply seemed inexhaustible.[a]

Pedro de Valdivia re-assumed Almagro's scheme of invading Chili, and, notwithstanding the fortitude of the natives in defending their possessions, made such progress in the conquest of the country, that he founded the city of Santiago, and gave a beginning to the establishment of the Spanish dominion in that province. But of all the enterprises undertaken about this period, that of Gonzalo Pizarro was the most remarkable. The governor, who seems to have resolved that no person in Peru should possess any station of distinguished eminence or authority but those of his own family, had deprived Benalcazar, the conqueror of Quito, of his command in that kingdom, and appointed his brother Gonzalo to take the government of it. He instructed him to attempt the discovery and conquest of the country to the east of the Andes, which, according to the information of the Indians, abounded with cinnamon and

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other valuable spices. Gonzalo, not inferior to any of his brothers in courage, and no less ambitious of acquiring distinction, eagerly engaged in this difficult service. He set out from Quito at the head of three hundred and forty soldiers, nearly one half of whom were horsemen; with four thousand Indians to carry their provisions. In forcing their way through the defiles, or over the ridges of the Andes, excess of cold and fatigue, to neither of which they were accustomed, proved fatal to the greater part of their wretched attendants.

The Spaniards, though more robust, and inured to a variety of climates, suffered considerably, and lost some men; but when they descended into the low country, their distress increased. During two months it rained incessantly, without any interval of fair weather long enough to dry their clothes. The immense plains upon which they were now entering, either altogether without inhabitants, or occupied by the rudest and least industrious tribes in the new world, yielded little subsistence. They could not advance a step but as they cut a road through woods, or made it through marshes. Such incessant toil, and continual scarcity of food, seem more than sufficient to have exhausted and dispirited any troops. But the fortitude and perseverance of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century were insuperable. Allured by frequent but false accounts of rich countries before them, they persisted in struggling on, until they reached the banks of the Coca or Napo, one of the large rivers whose waters pour into the Marañon [Amazon], and contribute to its grandeur. There, with infinite labour, they built a bark, which they expected would prove of great utility, in conveying them over rivers, in procuring provisions, and in exploring the country. This was manned with fifty soldiers, under the command of Francisco de Orellana, the officer next in rank to Pizarro. The stream carried them down with such rapidity, that they were soon far ahead of their countrymen, who followed slowly and with difficulty by land.

### INDEPENDENT VOYAGE OF ORELLANA

At this distance from his commander, Orellana, a young man of an aspiring mind, began to fancy himself independent, and transported with the predominant passion of the age, he formed the scheme of distinguishing himself as a discoverer, by following the course of the Marañon, until it joined the ocean, and by surveying the vast regions through which it flows. This scheme of Orellana's was as bold as it was treacherous. For, if he be chargeable with the guilt of having violated his duty to his commander, and with having abandoned his fellow-soldiers in a pathless desert, where they had hardly any hopes of success, or even of safety, but what were founded on the service which they expected from the bark; his crime is, in some measure, balanced by the glory of having ventured upon a navigation of near two thousand leagues, through unknown nations, in a vessel hastily constructed, with green timber, and by very unskilful hands, without provisions, without a compass, or a pilot. But his courage and alacrity supplied every defect. Committing himself fearlessly to the guidance of the stream, the Napo bore him along to the South, until he reached the great channel of the Marañon. Turning with it towards the coast, he held on his course in that direction. He made frequent descents on both sides of the river, sometimes seizing by force of arms the provisions of the fierce savages seated on its banks; and sometimes procuring a supply of food by a friendly intercourse with more gentle tribes. After a long series of dangers, which he encountered with amazing fortitude, and of distresses which he supported with no less magnanimity, he reached the ocean, where new perils

awaited him. These he likewise surmounted, and got safe to the Spanish settlement in the island of Cubagua; from thence he sailed to Spain.

The vanity natural to travellers who visit regions unknown to the rest of mankind, and the art of an adventurer, solicitous to magnify his own merit, concurred in prompting him to mingle an extraordinary proportion of the marvellous in the narrative of his voyage. He pretended to have discovered nations so rich, that the roofs of their temples were covered with plates of gold; and described a republic of women so warlike and powerful, as to have extended their dominion over a considerable tract of the fertile plains which he had visited. Extravagant as those tales were, they gave rise to an opinion, that a region abounding with gold, distinguished by the name of El Dorado, and a community of Amazons, were to be found in this part of the New World. and such is the propensity of mankind to believe what is wonderful, that it has been slowly and with difficulty that reason and observation have exploded those fables. The voyage, however, even when stripped of every romantic embellishment, deserves to be recorded, not only as one of the most memorable occurrences in that adventurous age, but as the first event which led to any certain knowledge of the extensive countries that stretch eastward from the Andes to the ocean.

No words can describe the consternation of Pizarro, when he did not find the bark at the confluence of the Napo and Marañon, where he had ordered Orellana to wait for him. He would not allow himself to suspect that a man, whom he had entrusted with such an important command, could be so base and so unfeeling, as to desert him at such a juncture. But imputing his absence from the place of rendezvous to some unknown accident, he advanced above fifty leagues along the banks of the Marañon, expecting every moment to see the bark appear with a supply of provisions. At length he came up with an officer whom Orellana had left to perish in the desert, because he had the courage to remonstrate against his perfidy. From him he learned the extent of Orellana's crime, and his followers perceived at once their own desperate situation, when deprived of their only resource. The spirit of the stoutest-hearted veteran sunk within him, and all demanded to be led back instantly.

Pizarro, though he assumed an appearance of tranquillity, did not oppose their inclination. But he was now twelve hundred miles from Quito; and in that long march the Spaniards encountered hardships greater than those which they had endured in their progress outward, without the alluring hopes which then soothed and animated them under their sufferings. Hunger compelled them to feed on roots and berries, to eat all their dogs and horses, to devour the most loathsome reptiles, and even to knaw the leather of their saddles and sword-belts. Four thousand Indians, and two hundred and ten Spaniards, perished in this wild disastrous expedition, which continued near two years; and, as fifty men were aboard the bark with Orellana, only fourscore got back to Quito. These were naked like savages, and so emaciated with famine, or worn out with fatigue, that they had more the appearance of spectres than of men.

### CONSPIRACY AGAINST FRANCISCO PIZARRO

But, instead of returning to enjoy the repose which his condition required, Pizarro, on entering Quito, received accounts of a fatal event that threatened calamities more dreadful to him than those through which he had passed. From the time that his brother made that partial division of his conquests which has been mentioned, the adherents of Almagro, considering themselves

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as proscribed by the party in power, no longer entertained any hope of bettering their condition. Great numbers in despair resorted to Lima, where the house of young Almagro was always open to them, and the slender portion of his father's fortune, which the governor allowed him to enjoy, was spent in affording them subsistence. The warm attachment with which every person who had served under the elder Almagro devoted himself to his interests, was quickly transferred to his son, who was now grown up to the age of manhood, and possessed all the qualities which captivate the affections of soldiers. Of a graceful appearance, dexterous at all martial exercises, bold, open, generous, he seemed to be formed for command; and as his father, conscious of his own inferiority, from the total want of education, had been extremely attentive to have him instructed in every science becoming a gentleman; the accomplishments which he had acquired heightened the respect of his followers, as they gave him distinction and eminence among illiterate adventurers. In this young man the Almagrians found a point of union which they wanted, and, looking up to him as their head, were ready to undertake any thing for his advancement.

Nor was affection for Almagro their only incitement; they were urged on by their own distresses. Many of them, destitute of common necessaries, and weary of loitering away life, a burden to their chief, or to such of their associates as had saved some remnant of their fortune from pillage and confiscation, longed impatiently for an occasion to exert their activity and courage, and began to deliberate how they might be avenged on the author of all their misery. Their frequent cabals did not pass unobserved; and the governor was warned to be on his guard against men who meditated some desperate deed, and had resolution to execute it. But, either from the native intrepidity of his mind, or from contempt of persons whose poverty seemed to render their machinations of little consequence, he disregarded the admonitions of his friends. "Be in no pain," said he carelessly, "about my life; it is perfectly safe, as long as every man in Peru knows that I can in a moment cut off any head which dares to harbour a thought against it." This security gave the Almagrians full leisure to digest and ripen every part of their scheme; and Juan de Rada, an officer of great abilities, who had the charge of Almagro's education, took the direction of their consultations, with all the zeal which this connection inspired, and with all the authority which the ascendant that he was known to have over the mind of his pupil gave him.[1]

On the day appointed, Rada and his companions met in Almagro's house, and waited with anxiety for the hour when the governor should issue from the church. But great was their consternation when they learned that he was not there, but was detained at home, as currently reported, by illness. Little doubting that their design was discovered, they felt their own ruin to be the inevitable consequence, and that, too, without enjoying the melancholy consolation of having struck the blow for which they had incurred it. Greatly perplexed, some were for disbanding, in the hope that Pizarro might, after all, be ignorant of their design. But most were for carrying it into execution at once, by assaulting him in his own house. The question was summarily decided by one of the party, who felt that in this latter course lay their only chance of safety. Throwing open the doors, he rushed out, calling on his comrades to follow him, or he would proclaim the purpose for which they had met. There was no longer hesitation, and the cavaliers issuing forth, with Rada at their head, shouting, as they went, "Long live the king! Death to the tyrant!"

It was the hour of dinner, which, in this primitive age of the Spanish

colonies, was at noon. Yet numbers, roused by the cries of the assailants, came out into the square to inquire the cause. "They are going to kill the marquis," some said very coolly; others replied, "It is Picado." No one stirred in their defence. The power of Pizarro was not seated in the hearts of his people. As the conspirators traversed the *plaza*, one of the party made a circuit to avoid a little pool of water that lay in their path. "What!" exclaimed Rada, "afraid of wetting your feet, when you are to wade up to your knees in blood!" And he ordered the man to give up the enterprise and go home to his quarters. The anecdote is characteristic.

The governor's palace stood on the opposite side of the square. It was approached by two courtyards. The entrance to the outer one was protected by a massive gate, capable of being made good against a hundred men or more. But it was left open, and the assailants, hurrying through to the inner court, still shouting their fearful battle-cry, were met by two domestics loitering in the yard. One of these they struck down. The other, flying in all haste towards the house, called out, "Help, help! the men of Chili are all coming to murder the marquis!"

### DEATH OF PIZARRO

Pizarro at this time was at dinner, or, more probably, had just dined. He was surrounded by a party of friends, who had dropped in, it seems, after mass, to inquire after the state of his health, some of whom had remained to partake of his repast. Among these was Don Francisco de Alcantara, Pizarro's half-brother by the mother's side, the judge Velasquez, the bishop-elect of Quito, and several of the principal cavaliers in the place, to the number of fifteen or twenty. Some of them, alarmed by the uproar in the courtyard, left the saloon, and, running down to the first landing on the stairway, inquired into the cause of the disturbance. No sooner were they informed of it by the cries of the servant, than they retreated with precipitation into the house; and, as they had no mind to abide the storm unarmed, or at best imperfectly armed, as most of them were, they made their way to a corridor that overlooked the gardens, into which they easily let themselves down without injury. Velasquez, the judge, the better to have the use of his hands in the descent, held his rod of office in his mouth, thus taking care, says a caustic old chronicler, not to falsify his assurance that "no harm should come to Pizarro while the rod of justice was in his hands!"

Meanwhile, the marquis, learning the nature of the tumult, called out to Francisco de Chaves, an officer high in his confidence, and who was in the outer apartment opening on the staircase, to secure the door, while he and his brother Alcantara buckled on their armour. Had this order, coolly given, been as coolly obeyed, it would have saved them all, since the entrance could easily have been maintained against a much larger force, till the report of the cavaliers who had fled had brought support to Pizarro. But unfortunately Chaves, disobeying his commander, half opened the door, and attempted to enter into a parley with the conspirators. The latter had now reached the head of the stairs, and cut short the debate by running Chaves through the body, and tumbling his corpse down into the area below. For a moment they were kept at bay by the attendants of the slaughtered cavalier, but these too, were quickly despatched; and Rada and his companions, entering the apartment, hurried across it, shouting out, "Where is the marquis? Death to the tyrant!"

Alcantara, who in the adjoining room was assisting his brother to buckle

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on his mail, no sooner saw that the entrance to the antechamber had been gained, than he sprang to the doorway of the apartment, and, assisted by two young men, pages of Pizarro, and by one or two cavaliers in attendance, endeavoured to resist the approach of the assailants. A desperate struggle now ensued. Blows were given on both sides, some of which proved fatal, and two of the conspirators were slain, while Alcantara and his brave companions were repeatedly wounded.

At length Pizarro, unable in the hurry of the moment to adjust the fastenings of his cuirass, threw it away, and enveloping one arm in his cloak with the other seized his sword, and sprang to his brother's assistance. It was too late; for Alcantara was already staggering under the loss of blood, and soon fell to the ground. Pizarro threw himself on his invaders, like a lion roused in his lair, and dealt his blows with as much rapidity and force as if age had no power to stiffen his limbs. "What ho!" he cried, "traitors! have you come to kill me in my own house?" The conspirators drew back for a moment, as two of their body fell under Pizarro's sword; but they quickly rallied, and, from their superior numbers, fought at great advantage by relieving one another in the assault.

Still, the passage was narrow, and the struggle lasted for some minutes, till both of Pizarro's pages were stretched by his side, when Rada, impatient of the delay, called out, "Why are we so long about it? Down with the tyrant!" and taking one of his companions, Narvaez, in his arms, he thrust him against the marquis. Pizarro, instantly grappling with his opponent, ran him through with his sword. But at that moment he received a wound in the throat, and reeling he sank to the floor, while the swords of Rada and several of the conspirators were plunged into his body. "Jesu!" exclaimed the dying man, and, tracing a cross with his finger on the bloody floor, he bent down his head to kiss it, when a stroke, more friendly than the rest, put an end to his existence.

The conspirators, having accomplished their bloody deed, rushed into the street, and, brandishing their dripping weapons, shouted out, "The tyrant is dead! The laws are restored! Long live our master the emperor, and his governor, Almagro!" The men of Chili, roused by the cheering cry, now flocked in from every side to join the banner of Rada, who soon found himself at the head of nearly three hundred followers, all armed and prepared to support his authority. A guard was placed over the houses of the principal partisans of the late governor, and their persons were taken into custody. Pizarro's house, and that of his secretary Picado, were delivered up to pillage, and a large booty in gold and silver was found in the former. Picado himself took refuge in the dwelling of Riquelme, the treasurer; but his hiding place was detected — betrayed, according to some accounts, by the looks, though not the words, of the treasurer himself — and he was dragged forth and committed to a secure prison.

The whole city was thrown into consternation, as armed bodies hurried to and fro on their several errands, and all who were not in the faction of Almagro trembled lest they should be involved in the proscription of their enemies. So great was the disorder that the Brothers of Mercy, turning out in a body, paraded the streets in solemn procession, with the host elevated in the air, in hopes by the presence of the sacred symbol to calm the passions of the multitude.

But no other violence was offered by Rada and his followers than to apprehend a few suspected persons, and to seize upon horses and arms wherever they were to be found. The municipality was then summoned to recognise the

authority of Almagro; the refractory were ejected without ceremony from their offices, and others of the Chili faction were substituted. The claims of the new aspirant were fully recognised; and young Almagro, parading the streets on horseback, and escorted by a well-armed body of cavaliers, was proclaimed by sound of trumpet governor and captain-general of Peru.

Meanwhile, the mangled bodies of Pizarro and his faithful adherents were left weltering in their blood. Some were for dragging forth the governor's corpse to the market-place, and fixing his head upon a gibbet. But Almagro was secretly prevailed on to grant the entreaties of Pizarro's friends, and allow his interment. This was stealthily and hastily performed, in the fear of momentary interruption. A faithful attendant and his wife, with a few black domestics, wrapped the body in a cotton cloth and removed it to the cathedral. A grave was hastily dug in an obscure corner, the services were hurried through, and, in secrecy, and in darkness dispelled only by the feeble glimmering of a few tapers furnished by these humble menials, the remains of Pizarro, rolled in their bloody shroud, were consigned to their kindred dust. Such was the miserable end of the conqueror of Peru — of the man who but a few hours before had lorded it over the land with as absolute a sway as was possessed by its hereditary incas. Cut off in the broad light of day, in the heart of his own capital, in the very midst of those who had been his companions-in-arms and shared with him his triumphs and his spoils, he perished like a wretched outcast. "There was none even," in the expressive language of the chronicler, "to say, God forgive him!"

A few years later, when tranquillity was restored to the country, Pizarro's remains were placed in a sumptuous coffin and deposited under a monument in a conspicuous part of the cathedral. And in 1607, when time had thrown its friendly mantle over the past, and the memory of his errors and his crimes was merged in the consideration of the great services he had rendered to the crown by the extension of her colonial empire, his bones were removed to the new cathedral, and allowed to repose side by side with those of Mendoza, the wise and good viceroy of Peru.

### PRESCOTT'S ESTIMATE OF PIZARRO

Pizarro was eminently perfidious. Yet nothing is more opposed to sound policy. One act of perfidy fully established becomes the ruin of its author. The man who relinquishes confidence in his good faith gives up the best basis for future operations. Who will knowingly build on a quicksand? By his perfidious treatment of Almagro, Pizarro alienated the minds of the Spaniards. By his perfidious treatment of Atahualpa, and subsequently of the inca Manco, he disgusted the Peruvians. The name of Pizarro became a by-word for perfidy. Almagro took his revenge in a civil war; Manco in an insurrection which nearly cost Pizarro his dominion. The civil war terminated in a conspiracy which cost him his life. Such were the fruits of his policy.

But Pizarro's ruling motives, so far as they can be scanned by human judgment, were avarice and ambition. The good missionaries, indeed, followed in his train, and the Spanish government, as usual, directed its beneficent legislation to the conversion of the natives. But the moving power with Pizarro and his followers was the lust of gold. This was the real stimulus to their toil, the price of perfidy, the true guerdon of their victories. This gave a base and mercenary character to their enterprise; and when we contrast the ferocious cupidity of the conquerors with the mild and inoffensive manners

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of the conquered, our sympathies, the sympathies even of the Spaniards, are necessarily thrown into the scale of the Indian.

But as no picture is without its lights, we must not, in justice to Pizarro, dwell exclusively on the darker features of his portrait. There was no one of her sons to whom Spain was under larger obligations for extent of empire; for his hand won for her the richest of the Indian jewels that once sparkled in her imperial diadem. When we contemplate the perils he braved, the sufferings he patiently endured, the incredible obstacles he overcame, the magnificent results he effected with his single arm, as it were, unaided by the government — though neither a good nor a great man in the highest sense of that term, it is impossible not to regard him as a very extraordinary one.[b]

### APPOINTMENT OF NEW GOVERNORS

The shocking dissensions in Peru being known at the court of Castile, Vaca de Castro received a royal commission, appointing him governor of Peru, for the purpose of quieting the existing disturbances, and establishing the authority of the Spanish government. Having landed at Quito, he immediately, and with great energy, adopted measures to suppress the insurrection, and bring the daring conspirators to punishment. He marched toward Cuzco, whither Almagro had retired; the hostile parties met at Chupaz, about two hundred miles from Cuzco, and both determined to decide the contest at once. The action was bloody and decisive, and characterised by that fierceness, impetuosity, and vindictive spirit, which the deadly animosities of both parties, and desperate situation of one, were calculated to inspire; and the slaughter was in proportion to the maddening fury of the combatants. Of fourteen hundred men, the whole number engaged on both sides, more than one thousand lay dead and wounded on the field of battle. Superiority of numbers prevailed, and young Almagro and his party, or all who escaped the sword, fell into the hands of the victors. And although they were countrymen and fellow-Christians, the tender mercies of their conquerors were cruelties; forty were executed as rebels; many were banished, and young Almagro, their leader, was publicly beheaded at Cuzco. These events occurred in 1542. At length the torch of civil dissension, if not extinguished, ceased to burn; and a short period of repose was restored to a country whose history hitherto was but a succession of carnage and bloodshed.

But tranquillity in Peru was not of long continuance; new regulations having been framed for the government of the Spanish possessions in America, which greatly alarmed the settlers, by depriving them of their oppressive power over the natives, and Nugñez Vela being sent out to Peru as governor, to enforce them, the elements of dissension were again brought into action, and the gathering clouds threatened another storm of civil war. The rashness and violence of the new governor increased the disorders, and spread the disaffection throughout the provinces. The malcontents from all quarters looked to Gonzalo Pizarro as their leader and deliverer; and, having taken the field, he soon found himself at the head of one thousand men, with which he moved toward Lima. But before he arrived there a revolution had taken place; the governor and the judges of the court of Audience, had long been in contention, and finally the latter, gaining the ascendancy, seized the governor, and sent him prisoner to a desert island on the coast.

Pizarro, finding things in this state of disorder, beheld the supreme authority within his reach, and compelled the judges of the royal audience to appoint him governor and captain-general of Peru. He had scarcely possessed him-

self of his usurped authority, before he was called to defend it, against a formidable opponent. Nugñez Vela, the governor, being set at liberty by the officer entrusted with conducting him to Spain, landed at Tumbez, raised the royal standard, and resumed his functions as viceroy of the province. Many distinguished individuals declared in his favour, and, from the violence of Pizarro's administration, he soon found himself at the head of a considerable force. Pizarro immediately prepared to meet him, and to decide, by the umpirage of the sword, the validity of their respective pretensions. But Vela, being inferior in the number of his forces, and unwilling to stake his power and his life on the issue of an engagement, retreated toward Quito, and was pursued with great celerity by Pizarro.

Not being able to defend Quito, the viceroy continued his march into the province of Popayan, where he received so considerable reinforcements that he determined to march back to Quito, and decide the contest. Pizarro, confiding in the known bravery of his troops, rejoiced at an opportunity to meet him; the conflict, as usual, was sharp, fierce, and bloody; Pizarro was victorious, and the viceroy, who fell covered with wounds, had his head cut off and placed on a gibbet in Quito, whilst the conquerors made a triumphal entry into the city. All opposition to the authority of the victor ceased, and Pizarro now found himself supreme master of Peru, and of the South Sea, as he possessed a fleet which had captured Panama, and commanded the ocean.

These alarming dissensions gave great concern to the government of Spain, and led to the appointment of Pedro de la Gasca, with unlimited authority to suppress them, and restore tranquillity and the power of the parent country. He came without troops, and almost without attendants; his conduct was directly the reverse of Vela, his predecessor; he was truly the minister of peace; it was his object to reclaim, not to subdue: and by his conciliatory conduct, and mild and judicious measures, he effected more than he could have done by the sword. Several of Pizarro's officers declared in his favour, and from the contagion of example, and the oblivion which he proclaimed to all past offences, and a promise of redressing grievances, his adherents daily and rapidly increased. Pizarro, as is the case of all usurpers, when their power is in danger, was filled with apprehension and rage. He sent deputies to bribe Gasca, and if that could not be done, to cut him off by assassination or poison; but his messengers, instead of executing his diabolical orders, joined Gasca themselves. Irritated at the disaffection of his officers and men, he prepared to decide the dispute in the field; and Gasca, perceiving that it would become necessary to employ force, took steps to assemble troops in Peru, and collect them from other colonies. Pizarro marched rapidly to Cuzco, and attacked Centeno, who had joined Gasca, and although he had but half the number of men, he obtained a signal victory, attended with immense slaughter.

This good fortune was probably the cause of his ruin, as it elevated his hopes so high as inclined him to refuse all terms of accommodation, although Gasca continued to the last extremely moderate in his demands, and seemed more desirous to reclaim than to conquer. Gasca having tried, without success, every means of avoiding the distressing alternative of imbruing his hands in the blood of his countrymen, at length, at the head of sixteen hundred men, moved toward Cuzco; and Pizarro, with one thousand more experienced veterans, confident of victory, suffered him to advance to within four leagues of the capital, when he marched out, eager to meet him. He chose his ground, drew up his men in line of battle, and at the very moment he expected the action to commence, some of his principal officers galloped off and surrendered themselves to the enemy: their example was followed by others, and this ex-

[1549 A.D.]

traordinary conduct spread distrust and amazement from rank to rank; one company after another threw down their arms, and went over to the royalists. Pizarro, and some of his officers who remained faithful, attempted to stop them by entreaties and threats, but it was all in vain; they soon found themselves deserted of nearly their whole army. Pizarro fell into the hands of Gasca, and was beheaded the next day; several of his most distinguished and notorious followers shared the same fate; Carvajal, at the advanced age of fourscore, and who had long been accustomed to scenes of carnage and peril, on being informed of his sentence, carelessly replied: "Well, a man can die but once."

Gasca, as moderate and just after victory as before, pardoned all the rest, and exerted himself to soothe the feelings of the remaining malcontents; he simplified the collection of the revenue, re-established the administration of justice, and provided for the protection and bettering the condition of the Indians; and having accomplished every object of his mission, he returned to Spain, in 1549, as poor as he left it, but universally admired for his talents, virtues, and important services. He entrusted the government of Peru to the court of Audience. For several years after this the machinations and rapacity of several ambitious chiefs distracted the Peruvian states with civil contentions; but at length the authority of Spain was completely and firmly established over the whole of that extensive and valuable portion of America.[e]

## CHAPTER III

## SPANISH DOMINION IN AMERICA

THAT part of the southern continent of America, stretching to the eastward of Darien, comprising the provinces of Cartagena and Santa Martha, was discovered by Roderigo de Bastigas, in the year 1520, and was subjugated by Pedro de Heredia, in the year 1532. As early as the year 1544, Cartagena had become a considerable town, and its harbour was the safest and best fortified of any in the Spanish territories in the new world. Its situation is favourable for commerce, and it was selected as the port at which the Spanish galleons should first begin to trade, on their arrival from Europe, and to which they were to return, in order to prepare for their homeward voyage. The province of Venezuela was first visited by Ojeda, in the year 1499, in his voyage of discovery, which has before been noticed. Observing an Indian village, built on piles, to raise it above the stagnant water, the Spaniards, from their propensity to discover resemblances between America and Europe bestowed on it the name of Venezuela, or Little Venice.

Charles V, to obtain a large loan of the Velsers of Augsburg, then the wealthiest merchants in Europe, granted to them the province of Venezuela, to be held as an hereditary fief, on condition that they were to subjugate the natives, and plant a colony in the territory. The proprietors sent out some German adventurers, who, instead of establishing a colony, wandered about the country in search of mines, and to plunder the natives. In a few years their avarice and rapacity desolated the province, instead of settling it, and the proprietors, despairing of succeeding in the enterprise, relinquished their grant, and the occupation of the country, when the Spaniards again took possession of it; but notwithstanding its natural advantages, it long remained one of their most unpromising settlements.

The new kingdom of Granada, as it was called, is an interior region, and was subjugated to the authority of Spain, in 1536, by Benalcazar, who invaded it from Quito, where he was in command under Pizarro and Quesada. The natives being more improved than any in America, not excepting the Peruvians and Mexicans, defended themselves with resolution, bravery, and persever-

ance; but here, as everywhere else, discipline and science prevailed over barbarian force. The Indians in New Granada, not having been subjected to the same services of working in mines, which in other parts of America have wasted that miserable race, continued more populous in this colony than in any other. Gold was found here, not by digging into the bowels of the earth, but mixed with the soil near the surface, on the more elevated tracts. One of the governors of Santa Fé carried to Spain a lump of pure gold, found in one of the provinces of New Granada, valued at more than $3,000.

The kingdom of New Granada was first established in 1547, and was under the government of a captain-general and royal audience: the seat of government was fixed at Santa Fé de Bogota. In 1718 it was erected into a viceroyalty, together with several other provinces; but this government was annulled in 1724, and restored in 1740, and continued an independent government until the breaking out of the revolution, when it was incorporated into the republic of Colombia.

The provinces of Caracas and Cumana lie to the eastward of Venezuela, and, together with Cartagena and Santa Martha, formed what was anciently called the kingdom of Terra Firma, and all are now included in the republic of Colombia. These two provinces were, for a long period, principally known and distinguished for the cultivation and commerce in the nuts of the cocoa-tree, which, next to those produced in Guatemala, on the South Sea, are the best in America. A paste, formed from the nut or almond of the cocoa-tree, compounded with certain ingredients, constitutes chocolate, the manufacture and use of which the Spaniards first learned from the Mexicans; and being a palatable and wholesome beverage, it was soon introduced into use in Europe, and became an important article of commerce.

From the contiguity of the settlements of the Dutch to the coast of Caracas, on the island of Curaçao, and their superior enterprise in traffic, they engrossed most of the cocoa trade from Caracas, and Spain itself was obliged to receive the article from foreigners, at an exorbitant price, although the product of their own colonies. To remedy an evil, not more detrimental to the interests than disgraceful to the enterprise of Spain, in the year 1728 Philip V granted to a company of merchants an entire and exclusive monopoly of the commerce with Caracas and Cumana. This association, sometimes called the Company of Caracas, restored to Spain this branch of the commerce of America, greatly extended it, as the consumption of the article increased, and being subjected to proper regulations, to counteract the effects of the monopoly, advanced the growth and progress of the settlement.

## VICEROYALTIES OF MEXICO AND PERU

Mexico, or New Spain, and Peru were at first regarded by the Spaniards as the most important and valuable portions of America; not so much on account of their fertility, or any geographical superiority, as from the consideration of their being inhabited by people in a higher state of improvement, and consequently affording more gratifying objects for the rapacity of the first adventurers. The numbers of adventurers which these objects, and the civil contentions which they occasioned, originally drew to these countries, tended to commence their settlement under more favourable auspices than any other colonies enjoyed. The rich mines, afterward discovered, had a powerful operation to attract enterprise and allure adventurers; and the complete subjugation of the natives, both in Mexico and Peru, and reducing them

to a condition of domestic servitude and apportioning them, together with the lands, among the first adventurers (whilst in other districts the natives, more wild and ferocious, without fixed habitations, subsisting by hunting, could not otherwise be overcome than by being exterminated or expelled), were among the causes which continued, for a long period, to promote the growth of Mexico and Peru, and to render them the principal of the Spanish colonies; and the same causes occasioned the other settlements to be regarded only as appendages of one or the other of these, or of little importance. Hence, after the Spanish conquests in America had been so far completed as to justify the establishment, on the part of Spain, of regular colonial governments, their whole American dominions were divided into two immense governments, one called the viceroyalty of New Spain, the other the viceroyalty of Peru; the seats of government were Mexico and Lima. The former comprehended all the possessions of Spain in the northern division of the American continent, and the latter comprised all her settlements and territories in South America.

New Spain embraced, under the Spaniards, a much more extensive region than the empire of Mexico, or the dominions of Montezuma and his predecessors: the vast territory called New Navarre, extending to the north and west, and the provinces of Sinaloa and Sonora, stretching along the east side of the gulf of California, and also the peninsula of California, on the opposite side of the gulf, and the provinces of Yucatan and Honduras, extending from the bay of Campeche to beyond Cape Gracias à Dios, were comprised within the territories of New Spain, which did not belong to the Mexican Empire. These countries were mostly visited and subjugated by Spanish adventurers, in the early part of the sixteenth century. The peninsula of California was discovered by Cortés, in 1536, and was so entirely neglected, that for a long period it was not known whether it was an island or a peninsula. Towards the close of the seventeenth century the Jesuits explored it, established it as an important mission, made great progress in civilising the rude and ferocious natives, and established the same dominion over them that they did over the natives in Paraguay. At length the government, growing jealous of the Jesuits, they were expelled from the Spanish dominions, and José Galvez was sent out to examine the province, who gave a favourable account of the country, and of the pearl-fishery on the coast. He also discovered several mines, apparently valuable.

Honduras and the peninsula of Yucatan attracted attention principally from the valuable dye-woods which they afforded, the logwood tree being produced in greater abundance there than in any other part of America. After having long exclusively enjoyed the profitable logwood trade, the Spaniards were disturbed in it by some adventurers from Jamaica, who commenced cutting logwood at the cape forming the southeast promontory of Yucatan; then in the bay of Campeche, and afterward in the bay of Honduras. These encroachments alarmed the Spaniards, and they endeavoured to stop them, by remonstrance, negotiation, and by force; but after a contention for half a century, the fortune of war, and naval superiority of Britain enabled her to extort from Spain a reluctant consent to the existence of a settlement of foreigners in the heart of her own possessions. Mortified, however, at this concession, she attempted to counteract its consequences by encouraging the cutting of logwood on the west coast of Yucatan, where the wood was of superior quality. To promote this object, she permitted the importation of logwood into Spain, without the payment of any duty, by which means this commerce became very flourishing, and that of the English, in the bay of

Honduras declined. East of Honduras were the provinces of Costa Rica and Veragua, which were much neglected by the Spaniards, as of little value.

The viceroyalty of Peru, in addition to the Peruvian territories, comprehended Chili, the conquest of which, as we have seen, was first attempted by Almagro, and afterward by Valdivia, both of whom met with a most fierce opposition from the natives, and the latter was defeated and slain; but Villagra, his successor in command, restored victory to the Spanish standard; and finally the district on the seacoast was subdued, the natives continuing masters of the mountainous regions; and for more than two centuries they kept up hostilities with their Spanish neighbours, almost without interruption, and their hostile incursions greatly retarded the settlement of the most fertile country in America, possessing the most delicious climate in the New or Old World; for, though bordering on the torrid zone, it is exempt both from the extremes of heat and cold, lying, as it were, under the shade of the Andes, which protects it on the east, and being constantly refreshed by the cooling seabreezes from the west. It also possesses many valuable mines; yet with all these advantages, at the end of more than two centuries from its conquest, its whole white population did not exceed eighty thousand; but since the establishment of a direct intercourse with the mother country round Cape Horn, it has realised its natural advantages, and advanced in importance accordingly.

### SETTLEMENT OF URUGUAY

Attached to the viceroyalty of Peru were all the vast regions claimed by Spain east of the Andes, watered by the Rio de la Plata, its branches, the Colorado, and other streams emptying into the Atlantic. The Spanish territories east of the La Plata, comprehending the province of Paraguay, and some other districts, were, for centuries, in a great degree undefined, and a subject of dispute with Portugal.[b]

When Rio de la Plata was discovered by Juan Diaz de Solis in the first years of the sixteenth century, Uruguay was peopled by savage tribes settled on the banks of its rivers, whose history prior to this is unknown to us, and of whose customs we know little more than the few details given us by the first historians of these regions of America. The Spaniards chose for their settlements the banks of the Paraguay, the Parana, and the western bank of the Plata; and the eastern side of the Uruguay was well nigh deserted, for a century and a half barely serving as pasture land for herds of cattle and horses which multiplied in great numbers without the care of man. The Brazilians took advantage of the abandoned state of the country to carry off large numbers of animals under pretext that the territory belonged to the crown of Portugal, and as the Spaniards also claimed dominion, they founded in 1624 the town of Santo Domingo Soriano, and the Portuguese the Colonia del Sacramento in 1680, both wishing to forward their own interests.

The foundation of Colonia occasioned a series of wars and treaties by which the two monarchs wished to secure the dominion of Uruguay and to settle European questions. During this period, extending over a century and a quarter, Colonia, the eastern missions, and the lands bordering on Rio Grande alternately belonged to the Portuguese and to the Spanish. But the latter never lost their dominion over the lands in the interior, and founded various towns on the shores of the Atlantic, and on the river Plata, the principal of which was Montevideo. When the disputes for dominion were settled the Spaniards possessed all the land comprised between the southern limits of

Misiones, the sources of Rio Negro, Lake Mirim, the Atlantic Ocean, and Rio de la Plata.

While war followed war, the country became populated and civilisation increased. The condition of the most important section of the country will be seen by the report submitted to the viceroy by the corporation of Montevideo. The boundaries of this town of Montevideo situated in the Banda Oriental of Rio de la Plata, forty leagues from Buenos Ayres, as conceded to it by General Bruno Mauricio de Zabala, in 1726, in the name of the king, and approved by his majesty, in 1727, are as follows: on the south, Rio de la Plata; on the west, the river Cufre; on the north, the Cuchilla Grande; and on the east, the mountain named Pan de Azucar.

The climate, between 33° and 39° south latitude, is temperate, neither the extremes of heat or cold are felt; the country is on the whole level although it abounds in hills and valleys, as the latter are not too deep or the former too high to prevent horse and carriage traffic. With the exception of the summits of the mountains and a few banks of stone in the fields the whole of the country is fit for cultivation.

Wheat, barley, flax, hemp, maize, and all sorts of vegetables and fruits can be grown with facility. There are abundant and good pasture lands even on the summits of the mountains. Although it abounds in streams and rivers there are no irrigated lands, nor is irrigation easy as those lands which are not subject to inundations are much higher than the water level. The soil of the lands in the vicinity of the inundations and of the valleys and declivities is moist, and resists a drought for a long time. The lands divided among the settlers of Minas, situated on the tributary rivulets of the Metal, the San Francisco and the Campanero may be irrigated with ease, as all those streams are rapid and descend from a great height to the valley where this town is situated. Native trees grow on the banks of the rivers and streams, which yield wood fit for ranches and other purposes, but not for houses, as it is neither firm nor durable. Bread and meat form the staple food of the inhabitants, which some obtain by cultivation of their own lands and breeding cattle, and others — about a third of the population — obtain from the lands of others.

Small flakes of gold are found on the banks of some of the tributaries of the San José and Santa Lucia, which some of the inhabitants go to find but show little knowledge or energy in the work. In the district called Las Minas lead, silver, copper, and gold are found, but those who have attempted to separate these metals, said to be much mixed, have lost both time and money, perhaps through want of skill. Their actual commerce consists in skins, tallow, and salted meats, which they are beginning to prepare; it is probable that this branch may be brought to perfection with experience. If a commerce in wheat in exchange for timber, yerba mate, and cotton were opened by land and by river, with Paraguay and the towns of Misiones, it might become an important branch. Wool, butter, and cheeses could be exported to Cadiz, Havana, and other ports, as sheep breed well and their wool is fine. Butter and cheeses are in general good, and would be improved if the farmers were encouraged by the exporting of these products to many parts of the kingdom which now receive butter and cheese from Flanders.[c]

### SETTLEMENT OF PARAGUAY AND ARGENTINA

Paraguay has been rendered celebrated for the extraordinary missions of the Jesuits, and the authority of Spain over it was never more than nominal.

The territory west of the La Plata was divided into the provinces of Buenos Ayres and Tucuman.

The province of Rio de la Plata [modern Argentina] was established distinct from that of Paraguay, in 1620, and was afterward called Buenos Ayres. The town of Buenos Ayres was founded by Pedro de Mendoza, in 1535, but was abandoned in 1538, and its inhabitants removed to Assumption, where a fort had been built two years before, by Ayolas, and named from the day on which he fought and defeated the natives on the spot where it was erected. Mendoza returned to Spain, and was succeeded as governor by Ayolas, and on his death Irala was chosen to succeed him; but was soon deprived of his authority by Don Alvarez, who arrived with a commission from Spain. Of the three thousand Europeans who had entered the La Plata, six hundred only remained at Assumption: the rest had fallen victims to the climate, the ferocity of the savages, and the hardships to which they had been exposed. Alvarez was seized by Irala, and sent to Spain, in 1544. The city of Assumption was erected into a bishopric, in 1547; but the bishop did not arrive until 1554, when Irala received a commission as governor. In 1557, Ciudad Real was founded in the province of La Guayra, as an encomienda, within which forty thousand Indians were brought into habits of industry; and a few years after the encomienda of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, in the province of Chiquitos, which comprised sixty thousand native inhabitants, was established. Irala died in 1557, and named Gonzales de Mendoza lieutenant-general and commander of the province. His death, which was in one year after, was followed by civil dissensions.

In the year 1586, the Jesuits first appeared in Paraguay, and in 1609, Father Torres, their provincial, obtained authority from the governor of the province to form the converted Indians into townships, to be independent of the Spanish settlements. They only acknowledged the sovereignty of the king of Spain: this power was confirmed by Philip III of Spain. During twenty years a great number of the natives were reduced to habits of industry, by the labours of the Jesuits; but in 1630 they were attacked by the Paulistas [or Portuguese settlers], or mamelukes, and in two years sixty thousand were destroyed or carried off. To defend their settlements, in 1639, the Jesuits obtained authority from Spain to imbody and arm their Indian converts in the manner of Europeans. The Jesuits employed their converts in other pursuits: in 1668, they rebuilt the city of Santa Fé, and the following year five hundred of them worked on the fortifications and the cathedral of Buenos Ayres.

In 1580 Buenos Ayres was rebuilt by the governor of Paraguay [Juan de Garay], from which time it gradually emerged from obscurity into an important town, and became the seat of the viceroyalty. The Portuguese attempted a settlement on the north bank of the La Plata, in 1679, when Garro, governor of the province of Rio de la Plata, by order of the viceroy of Peru, expelled the Portuguese, and levelled their fort to the ground. This settlement was for a long time a subject of dispute between the two nations, but in 1778, it was ceded to Spain. Civil dissensions arose at Asuncion; Don Diego, the governor, was obliged to flee; but was reinstated in 1722, yet soon after seized by Antequera, and confined as a prisoner. Antequera had been sent from Lima as a commissioner, to inquire into the condition of Paraguay, and finding the administration corrupt, he undertook to reform it, and to introduce a representative government. He met with resistance not only from the governor, but his patriotic exertions and liberal principles roused the jealousy, and brought upon him the hostility, of the viceroy, who sent a body of troops from

Peru to oppose him, and check his innovations. These troops were defeated by Antequera, who entered the city in triumph.

But the governor of Buenos Ayres, having marched against him, and being deserted by his adherents, he fled to a convent, and was afterward seized and sent a prisoner to Lima. In 1725, tranquillity was re-established, but was of short continuance; a new governor being appointed, a faction refused to admit him into the city; Mompo, the leader of the malcontents, was seized and sent to Buenos Ayres.

Antequera having been condemned for treason, was executed in 1731, at Lima, which occasioned great excitement at Asuncion as his popularity was so great that he was canonised as a martyr to liberty. The dissensions continued until 1735, when Zabala, governor of Buenos Ayres, succeeded in re-establishing tranquillity, and correcting the abuses which had crept into the government.

The increasing prosperity of the Jesuits began to excite prejudices and jealousies; various accusations were made against them; but on examination most of them were found groundless, and they were confirmed in their rights, in 1745, by a royal decree. Their prosperity and power, however, soon after began to decline, and the expulsion of their order from Spain, in 1767, was followed by the subversion of their dominion in America. Their possessions were annexed to the government of Paraguay, at which time they had 769,353 horned cattle, 94,983 horses, and 221,537 sheep.

The erection of the viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata led to the establishment of the government at Buenos Ayres, and promoted the prosperity of that city, and all the provinces on the La Plata, and west of the Andes. This measure was followed by one equally liberal and enlightened, in 1778, which in a great degree removed the restrictions on commerce, and opened a free trade with the northern country and the interior of Peru. From this period Buenos Ayres began to acquire that importance and rank which it is entitled to maintain, from its valuable position for commerce, and its rich interior country. Its trade rapidly increased, as well as the general commerce of the La Plata. It was promoted by a royal ordinance, adopted in 1794, permitting salted meat and tallow to be exported to Spain, and the other colonies free of duty.

### SPAIN'S ADMINISTRATION OF HER COLONIES

At so early a period as the year 1511 Ferdinand established a tribunal for conducting the affairs of his American settlements, called the "council of the Indies"; and in 1524 it was newly modelled and improved by Charles V. It possessed jurisdiction over every department of government in Spanish America; framed the laws and regulations respecting the colonies; made all the appointments for America reserved to the crown; and all officers, from the viceroys to the lowest, were accountable to the council of the Indies for their official conduct. The king was always supposed to be present in this council, and its meetings were held where he resided. No law, relative to American affairs, could be adopted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the council. All appeals from the decisions of the highest tribunals in America, the *audiencia*, or court of audience, were made to the council of the Indies.

The colonial system of Spain over her American dominions was founded on the principle that these dominions were vested in the crown, not in the nation; which was assumed on no better authority than the bull of Pope Alexander VI, bestowing on Ferdinand and Isabella all the countries which they might discover west of a given latitude. Hence the Spanish possessions

[1501 A.D.]

in America were regarded as the personal property of the sovereign. The authority of the original adventurers, commanders, and governors, by whom the country was discovered and subjected to the dominion of Spain, was constituted by, and they were accountable to, the king, and removable by him at pleasure. All grants of lands were made by the sovereign, and if they failed from any cause, they reverted to the crown again. All political and civil power centred in the king, and was executed by such persons, and in such manner, as the will of the sovereign might suggest, wholly independent, not only of the colonies, but of the Spanish nation. The only civil privilege allowed to the colonists was strictly municipal, and confined to the regulation of their interior police, and commerce in the cities and towns, for which purpose they made their own local regulations or laws, and appointed town and city magistrates. But this single ray of liberty must of necessity be tolerated, and has never been extinct in the most despotic states. The Spanish American governments were not merely despotic like those of Russia or Turkey, but they were a more dangerous kind of despotism, as the absolute power of the sovereign was not exercised by himself, but by deputy.

At first, as has been stated, the dominions of the Spanish crown in the new world were divided, for the purpose of government, into two great divisions or viceroyalties, New Spain and Peru. Afterward, as the country became more settled, the viceroyalty of Santa Fé de Bogota was created, composed of the kingdoms of New Granada, Terra Firma, and the province of Quito, and still later that of Rio de la Plata. A deputy or viceroy was appointed to preside over each of these governments, who was the representative of his sovereign, and possessed all his prerogatives within his jurisdiction. His authority was as supreme as that of his sovereign over every department of government, civil, military, and criminal. He appointed most of the important officers of his government, and supplied the vacancies occasioned by death to those appointed by the crown. His court was formed on the model of that of Madrid and displayed an equal and often superior degree of magnificence and state. He maintained horse and foot guards, a regular household establishment, and all the ensigns and trappings of royalty. His government was formed on the same model as that of Spain, and the tribunals that assisted in its administration were similar to those of the parent country, the appointments to which were sometimes made by the viceroy, and at others by the king, but all were subject to the deputy's authority, and amenable to his jurisdiction. The administration of justice was entrusted to tribunals called audiences, formed on the model of the Spanish court of chancery. One of these courts was established in every province, and consisted of a number of judges, proportioned to its extent and the business to be done; they had jurisdiction over both civil and criminal causes.

The viceroy was prohibited from interfering with the decisions of these judicial tribunals, and in some instances they could bring his regulations under their review, and present remonstrances, or carry the matter before the king and the council of the Indies, which was the only particular in which there was any intermediate power between him and the people subject to his authority. On the death of a viceroy the supreme power vested in the court of audience, and the senior judge, assisted by his associates, exercised all the functions of the vacant office. In addition to the council of the Indies, in which was reposed the supreme power, as to the civil, ecclesiastical, military, and commercial affairs of America, there was established, as early as 1501, a board of trade at Seville, called *Casa de la Contracción*. It took cognisance of whatever related to the commercial intercourse with America, regulated the export and import

cargoes and the inspection, the freights of the ships, and the time of the sailing of the fleets, and decided judicially on all matters, both civil and criminal, growing out of the commercial transactions between Spain and her American possessions. The doings and decisions of this board might be reviewed by the council of the Indies.

### COMPARISON OF SPANISH AND BRITISH COLONIES

The fundamental principles of the Spanish colonial system were different from those of Great Britain, as respected its American dominions; although this difference will be found on examination to depend almost entirely on the different constitutions of the two countries. Great Britain, as well as Spain, regarded the countries in America, discovered by her subjects, as belonging to the crown rather than to the nation, and all grants and patents were made by the king, without the concurrence of parliament; and the rights and powers of the grantees in the proprietary governments, were also created by the crown. The charter governments were likewise established by the crown, and the rights and privileges allowed to the colonists, and the prerogatives reserved to the king, were dictated by the will of the sovereign. The authority of parliament, as the organ of the nation, over the colonies, does not at first appear to have been exercised, and although this was afterward attempted, it was never fully allowed or acquiesced in by the colonies. It was the exercise of this authority that led to the difficulties between the parent state and its colonies, which resulted in a separation. In the colonial governments established by Britain in America, very important civil privileges were allowed to the colonists, but their rights were not equal to those of English subjects at home, and the difference was to the same extent as the authority exercised over them by parliament; the prerogatives of the sovereign being at least as great, as respected his colonial subjects, as at home.

The Spanish American colonies possessed no political privileges; their only civil rights were purely municipal; the authority of the crown was absolute in the colonial governments, but scarcely more so than it was in the parent state, and it could hardly have been expected that subjects in distant colonies would have been allowed privileges which were not enjoyed by those at home. As respects constitutional or political rights, the Spanish colonists enjoyed essentially the same as the subjects of Old Spain, yet the exercise of the power of the sovereign, being by deputy, and at a great distance, it was much more oppressive, and exposed to greater abuses. As respects the equality of privileges, between the inhabitants of the colonies and those of the parent country, the Spanish colonists stood on a better footing than the English. If the colonies were absolutely and entirely subject to the government of the parent state, it was not, perhaps, material to them whether this governing power resided in the crown or jointly in the crown and the nation. In either case they were slaves.

But the different constitutions of the two nations occasioned a corresponding difference in the government of their colonies. The power of the sovereign in Spain being absolute, the same authority was exercised over his dominions in America; but the authority of the king of England being limited, and the government a mixed one, in which the people by their representatives participated, similar systems were established in the British dominions in the New World. In all their colonies the representative principle was introduced and local legislatures were established, which exercised the ordinary powers of legislation, the executive power remaining in the sovereign.

1519 A.D.]

RESTRICTIONS ON COMMERCE

It was the policy of the Spanish sovereigns, or government, as to their American colonies, to render them, in every way that could be done, contributary to the power and prosperity of Spain. In the grants of the country, made to the first adventurers, the Spanish monarchs reserved one fifth of the gold and silver that might be obtained, and for a considerable period the precious metals were the only objects that attracted attention, either in the colonies or Old Spain. The right of the sovereign to a share of the products of the mines was ever after maintained, and it was the intention of Spain to confine the industry of the colonies to mining, for two reasons: one, the revenue derived to the crown from this source, and the other, to prevent such branches of agriculture as might interfere with the products of Spain. The cultivation of the vine and olive were at first prohibited in America, and afterward allowed in Peru and Chili, in consequence of the difficulty of conveying such bulky articles as wine and oil across the isthmus to Panama; and these colonies were not permitted to export the products of the vine or olive to those parts of Spanish America which could obtain them from Spain; and, with this privilege, that of cultivating tobacco, which was raised in other parts of Spanish America, but under regulations of a royal monopoly.

The same jealousy crippled the industry of the colonies in other departments; several kinds of manufactures were prohibited, which it was thought might prove detrimental to the mother country. The commercial restrictions imposed on the colonies were still more rigid and intolerable. In pursuance of the maxim that the colonies were, in every possible way, to be rendered contributary to the interests of Spain, without regarding their own, they were denied all commerce with every other portion of the world; their own productions must all be carried to Spain, in the first instance, wherever might be the place of their consumption, and all their own wants must be supplied by the parent state; and even this direct commerce they were not permitted to carry on themselves; no vessel, owned in the colonies, was ever allowed to carry to Europe the produce of the country to which it belonged. All the trade with the colonies was carried on in Spanish bottoms, and under such regulations as subjected them to great inconvenience. Not only was every species of commerce with America, by foreigners, prohibited under the severest penalties, and confiscation and death inflicted on the inhabitants who had the temerity to trade with them, but no foreigner was suffered to enter the colonies without express permission. Even the commerce of one colony with another was either prohibited, or trammelled with intolerable restrictions.

Thus was Spanish America shut up from the world, crippled in its growth, kept in leading strings, and in a perpetual state of minority; and whilst chastised with the lash of a jealous and unfeeling master, was insulted by being reminded of his parental affection and relationship. These impolitic and unjust measures, founded in a spirit of selfishness and jealousy, together with the hardships which attend the planting of new settlements, so checked the spirit of emigration, that at the expiration of sixty years from the first discovery of America, the number of Spaniards in all their settlements, did not exceed fifteen thousand.

An ecclesiastical establishment was instituted in Spanish America, as an auxiliary branch of the government, on a similar model to that in Spain, and was extremely burdensome to a young and growing state. At so early a period as the year 1501, the payment of tithes was required, and laws made to enforce it.

COMMERCIAL CONCESSIONS TO FOREIGN POWERS

The stinted, fettered, and restricted commerce which subsisted between Spain and her colonies for more than two centuries and a half was calculated to retard their growth, and keep them always in a state of dependence and minority. They were not permitted to act for themselves in the most common and necessary concerns; but must wear such apparel, and consume such meats and drinks as parental authority saw fit to allow them. This restricted and contemptible commercial system was scarcely less injurious to Spain than to her colonies.

The naval superiority of the English and Dutch enabled them to cut off all intercourse between Spain and her colonies, which exposed the colonies to suffer for the want of the necessaries of life, and introduced an extensive smuggling trade. It also compelled the Spanish monarch so far to relax the rigour of his system as to permit France, then his ally, to open a trade with Peru; the French carried such quantities of goods there, that they found their way into all the Spanish provinces. This trade was prohibited.

By the Treaty of Utrecht, Great Britain obtained a concession which secured to her a foothold for commercial purposes in the Spanish colonies in America. Philip V transferred to Britain, with the consent of France, the privilege or contract which the latter had enjoyed, of supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, and the more dangerous right of sending annually one ship of five hundred tons to the fair at Porto Bello. This led to the establishment of British factories at Cartagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other places. The residence of the agents and merchants of a rival power in the most important towns drew aside the veil which had hitherto concealed from the world the interior condition of the Spanish colonies, and excited a spirit of commercial cupidity which led to an extensive contraband trade. This, at first, was carried on principally from Jamaica, and other British colonies. As might have been foreseen, the privilege granted to the British was at once abused, and greatly extended. Instead of a ship of five hundred tons one of nine hundred tons was sent to Porto Bello; and this was accompanied with several smaller vessels, which moored in some neighbouring creek, and clandestinely conveyed their cargoes to the principal ship. The inspectors of the fair, blinded by presents, remained ignorant of these frauds. From the intrinsic defects of the Spanish colonial system, and the weakness of granting the privileges spoken of to the most enterprising commercial nation in the world, the commerce carried on in the galleons, so long the pride of Spain, and even the envy of other nations, was almost annihilated before the middle of the eighteenth century.

Alarmed at the extent and pernicious consequences of the contraband trade, Spain stationed ships of war along the coast most exposed to this illicit traffic, to suppress it. These were called *guarda costas;* they checked the smuggling trade to a considerable degree, which led to complaints on the part of Great Britain, and finally to war, on the claim of some outrages committed by the guarda costas. Spain, however, obtained a release from the *assiento,* or privilege granted to England, and was once more at liberty to manage her commerce with her colonies in her own way, without restraint. The contraband trade, however, continued; the Dutch and French engaged in it, as well as the English; and to such an extent was it carried that sometimes when the galleons arrived the markets were glutted, and their cargoes could scarcely be disposed of. The galleons were prevented from sailing by wars, and often

retarded by various accidents, and this occasioned a new regulation, by which commerce with the colonies was carried on by register ships, fitted out during the intervals of the sailing of the fleets. The advantages of this commerce were so apparent that in the year 1748 the galleons were no longer employed, and the trade with Peru and Chili was prosecuted in a direct route, round Cape Horn, in single ships. Still the register ships were all obliged to take their departure from Cadiz, and to return to that port.

The Dutch, from the vicinity of their settlement at Curaçao to Caracas, having engrossed a considerable part of the cocoa trade of that province, Spain, in 1728, granted to a company of merchants an exclusive monopoly of the trade with Caracas and Cumana; and both the parent state and the colonies derived great benefit from the commercial enterprise of this company.

### RELAXATION OF OLD RESTRICTIONS

From the want of more frequent intercourse between Spain and her colonies, it often happened that important events, which occurred in the latter, were known for some time by foreign nations before intelligence of them had reached Spain. To remedy this evil, in 1764, a system of packets was established, to be despatched on the first day of every month, to Havana; from whence letters were sent to Vera Cruz, Porto Bello, and so transmitted throughout the Spanish settlements. The packet-boats also sailed, once a month, to Buenos Ayres, to accommodate the settlements east of the Andes. Objects of commerce connected themselves with this arrangement; the packets were vessels of considerable burden, and carried out goods, and brought back a return cargo in the productions of the colonies.

The way being in some degree prepared, the following year, 1765, Charles III abrogated the restrictions on the trade to Cuba, and other islands to the windward, leaving it open to all his subjects, with no other restrictions but that of their sailing to particular ports in each island. The beneficial effects, both to Old Spain and the colonies, resulting from a relaxation of the ancient laws, being sensibly felt, one relaxation proved the necessity of another, and in 1778 the monopoly was still further done away; and the colonial trade, which had been confined to Cadiz and Seville for two and a half centuries, was permitted to be carried on in fourteen other Spanish seaports, which produced a most important and favourable change, both to the colonies and the revenue of Spain.

The restrictions upon the internal intercourse and commerce of the Spanish colonies were, if possible, more grievous and pernicious in their consequences than those on the intercourse with Spain. From their first settlement all intercourse was prohibited, under the severest penalties, between the different provinces in the South Sea. Peru, Chili, New Spain, New Granada, and Guatemala were cruelly inhibited from all commerce, and from all intercourse whatsoever with each other, which would so obviously have promoted their mutual comfort, prosperity, and advancement. At length, in 1774, Charles III removed this severe and infamous restriction, and opened a free trade.

Spain received a considerable revenue from her colonies, notwithstanding the extensive contraband trade which, at some periods, amounted to one-third of the whole commerce. The revenue consisted of three branches; the first, that which was paid to the king, as lord-paramount, or sovereign of the country; the second, what accrued to him as head of the church; and the third, imposts, or duties. In the latter part of the eighteenth century the revenue raised by Spain in America was estimated at a million and a half

sterling. This, however, was only the direct revenue, raised in the colonies, and did not include the duties levied in Old Spain, on all the exports to her colonies, and some other branches of revenue.

If the revenue was great, the expenses of the colonial government were equally so, and were wholly defrayed by the crown. The Spanish colonial system was not confined to civil government, but embraced commerce, religion, finance, and a military establishment; all of which were under the authority and management of the crown. It was also complex, in an extreme degree, in each department; consequently was encumbered with such a number and variety of offices, tribunals, and boards, as not only occasioned an enormous expense, but rendered it unwieldy, tardy in its movements, and almost unmanageable. Its weight was also increased by the external parade and pomp which it maintained. Everything was on a large scale; the expenses of living were great, all salaries were high, and most of the officers of the government received, by perquisites, and in the various ways which human ingenuity could devise, several times as much as their salaries. The viceroys maintained horse and foot guards, a train of household attendants, and all the pomp and dignity of a regal establishment. They enjoyed a salary of $30,000 in the latter part of the eighteenth century; but this was a small part of their income: by monopolising certain branches of commerce, the disposal of all the lucrative offices, by presents, and by innumerable frauds and abuses of power, they usually, after continuing in office a few years, returned to Spain with a princely fortune. It is asserted that a viceroy, at one festival, the anniversary of his birthday, received $50,000 in presents.

### ADMINISTRATION OF DON JOSEPH GALVEZ

The more enlarged views of policy, which led to the relaxation of the ancient laws, and the adoption of more equitable and just commercial regulations, called attention to the internal condition of the Spanish colonies, and occasioned various salutary reformations and improvements. The colonial system, founded on false and inequitable principles, defective and oppressive in itself, was rendered more insupportable from the abuses and corruption which everywhere had crept into the administration. Not only a correction of abuses, but a reformation of the system, was successfully attempted in the latter part of the eighteenth century, during the enlightened administration of Don Joseph Galvez. Having spent seven years in America, as inspector-general of New Spain, and visited most of the remote provinces, he was elevated, on his return to Spain, to the head of the department for India, or, more properly, American affairs. He commenced his administration, which forms a memorable epoch in the history of Spanish America, by a general reformation of the whole system. The increase of population and wealth in the colonies had so multiplied the business of the courts of audience, that the number of judges were wholly inadequate to a faithful discharge of duties of the office. He increased the number of judges, raised their salaries, and enlarged their powers of appointment.

From the extension of the settlements great inconvenience was experienced, notwithstanding the establishment of the third viceroyalty of New Granada, in consequence of the remoteness of many of the provinces from the seat of government; and the further the administration was removed from the seat of authority, the greater were the abuses which attended it. There were provinces subject to the government of New Spain, more than two

thousand miles from Mexico, and some appertaining to the viceroyalty of Peru were still farther from Lima. To remedy this evil a fourth viceroyalty was created in 1776, comprising the provinces of Rio de la Plata, Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Tucuman, Potosi, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Charcas, and the towns of Mendoza and San Juan. The seat of government was established at Buenos Ayres, and Don Pedro Zevallos raised to this new dignity, who was well acquainted with the countries over which he had to preside, having long resided in them, in a subordinate station. This division, together with what was taken off at the erection of the viceroyalty of New Granada, reduced the territory of the viceroyalty of Peru to one third its original extent. The remote provinces of Sonora, Sinaloa, California, and New Navarre, which belonged to the jurisdiction of New Spain, were likewise formed into a separate government, which was conferred on the chevalier de Croix, who, although not possessed of the title and dignity of viceroy, was wholly independent of the viceroyalty of New Spain. Several of these provinces contained some of the richest mines of gold in America, recently discovered, and this was among the reasons that urged the erection of a new government, which, from its vicinity, might afford the protection and facilities that the mining operations required. Another, and perhaps the most patriotic measure of the count de Galvez, was the establishment of intendancies for the superintendence and protection of the Indians. This measure had a happy effect on the natives; under the active superintendence of the intendants, whose duty it was to watch over their rights, as guardians and protectors, this miserable race enjoyed securities and advantages of which they were deprived under the tyranny of the subaltern Spanish and Indian magistrates, to whom they had been subjected.

At a subsequent period some alterations took place in the political divisions of Spanish America, so that at the commencement of the political revolution, which restored all the Spanish dominions on the American continent to independence and liberty, its civil divisions consisted of the four viceroyalties of New Spain, Peru, Buenos Ayres, and New Granada, and the territories called captain-generalcies of Chili, Venezuela, and Guatemala. These seven distinct governments were independent of each other; a viceroy presided over the four first, and an officer, called a captain-general, over the three last, all of which were appointed by the king; were independent of each other, and directly dependent on the crown. These governments were subdivided into provinces, over which presided a governor, or *corregidor*, and also into intendancies, which formed the jurisdiction of an officer called an intendant. This latter division was principally for that part of the government which related to the Indians. The governors and intendants were appointed by the king, but accountable to the viceroy, or captain-general, to whose jurisdiction the province belonged.

The provinces were again divided into departments, over which presided a delegate of the governor or officer at the head of the government of the province, and likewise subordinate magistrates, called *alcaldes*, appointed by the municipalities, denominated *cabildos*. The viceroys and captain-generals possessed both civil and military power, and generally the governors possessed the same; but in some instances they enjoyed only civil authority, in which cases there was a military chief, or officer in the province, called *comandante*, who held the military command. The supreme judicial power was vested in the court of audience, of which there was one or more in each of the viceroyalties and captain-generalcies; the separate judges of this tribunal were called *oidores*, and their number varied according to the population and

business of their jurisdictions. A subordinate judicial authority was vested in the governors, corregidores, and their delegates; and the alcaldes also possessed a limited jurisdiction, but could not act, unless they were law-professors, without the advice of an assessor, or lawyer. The decisions of all these inferior tribunals might be reviewed by the royal audience, whose decrees were final, except in some important cases an appeal was allowed to the council of the Indies.

There were also in some of the seaports tribunals called *consulados*, having cognisance of commercial affairs only, from whose decisions an appeal might be made to the viceroy. In addition to these authorities there were spiritual tribunals, with jurisdiction over ecclesiastical affairs. At the head of these was the holy Inquisition, whose jurisdiction was undefined, and its proceedings secret, tyrannical, and cruel. Its punishments were inflicted by fine, imprisonment, torture, the gallows, and the stake. In each diocese there was a spiritual court, composed of the bishop, the fiscal *procurador*, or lawyer, and the *provisor*. The ecclesiastical courts, as well as others, were subject to the control of the viceroy, and consequently were used to advance the ambitious views of the state, as well as the church.

There was nothing like popular influence in either branch of the government; no mode in which the voice of the people could be expressed; nor was there a tribunal or officer who was amenable to, or whose authority emanated directly from, the people. There was no meeting of the inhabitants, except at church, and for public worship on religious festivals, and the press could scarcely be said to exert any influence; so far as it did, however, it was only an instrument of tyranny and oppression. Even the cabildos, or corporations, which regulated the internal police of cities and towns, consisting of from six to twelve members, according to their population or business, were entirely independent of popular influence. These officers were called regidores, the governor of the province being ex-officio president of the cabildo, and controlled all its acts. The office of regidore was held during life, having a fixed price, which, in Buenos Ayres and Chili, was about five hundred dollars, and was purchased like any other commodity in market. The executive officers of the cabildos, called alquazils, answering to sheriffs and constables in the United States, were sold at given prices, the same being the case in a great measure with the alcaldes, who were a kind of petty magistrates, or justices of the peace. The administration was corrupt in all departments, beyond any example in modern times. The viceroys, captain-generals, intendants, members of the court of audience, archbishops and bishops who were appointed by the king, almost without exception were Spaniards; and most of the civil and military appointments were conferred on natives of Old Spain. Down to the year 1810, one hundred and sixty viceroys, and five hundred and eighty-eight captain-generals, governors, and presidents of the royal audience, had been appointed in America, of whom only eighteen were natives of the country, these obtaining their appointments in consequence of having received their education in Spain. Thus, for ages, was Spanish America governed by swarms of foreign officers, who had no other interest than to gratify their employers and enrich themselves.

### FIRST SYMPTOMS OF INSURRECTION

The influence of the political revolution in the British colonies, and the effects of commercial freedom which Spanish America enjoyed after the regulations of 1778, gave rise to the first symptoms of a spirit of reformation and

political improvement which appeared in the Spanish colonies. Down to this period, and in general, until the breaking out of the revolution in the parent country, and the overthrow of the monarchy by Bonaparte, the Spanish creoles in America, notwithstanding the political oppression which they suffered, and their personal degradation as a class, were distinguished for their loyalty and attachment to their king and country. About the middle of the eighteenth century a conspiracy was formed in Caracas, headed by a man named Leon, the object of which, however, was not so much political as commercial, it being the design of the conspirators to break up the company of Guipuzcoa, sometimes called the company of Caracas, who had long enjoyed a monopoly of all the trade of that and several other provinces. The plot did not succeed, and Leon was condemned to death, his house razed to the ground, and a column placed on the spot as a memorial of the horror of his offence, and the fate that awaited all traitors. In 1780 an alarming revolution broke out in Peru, among the natives, seconded by some of the creole inhabitants. Previous to the reformation and correction of abuses which took place during the administration of Count de Galvez, the corregidores practised such intolerable extortions and frauds on the Indians, compelling them to receive their necessary supplies on their own terms, as finally drove them into measures of open resistance.

Tupac Amaru, a native Peruvian, of the royal inca blood, became the leader of the malcontents; and several individuals of influence joining him, the flame of resistance was spread for three hundred leagues into the interior of the country; and so numerous and formidable did the party become, that Tupac Amaru was proclaimed Inca of Peru. The Spanish authorities adopted energetic and vindictive measures to suppress the insurgents; the contest lasted three years, and exhibited many bloody scenes. The malcontents were often successful; but Tupac Amaru did not conduct in his new dignity so as to maintain the attachment of his adherents; their zeal consequently began to abate, and their efforts to relax; and being attacked by the troops of Buenos Ayres, as well as by those of Lima, and most of the Spanish inhabitants declaring in favour of the government, the insurgents were overpowered, and compelled to submit. Tupac Amaru, and most of the principal leaders, were put to death, in a manner cruel and abhorrent to the feelings of humanity in the extreme. The loyalty of the creoles led them to take part with the government, notwithstanding the oppression which they suffered, on an occasion when it was in their power, by joining with the Indians, to have effected a political revolution.

Before this insurrection was suppressed, the Spanish government was alarmed by civil commotions in New Granada. In 1781, some new regulations and additional taxes, adopted by Regente Pineres, the viceroy, were opposed by almost the whole population of the province of Socorro. An armed multitude, amounting to seventeen thousand, marched toward Santa Fé, crying, "Long live the king — death to our bad governors." The viceroy not being able to oppose them in arms, had recourse to superstition: they advanced without opposition to within about thirty-six miles of the capital, where, instead of being confronted by an army, they were met by Gongora the archbishop, in his pontifical robes, holding the host in his hands. The suddenness and surprise of this appeal to their religious feelings, filled them with awe and timidity. The archbishop, availing himself of the happy moment, proposed a conference to Don Salvador Plata, their leader, which resulted in an accommodation, and the dispersion of the malcontents. But the terms of capitulation were not adhered to. These indications of a spirit of

reform and freedom in the colonies occasioned the greatest jealousy and alarm in the court of Madrid, and the adoption of such severe and harsh measures to suppress it, as rather tended to increase the evil. Printing presses were prohibited, even in towns of forty or fifty thousand inhabitants, and books of almost every description were proscribed, as dangerous and seditious. In New Granada, several persons, merely on suspicion of entertaining revolutionary designs, were subjected to the torture; and similar measures, of a distrustful policy, were pursued in other provinces, all of which tended to increase the discontents of the colonists. Nothing was done to conciliate their feelings, or redress the grievances of which they complained, or which even had the appearance of reforming any of the glaring abuses that everywhere prevailed. Power and coercion were the only means made use of; the sword, the rack, and the inquisition, were to control the minds as well as the bodies of the colonists, and convince them that they had no greater liberties, no other rights, than those of submission to the will of an arbitrary tyranny.

The political events, which occurred in Europe, subsequently to 1778, produced a spirit of political inquiry that spread over that continent, and even reached the shores of the Spanish dominions in America, where light and liberty had so long been proscribed and shut out, as the greatest evils that could afflict the human race. Many of the Spanish creoles informed themselves with the history and the principles of the American and French revolutions; and the more they became acquainted with liberty the more lovely it appeared, and the more odious the tyranny of the Spanish colonial government. Elevated by such sentiments, and relying on the assurances of assistance from the British, derived from the proclamation of the governor of Trinidad, a number of creoles at Caracas, in 1797, formed a plan to revolutionise that province. When on the eve of making the attempt to carry their plans into execution, the conspiracy was discovered, and Don M. Gual, and J. M. España, the apparent leaders, escaped to a neighbouring island. Two years after, the latter, having the presumption to return to La Guayra, was seized, condemned, and executed, and thus became one of the first martyrs of Colombian liberty.

### BRITISH INTERFERENCE IN SOUTH AMERICA

It had long been a favourite project of Mr. Pitt to aid the emancipation of South America, and to open a trade with that country. He had frequent conferences with the ex-Jesuit, Juan Pablo Viscardi Guzman, a native of Peru, and an enthusiast in favour of the independence of America, who represented the country to be impatient under the Spanish yoke, and ripe for revolt. He also published in London an appeal to his countrymen, using all the powers of his eloquence in attempting to bring them to a sense of their degraded condition. The British ministry encouraged General Miranda in his designs to revolutionise Venezuela, and aided the premature expedition which he fitted out in 1801; and furnished the funds for that which he afterward fitted out from the United States, in 1806, though it was done without the assistance or sanction of congress. This expedition failed without accomplishing anything, and a number of young men from the United States, falling into the hands of the Spaniards, became victims of their own credulity, and the cruelty of tyrannical power. It is said that, during Mr. Adams' administration, the British ministry made proposals to the American government to assist in the emancipation of the Spanish colonies, which did not meet a favourable reception.

[1797-1807 A.D.]

The failure of Miranda's expedition did not discourage the British government; for in 1806, Spain then being in alliance with France in the war which prevailed in Europe, they fitted out a squadron under Sir Home Popham, which entered the La Plata on the 25th of June, and anchored about twelve miles below Buenos Ayres, where the troops disembarked without opposition.

The inhabitants, and the viceroy Soliemente, were filled with consternation. After experiencing a feeble opposition at Rio Chueto, three miles from the city, General Beresford entered the capital, and took possession of the citadel. Don J. M. Pueyredon, afterward director, at the head of a company of hussars, was the only officer who did anything to oppose the advance of the English. The Spaniards, on learning the small number of their enemies, determined to expel them. The viceroy had escaped to Montevideo, and Liniers, a French emigrant, but an officer in the Spanish service, passed over to the eastern shore of the river, exciting the people to arms. The viceroy collected one thousand regulars, which he joined with those of Liniers, to whom the command of the united forces was given. With these troops, Liniers immediately recrossed the river, when the inhabitants flocking around his standard, soon enabled him to attack the British with great effect, compelling them, after they had sustained a heavy loss, to surrender, on the 12th of August, 1806. Soon after this event, reinforcements arrived from the Cape of Good Hope, which enabled Sir Home Popham to reduce Montevideo by storm.

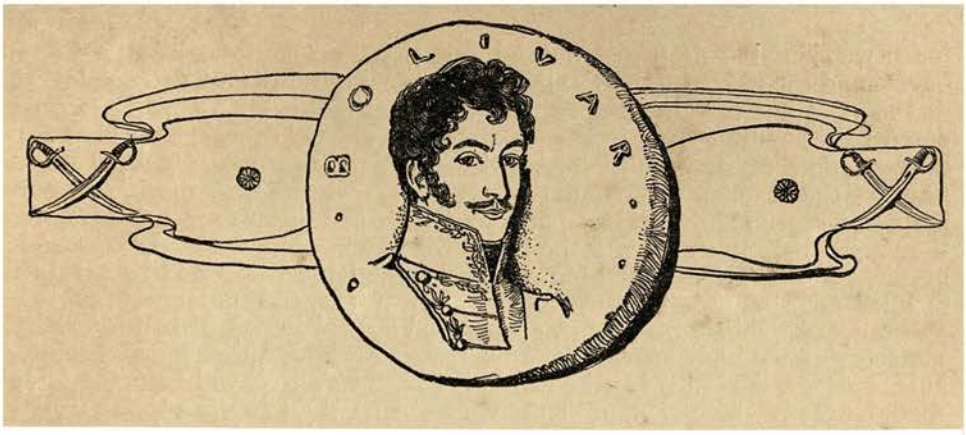
This expedition, as appeared from the trial of Sir Home Popham, was not expressly authorised by the British ministry, but was so far from being disapproved of by them, that it was followed up by a bold and extensive plan of conquest. Two squadrons, each with a large body of troops, one commanded by General Whitlock, the other by General Crawford, were fitted out for the capture of Buenos Ayres; after accomplishing this, Crawford had received orders to proceed around Cape Horn, and capture Valparaiso, and, for the more effectually securing their conquest, to establish military posts across the continent, from Buenos Ayres to Valparaiso. The object of the ministry was entirely changed since 1797; now it was not to aid the inhabitants in establishing their independence, but to subjugate the country. The commanders, in their instructions from Mr. Windham, secretary of war, were directed to discourage all hopes of any other change in the condition of these countries than that of their being annexed to the crown of Great Britain.

On the 10th of May, 1807, the expedition under General Whitlock arrived at Montevideo, and on the 15th of June following that under General Crawford arrived. General Whitlock, who assumed the chief command, had now under his control about ten thousand of the best troops in the British service, and made immediate preparations for attacking the capital. The viceroy, arriving at Buenos Ayres, was opposed by the inhabitants, and finally deposed by the cabildo. Liniers, being raised to the chief command, was assisted by the inhabitants in making great exertions to defend the capital. Every avenue to the city was obstructed by breastworks of hides, from fifteen to twenty feet thick; small pieces of artillery were planted on the houses, which were barricaded and formed into fortresses, and all the citizens were under arms. The British having landed on the 28th of June, traversed a swampy country of about thirty miles, and presented themselves on the morning of the 5th of July in front of Buenos Ayres. The British general having formed his troops in a line along the suburbs, commenced the attack — and never were men more surprised with their reception. The cannon, planted on the

trenches which intersected the streets, poured a destructive fire of grape on the advancing columns, while from the roofs and windows of the houses they were assailed, with appalling effect, by an incessant shower of musketry, bombs, and hand-grenades. As the English advanced further into the city, they exposed themselves to a hotter and more destructive fire; and while thus exposed to be mowed down, the enemy were out of their reach, and in a great measure secure from their fire. The column under General Auchmuty, which entered the upper part of the town, after a sanguinary conflict took possession of a large building where bull-fights were held; and that which entered the south part, led by General Crawford, after losing one half its number, took shelter in a large church; here they defended themselves for some time, but finally were obliged to surrender. The British in this engagement lost one third of their whole army. The next day an armistice was concluded, by which they agreed to evacuate the La Plata in two months.

Never was there a more complete failure of an expedition, or perhaps a plan of conquest founded on more erroneous conceptions. The British ministry expected that the inhabitants of the country were so uneasy under the Spanish yoke that they would flock to their standards, and instructions were given General Whitlock for organising a military force in the country. But instead of this, they found not a single friend; all the inhabitants took arms, and manifested a most violent animosity toward them. They refused after the armistice to purchase even a single article of their merchandise, although at the very time they were suffering for the want of them. Had the English come to the aid of the inhabitants in throwing off the Spanish yoke, and establishing the independence of the country, the expedition would in all probability have proved successful, and thus have secured to Britain her primary object — the trade of the country.

Notwithstanding the fatal termination of this enterprise, another expedition still more formidable was prepared for the same object, the destination of which was changed by the breaking out of the revolution of Spain. These, and other attempts made on the coast of the Spanish colonies, induced the government to adopt measures for providing a larger military force in the seaports; and the indications of a revolutionary spirit which had been disclosed so alarmed the court of Madrid, as to occasion new military regulations for the greater security of the capital, and to enable the viceroys and generals of the provinces to support each other in case of civil commotions. It is to the subversion of the monarchy of Spain, by Bonaparte, that in a great measure the world is indebted for the independence of Spanish America, and all the hopes inspired by the successful and patriotic career it has hitherto pursued, for its present condition and glorious prospects. Thus an act of tyranny and usurpation in one hemisphere, was rendered conducive to the establishment of liberty in another, and the emancipation of a large portion of the globe.[b]




## CHAPTER IV

## REVOLUTIONS IN SPANISH AMERICA

THE causes of the revolution in Spanish America are not found in any change of policy on the part of Spain, nor in any essential variation in the sentiments of the Americans respecting the parent country. A people who enjoyed no political rights could be deprived of none; no disputes, therefore, could arise respecting the rights of the colonies and the prerogatives of the crown, as existed between Great Britain and her American possessions. The flames of civil war were not kindled in the Spanish colonies by resistance to a tax on tea, or a denial of the unqualified right of taxation, claimed to be binding on the colonies "in all cases whatsoever" — since to this they had for three centuries quietly submitted. Although the North American and French revolutions may have shed some rays of light over these countries, yet the causes of their recent civil changes are to be sought for solely in the peculiar condition of Spain, and the total derangement of her monarchy.

Leaving out of the account the unfortunate attempt at La Paz, the bloody drama of the revolution first opened in Colombia, and as the struggle there was most protracted and severe, and its final success having been the means of the emancipation of the other colonies, Colombia seems to possess a more commanding revolutionary character than any of her sister republics.

Spain had for more than a century been on a decline when, in 1808, a finishing stroke was given to her degradation by the ambitious designs of the emperor Napoleon. Not satisfied with having reduced the peninsula to a condition little above that of a conquered state, and with draining off its resources to support his wars, Bonaparte made one of the boldest attempts recorded in history to seize on the country and transfer the crown to his own family. Partly by fraud, but more by force, he obtained possession of the persons of Ferdinand VII, his father, and most of the royal family, caused them to pass over into France, and detained them at Bayonne, where, in May, 1808, the father was constrained to abdicate to his son, and the latter to renounce his crown to Joseph Bonaparte.[b]

### GENERAL REVOLT OF THE SPANISH AMERICAN COLONIES

The invasion of Spain and the captivity of the king afforded the Spanish colonies the opportunity they required for rising in revolt. The unlooked-

for news caused a deep and natural agitation in America. The junta of Seville and the regency of Cadiz claimed the same authority over the colonies as the king, but the Americans opposed their authority; they were not prepared to recognise Joseph Bonaparte, but were equally averse to obeying the Spanish juntas. They maintained that the American provinces had the same right as the Spanish to govern themselves during the king's captivity by means of special juntas. Two parties were formed throughout the colonies: the Spaniards proper, holding the high civil and ecclesiastical posts, wished obedience to be given to the junta of Seville and the regency of Cadiz; the Spanish-Americans or creoles, on the contrary, would not recognise the authority of the Spanish juntas, and wished special juntas to be formed in the colonies themselves. To disguise their secret aspirations for absolute independence, the leaders of the revolution repeated, "We will obey the king when he is set at liberty; until then we will have an independent government." The result of these disputes was the general revolt of the Spanish-Americans from Mexico to Plata and Chili (1810). The creoles then established their national juntas of government, and commenced the reform of the colonial institutions; the Spanish party resisted, and war broke out. While the Spaniards of the mother country were defending their independence against the French, the colonies in America were similarly occupied against Spain herself.

When Ferdinand VII recovered his liberty, blood had already been shed in the colonies, and the latter would no longer submit to this base and despotic monarch who, on his return to Spain, persecuted the very men who had shown such heroism in fighting for him against the French. The revolutionists had to fight not only against the Spanish forces but also against political and religious prejudices; to many Americans the revolution was a sin against God and the king; on the other hand they lacked arms, ammunition, and ships, and the money to buy them; nevertheless by their determined will they vanquished all obstacles and worked prodigies.

In the first instance the advantage was to the revolutionists, but on the expulsion of the French and the return of Ferdinand VII Spain was able to send more troops against the revolted colonies. From 1814 to 1815 the revolutionists were everywhere defeated, in spite of which they recommenced the struggle and recovered the advantage. The outbreak of the liberal revolution in the mother country in 1820, provoked by Ferdinand's despotism, favoured the Americans by dividing the Spaniards, and preventing the setting out of an army prepared to fight against them.

Bolivar and Sucre, San Martin and O'Higgins, were the great champions of South American independence. Setting out from north and south almost simultaneously, the Colombian troops led by the liberator Bolivar, and the Chilian and Argentine led by San Martin, met victorious in Peru, centre of Spanish power in South America. The illustrious General Sucre, the liberator's second, set the seal forever on Spanish-American independence by the memorable victory of Ayacucho, December 9th, 1824. Shortly afterwards the Spaniards lost their last defences, and of all her former colonies, now converted into republics, in the beginning of 1826 only Porto Rico and Cuba were left to Spain.

Upon the fall of Napoleon the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia formed the Holy Alliance, with the object, scarcely holy, of combating liberal ideas in all parts and restoring absolute government. Powerless to subject her revolted colonies, Spain invoked the intervention and aid of the European monarchs against the new republics of America, but the policy of the United

States, supported by England, defeated the plans of the Holy Alliance. Shortly after, the United States definitely recognised the independence of the new republics, 1822. The following year the king of France, in concert with the Holy Alliance, brought an army against the Spanish liberals and defeated them, re-establishing the despotic sway of Ferdinand VII, who caused a renewal of the plots of the Holy Alliance against the Latin-American republics. President Monroe of the United States, however, declared that the states would consider as hostile to themselves any European interference with the new republics. This attitude of the United States and the decisive defeat of the Spaniards at Ayacucho, in the following year, brought England to a decision. Following the advice of Canning, she recognised the independence of the new American states, and her example was immediately followed by the remaining European powers. Spain, who had solicited even the spiritual support of the pope, finally lost hope of European intervention to regain her former colonies; she was compelled therefore to resign herself, and in various treaties recognised the independence of nearly all the colonies. The new republics naturally formed one family; they all professed the same religion, spoke the same tongue, and had inherited from Spain the same vices and virtues. They were all of the same origin, had fought together the battle of independence, and had the same mission to maintain a democratic republic, and by liberty to regenerate themselves. Their political interests were therefore solidary — whatever benefited or harmed one, benefited or harmed all.[c]

### REVOLUTION IN NEW GRANADA

The war of independence in New Granada and Peru is closely associated with the name of the creole, Simon Bolivar of Caracas.[1] This distinguished general and statesman, of European education, devoted his strength and his fortune to the liberation of his countrymen, and did not allow himself to be turned aside from his goal by their ingratitude. Venezuela had already proclaimed its independence in 1811; a terrible earthquake, which almost wholly destroyed the capital Caracas and killed twenty thousand people in Valencia, was interpreted by the clergy as a punishment from heaven for the revolt and was used to bring the country back under Spanish dominion. The pitiless severity and blood-thirstiness of the Spaniards in persecuting the republicans brought the smothered flames to a new outburst. Bolivar led six hundred men across the Andes; thousands of discontented men flocked to his standard in order to avenge the deaths of the executed patriots. He was appointed dictator by the federal congress of New Granada, which hailed him as "saviour" and organised a war "to the knife" by signing the terrible decree of Truxillo (January 2nd, 1814), which condemned to death every Spaniard convicted of being a royalist. A war, terrible, vicissitudinous, full of difficulties, wearisome battles, and privations, now broke out between Morillo on the one side and Bolivar, who was supported by Paez, a coloured man and an able soldier. Whenever Morillo conquered, the blood of the republicans flowed in streams; Bolivar in revenge caused eight hundred imprisoned Spaniards to be executed. The Spaniards received terrible aid from the llaneros, who, like the gauchos of the Pampas, led a nomadic life as shepherds and butchers on the grassy steppes of Terra Firma. They were accustomed to a hardy and frugal

[1 The standard of revolt had been raised at the end of the eighteenth century by the creole general Miranda of Caracas, but the attempt failed because of the lack of harmony among the different classes, races, and provinces.]

life on the sunny pastures, and as soldiers armed with their pikes and lassoes inflicted great damage and sanguinary defeats on the republicans. Bolivar was compelled to lay down the chief command and to seek safety in flight to Santo Domingo. The reaction of the absolute monarchy proceeded over corpses, with confiscation of property and extortion. However, Bolivar returned and his appearance aroused again the sinking courage of the republicans; successful feats of arms increased his renown. Venezuela and New Granada formed a federation, chose Bolivar as captain-general, and at a congress at Angostura declared that the two republics had united into the republic of Colombia, composed of three parts (December 17th, 1819). A new army was to sail from Cadiz to America. This was the army which, by raising the standard of revolt, ushered in the rule of the cortes in Spain. But the cortes government also was unwilling to recognise the independence of the colonies, and the war began anew. In spite of the brave bearing of General Morale, however, the war resulted in disaster for the disagreeing Spaniards. The republic of Colombia obtained its independence and elected Bolivar as president (1824). A commercial treaty soon bound the young republic with North America.[d]

### REVOLUTION IN ECUADOR, CHILE, AND PERU

In the mean while Quito had shared in the revolutionary sentiments which began to agitate Spanish South America towards the end of the seventeenth century, and a political society, the Escuela de Concordia, was founded at Quito on the initiative of the Quitonian doctor Eugenio Espejo.[a]

The cry of liberty was raised in Quito on the 10th of August, 1809, and the acts of installation of the 19th and 20th of September revealed an attempt to establish a new order of things; the battles which took place at Biblian, Mocha, Panecillo, and San Antonio de Caranqin proved how vigorous were the attempts to gain independence, although they were quelled by General Toribio Montes. On the 9th of October, 1820, the cry was repeated in the town of Guayaquil, but the people of Ecuador lacked union among themselves, and numbered infamous traitors in their ranks; they also lacked every means of sustaining a fight against the prejudices of three centuries, and in their simplicity thought that the power of kings on earth was as it were the incarnation of the power of heaven; hence they were defeated on the fields of Primer Guachi, Verde Lorna, Tanisagua, and Segundo Guachi in the years 1820 and 1821, though they were victorious at Babahoya and Yaguachi.

The able General Antonio José de Sucre, sent to Guayaquil by the great liberator Bolivar, in the name of the inhabitants of Venezuela and New Granada, which were already free, was not disheartened by his defeat at Segundo Guachi, but organised a new army in Guayaquil, and, reinforced by the Peruvian division commanded by General Andres Santa Cruz, crossed the mountain chain of the interior, and gained a complete victory on May 22nd, 1822, on the summit of Pichincha, in the Andes, and sealed the liberty and independence of Quito by a treaty signed on the 24th by the Spanish president of Quito, Don Melchor de Aymeric. Ecuador, becoming incorporated with New Granada and Venezuela which had already been formed into a republic, accepted the government and constitutional principles of Cucuta given in July, 1821.[e] The republic formed by the confederation of these three states was called Colombia.[a]

The Chilians took the first step towards asserting their independence by deposing the Spanish president, and putting in his place (September 18th,

1810) a committee of seven men,[1] nominated by themselves, to whom were intrusted all the executive powers. In April, 1811, the first blood was spilled in the cause of Chilian independence. A battalion of royal troops which had been drawn up in the great square of Santiago was attacked by a detachment of patriot grenadiers, and routed, with considerable loss on both sides. In the same year (December 20th) the government was vested in a triumvirate, and Juan José Carrera was appointed general-in-chief of the army about to be formed.

In 1813 a powerful army, under the command of General Paroja, invaded Chili, but was twice defeated by the republican troops under Carrera. The royalists, however, speedily received large reinforcements; and after a severe contest Chili was once more obliged to own the sovereignty of Spain. For three years more the people submitted (under the Spanish governors Osorio and Pont) to the old system of tyranny and misgovernment, till at length the patriot refugees, having levied an army in La Plata, and received the support of the Buenos Ayreans, marched against the Spaniards, and completely defeated them at Chacabuco in 1817.

The patriots next proceeded to organise an elective government, of which San Martin, the general of the army, was nominated the supreme director. Their arrangements, however, were not completed when they were attacked once more by the royalists, and routed at the battle of Cancha-rayada with great loss. Betrayed into a fatal security by this success, the royalist troops neglected the most ordinary military precautions, and being suddenly attacked by the patriots in the plains of Maipo, were defeated with great slaughter. This victory secured the independence of Chili. *f*

The history of the revolution in Peru completes in a way the histories of revolution in Colombia and Chili, which countries, although they succeeded in throwing off the Spanish yoke before their neighbour, could not hope to remain independent as long as the Spaniards ruled in Peru. Although late in acquiring her independence, Peru had been early in rebelling against Spanish oppressions. As we have already seen, a rebellion headed by Tupac Amaru broke out in 1780, which ended in failure but gave the first blow to the power of Spain. Others preached rebellion after Tupac Amaru, and in 1814 the Peruvians again attempted a revolt but were defeated at the battle of Umachiri (March 12th, 1815).*a*

Chili, the immediate neighbour of Peru, had already recovered its independence. Lord Cochrane had been appointed commander-in-chief of the naval forces; he made an audacious attempt to seize the port of Callao, which, if it had succeeded, would have liberated the whole country. It had at least the result of inspiring the patriots with new confidence. Cochrane, cruising along the coast, despoiling the Spanish landholders, while he respected the possessions of the Peruvians and of the creoles, filled the hearts of the former with terror, and inspired the latter with sympathetic confidence. Accordingly, when the Chilian army appeared on Peruvian territory, it was hailed as a liberator. This army, commanded by General San Martin, did not number more than forty-five hundred men under its flag, and had only twelve pieces of cannon; the Spanish troops cantoned in the land did not number less than twenty-three thousand combatants. The viceroy, giving way to the pressure of the malevolent sentiments of the people, which seemed to increase every minute in hostility towards the government, went away from the city, leaving it in the hands of the marquis de Montmiré, a man who

[1 The real leader of the revolution was Dr. Martinez de Rosas, the most influential man among the patriots.]

enjoyed universal esteem and who was alone able, in this critical moment, to replace authority with influence. The city thus left to itself begged the commander of the troops of Chili to come and receive its surrender; the city was in a hurry to give itself up to him.

San Martin declared himself the protector of Peru, and took up the civil and military dictatorship, adding that after having expelled the last enemies from the liberated soil he would give back to the country the care of its own destiny. Another decree, dated August 12th, 1821, proclaimed the freedom of children born in Peru, after July 28th of the preceding year, even when the fathers and mothers were slaves. The tribute was suppressed as disgraceful to those who paid it; it was the same with the *mita*, that conscription so mortal in its effects and iniquitous in principle; it was also decided that the natives should no longer be called Indians, which name had been made a sort of moral insult to them, but that on the contrary henceforth there should be only Peruvians in Peru. Unfortunately for the cause of independence, grave dissensions broke out between General San Martin and Lord Cochrane. Making use of his incontestable authority, San Martin ordered Cochrane to return immediately to Chili. But the latter, instead of obeying, having learned that two Spanish frigates had appeared in the waters of Panama, sailed towards the north to give them chase. This unsuccessful attempt had no other result than to prove still more clearly the insubordination of which the general-in-chief complained. The admiral did not find the ships he was looking for; but on his return to the Peruvian coast, finding in the port of Callao a Spanish frigate which had surrendered to the agents of the new government, Cochrane dared to claim it as though he had captured it. His demand was rejected and Lord Cochrane finally set sail for Valparaiso, where he arrived September 1st, 1822.

This departure, joined to the capitulation of Callao and the retreat of General Canterac, permitted San Martin to think at last of ending the war. But difficulties of more than one sort were still to obstruct the progress of affairs. San Martin had committed a fault which is perhaps difficult to avoid after a revolutionary triumph. He had given places and employment to men who had no other right to have them than their enthusiasm for the new ideas. Enthusiasm does not always supply talent. One of his improvised generals was defeated by Canterac, who took a thousand of the independents prisoners and captured four pieces of artillery and part of the baggage.

In the mean while the national congress met on September 20th, 1812. San Martin went to the assembly, took off his insignia of power, and resigned his almost sovereign authority into the hands of the representative of the people. A decree, voted by acclamation, expressed to him the gratitude of Peru and conferred on him the title of generalissimo of the republican armies. He accepted the title but without ever exercising the functions, and immediately left the soil he had liberated, to take refuge in the peace and obscurity of a private life.

One of the first acts of congress was to create an executive power, under the name of the governing junta, composed of three members, General José Lamar, Antonio Alvarado, and Count Vista Florida. This junta soon gave way under the weight of affairs and under its own incapacity, and congress, yielding to the pressure of the army, appointed Colonel Riva Aguero president of the republic. General Santa Cruz took command of the army, but Canterac, profiting by the disorganisation of the new government, tried once more to re-establish the authority of the mother country. At that moment he was at the head of a thousand men, who were disciplined and experienced in war.

He soon appeared before Lima, and made his entry into the capital on June 18th, 1823. Colonel Riva Aguero retired to Callao with the congress, which held its sessions in a little church. Riva Aguero was deposed and, fleeing from Callao as he had fled from Lima, retired to Truxillo, still followed by congress. The Colombian general Sucre was invested with the supreme authority. Canterac left the capital after having plundered it. The campaign of Santa Cruz was not successful; he lost six thousand men out of his seven thousand, and returned to Lima with only a handful of soldiers. The generalissimo of the republic in his turn was obliged to take refuge in Callao.

Harassed on all sides and incapable of resisting the twenty thousand men of the royalist troops which had been massed against them, the patriots were within a finger's breadth of destruction when Bolivar, the president of the Colombian Republic, authorised by the congress of his country, entered Lima on September 1st, 1823. Although the presence of this man, who appeared in Peru as a liberator, was hailed with some enthusiasm, difficulties were not lacking to his first attempts. In the first place, the ex-president Riva Aguero, at the head of a certain number of partisans, rebelled against the new government and had to be suppressed; soon afterwards a military insurrection seized Callao and forced Bolivar to evacuate Lima; almost at the same time the minister of war, a general, officers of all grades, and three squadrons of cavalry went over to the royal army.

These vexatious rebuffs might have discouraged a man of weaker stuff than Bolivar, but he was one of those who are spurred on by difficulty and who rouse themselves before an obstacle. The prestige of his name attracted four thousand more Peruvians, whom he joined to the six thousand Colombians he had at his disposal. The sanguinary battle of Juno, in which he defeated the troops of Canterac, set the movement for independence on a firmer footing, and the great day of Ayacucho assured it a definite triumph. The effect of that battle was far-reaching. Everyone who was an enemy of Peruvian independence had to surrender or leave the country. One of the heroes of the battle, General Gamara, marched immediately upon Cuzco at the head of a Peruvian battalion. The garrison, conforming to the terms of the capitulation of Ayacucho, laid down its arms. The royalist general Tristan then took the title of viceroy and made a last attempt to save a lost cause. This last effort was useless, and he had to surrender to a patriot colonel with the small garrison of Arequipa. One of the last partisans who still fought for Spain, Alaleta, still held the field, but he too was forced to submit in his turn.

The old masters of Peru now possessed only the citadel of Callao. It is true that its garrison, commanded by an intrepid soldier, the heroic Rodil, made one of those desperate resistances which ennoble causes destined to failure. Rodil and his companions for thirteen months endured all the horrors of famine and war, added to disease, their ordinary companion. He finally surrendered on February 26th, 1826, when for some time he had no longer had a mouthful of bread to give to his men, who were reduced to the most cruel extremity.

This time at least Peru was free and the Spanish dominion was forever overthrown. Rodil by his magnificent defence gave the latter a splendid funeral. When the hour for defeat comes it is well to be able to fall with honour. Although the war of independence was terminated, the task of the patriots was not yet accomplished. It remained for them to organise the country, to give to Peru strong and enduring institutions.

### BOLIVIA

Before the revolution Upper Peru had formed part of the vice-royalty of Buenos Ayres, but there was a radical difference between the two countries in manners, customs, and even in language. Accordingly the republic of Argentina, with a disinterestedness and a political sense which cannot be too highly praised, instead of claiming the least rights of suzerainty, permitted the newly liberated country to decide freely upon its future. A general assembly of delegates declared that, in conformity with the wishes of the people, Upper Peru would form a separate government and would call itself Bolivia. The name was not the only homage rendered to the great patriot who had done so much for the nation. It was voted to give him $1,000,000 as a pecuniary reward for his services. He accepted the money only to devote it to buying back slaves.

Bolivar soon left the new state to install the congress of Lower Peru. The liberator had given Bolivia a new constitution with the possibility of appointing his successor. He would have liked to have the same principles adopted by the country which had just called him to establish its government. The Peruvian patriots would not consent, and from that moment a systematic opposition was formed against Bolivar.

### REACTION AGAINST BOLIVAR

Bolivar was accredited with ambitious views. Everywhere he went he met an ill will which wounded his pride. He was accused of conspiracy. He felt obliged to act rigorously, and he practised a severity which was often cruel. At one time there was fear of a return to anarchy. Bolivar, giving way to a displeasure which he had a right to feel, or perhaps pretending it in order to try a politic measure which he was almost sure would succeed, announced his intention of leaving for Colombia. In an instant demonstrations were organised to beg him to remain in his new country. The people even came soon to asking for the adoption of the Bolivian constitution which had been so energetically repulsed a few months previously.

The troubles which broke out just then in Colombia, where General Paez had put himself in a state of disobedience and almost of rebellion against the central government, obliged Bolivar to leave Lima for Bogota. His presence alone and his influence were enough to re-establish order without the necessity of resorting to the hand of the executioner. But Bolivar's attempt to make his native country adopt the constitution which was the object of his too persevering solicitude remained unsuccessful. This constitution moreover was no more liked in Peru than in Colombia, and Bolivar had hardly left Lima before the people rebelled against it. From that moment the Peruvians had only one wish — to get rid of Bolivar's charter and of the Colombian troops. The signal for insurrection was given by Colonel Bustamante, who in the night of January 26th, 1827, put himself at the head of a number of determined men and arrested the generals Lara and Sanz and the foreign officers of whose hostility and energy he was afraid.

A vessel was ready and waiting in the port of Callao; it took the Colombians on board and set sail for Guayaquil. The ministers at once resigned, but General Santa Cruz was none the less kept at the head of the government. In the mean time the first question was the evacuation of the territory by the foreign troops. They were paid a part of their arrear salaries, and in the following March Bustamante could preside over their embarkment. There was

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then a violent reaction against the Bolivian — as the author of the detested constitution was called. People had as many maledictions for him as they had before had praises and words of adoration. A new congress met at Lima on June 24th, and its first act was to repudiate the Bolivian constitution. General Lamar was chosen president of the republic, and soon Peru declared war on Colombia and on the man from whom she had received her liberty.

The opening of the campaign was unfortunate for Colombia, for she lost the port of Guayaquil. At the same time the Peruvians invaded their enemy's territory, but one battle lost was enough to punish this unjust aggression. Their army was almost completely defeated at Tarqui in the province of Quito. Bolivar did not take undue advantage of the victory, and showed instead an extreme moderation in the conditions in the treaty of peace which regulated the frontiers of the two states and consecrated their mutual independence.

The reaction which had declared itself so strongly in Lower Peru against Colombian influence was only too faithfully imitated in Bolivia. There was as it were a rivalry in ingratitude between the two states. General Sucre, in accepting for two years the presidency which the constitution gave him for all his life, had stipulated for the right to keep near him two thousand men of the Colombian troops, his war companions. Bolivia had acquiesced in this demand, but soon the national pride was irritated at what it regarded a disgrace, and it wished to obtain the immediate evacuation of the territory. The assistance of Lower Peru was asked and obtained. The troops of General Sucre in spite of their bravery could not resist the superior numbers, and the liberator of Bolivia was conquered and obliged to leave. From that moment Peru and Bolivia have remained independent of the foreign yoke.[9]

### A COLOMBIAN ESTIMATE OF BOLIVAR

As a warrior Bolivar is on a level with the greatest men of ancient and modern history; he was possessed of vast genius in forming a plan of action, and unparalleled energy in carrying it into execution and in overcoming all obstacles. His audacity, valour, constancy, and patient suffering of misfortune, until fortune was once more captive, a creative talent for drawing resources out of nothingness, these brilliant qualities make Bolivar one of the most distinguished warriors of his century. In fact, having commenced his daring enterprise with but two hundred and fifty men, he liberated Venezuela, New Granada, and Ecuador. To have pursued the Spaniards as far as Peru and conquered in Junin and Ayacucho are deeds worthy of immortal fame. These rich and vast possessions were occupied and defended by more than forty thousand soldiers, led by excellent generals and officers, protected by their fortifications and upheld by the moral force arising from three hundred years of rule. By his genius and perseverance, Bolivar raised an army from nothing and seized these places from them forever. In less than eight years the flag of Colombia flew victoriously over all the country between the mouths of the Orinoco and the silver summits of Potosi.

Bolivar's glory reached its height with the liberty of Peru and his military career was ended with Ayacucho; from that time we may look upon him as a politician and administrator. In this first character, some of the acts of Bolivar bear the stamp of a great talent. In 1813 he liberated his country Venezuela from the iron yoke of Spain, but the fierce war which the Spaniards and their partisans made on him prevented his organising the country. With terrible retaliation, he declared war without mercy; then followed scenes of

bloodshed and cruelty which strike one with horror. From 1816 Bolivar conducted the war with humanity and created the republic of Colombia, which great political act gave the civilised world a very favourable idea of its founder. This republic sprang up under the shade of his laurels, and Bolivar, triumphant, created beyond Ecuador the republics of Peru and Bolivia. His was the idea of convoking an American congress in the isthmus of Panama — an ideal Utopia which did not produce the desired results. By these eminent services Bolivar won the love, respect, veneration, and unbounded confidence of all the generals and officers of the liberating army, who pledged themselves to obedience, and also of the inhabitants of the three republics.

But from the time he declared his faith in the suggested constitution for Bolivia, which his ill-advised counsellors caused to be unlawfully adopted in Peru; from the time, in 1826, when he supported by his influence the antagonists of the constitution of Colombia, and when his agents encouraged the people in their unlawful acts, inspired by the desire of some to bring him to the dictatorship, and the scheme of others to form an empire of Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia, or a vast confederation of the three republics, of which he should be protector; from the time when he rewarded Paez and all those who had contributed to the dismemberment of Colombia and the destruction of the constitution of Cucuta — his anger being directed against those who upheld the constitutional government — a great mistrust of him took hold of the Colombians.

Furious enemies rose up on all sides against Bolivar, attacking him in the name of liberty, which they said he menaced. In the midst of exalted passions and adverse parties, the liberator, supported by the army in his opinion of a Colombian preponderance, accepted the dictatorship, which unfortunately occasioned the conspiracy of the 25th of September, which exalted the military power beyond what was necessary to repress an excessive and turbulent democracy.

In 1829 Bolivar discountenanced and entirely put an end to the project of a monarchy, which some desired; he never wished for it, in spite of his love of rule and of command without subjection to laws. Calumniated, persecuted, and repudiated by his enemies and by a great part of Colombia, he threw up the supreme command in disgust, and by not leaving his territory, as he had offered to do, and as was fitting, he gave new food for calumny to his enemies, who persecuted him even beyond the tomb. Bolivar hated the details of administration, and was wont to say that the study was a martyrdom to him. He showed great vigour and firmness in enforcing his resolutions, and great perseverance in pushing forward his designs, ever undaunted by obstacles, however great. He was of opinion that the theories of European economists could not be adopted in Colombia, and therefore preferred to continue the same taxes to which the people were accustomed. He was economical and never spent the public revenue without need and never permitted it to be defrauded. He was a lover of justice wherever he found it, and his decrees were always in accordance with it. He showed great judgment and penetration in choosing his chief lieutenants: Sucre, Santander, Soublette, Salon, and Flores were worthy to be his subordinates.

Graciously yielding to his friends, he sometimes attempted by his advice to pass resolutions contrary to established rule, and to the plan followed by his ministers: nevertheless he showed the latter great consideration, vigorously supporting their orders, and placing absolute confidence in them.

As a military orator, Bolivar was passionate, pointed, original, eloquent, and profound. Presenting himself in 1813 to his fellow citizens of Venezuela

for the first time as their liberator, he said: "I am one of you who, by the power of the God of mercy, have miraculously thrown off the yoke of the tyrants who oppressed us, and am come to redeem you from your cruel captivity. Prostrate yourself before an omnipotent God, and let your hymn of praise reach the throne of him who has restored to you the august character of men!" and turning to the soldiers of Granada who accompanied him — "and you, loyal republicans, will march to rescue the cradle of Colombian independence, as the crusaders set free Jerusalem, cradle of Christianity."

But not only did Bolivar possess the rare eloquence of a soldier; his sayings by the depth of their wisdom are worthy of Plato or Socrates. The following are some of them: Slavery is the daughter of darkness, and an ignorant person is generally the blind instrument of his own ruin. Ambition and intrigue make capital out of the credulity of men wholly ignorant of the principles of civil and political economy. Ignorance frequently takes pure illusion for fact, license for liberty, treachery for patriotism, and vengeance for justice. "Man," says Homer, "with the loss of liberty loses half his spirit." Where a sacred respect for country, laws, and constitutional authority does not exist, society is a state of confusion, an abyss, and a conflict between man and man, party and party. The most perfect system of government is that which produces the greatest degree of prosperity, social security, and political stability."[h]

General Holstein,[l] chief of staff under President Bolivar, gives us another view. According to him, Bolivar was ungrateful, hypocritical, vain, and treacherous, without being a great general. In one place, after telling how Bolivar's cousin Ribas procured him his first command in the republican army, he says: "These circumstances were the origin of the subsequent grandeur of Bolivar, who has ever had the fortune to profit by the bravery, skill, and patriotism of others. When Ribas was killed Bolivar fled. Paez was victorious when Bolivar was not with him, and beaten when the latter directed operations. Sucre gained the battle of Ayacucho, in Peru, when Bolivar was sick."[a]

### REVOLUTION IN ARGENTINA

The disturbances which ultimately led to the separation of the country from Spain were initiated by the refusal of the Argentines to acknowledge the Napoleonic dynasty established at Madrid. Liniers, who was viceroy on the arrival of the news of the crowning of Joseph Buonaparte as king of Spain, was deposed by the adherents of Ferdinand VII; and on July 19th, 1809, Cisneros became viceroy in the name of Ferdinand. In compliance with the urgent appeals of the people, he opened the trade of the country to foreign nations; and on May 25th, 1810, a council was formed, with his consent, under the title of the Provisional Government of the provinces of the Rio de la Plata. This has since been regarded as the commencement of the era of the political independence of the country. Of this council Mariano Morino, the secretary, was the most prominent member, and the people of the city of Buenos Ayres were for some time its only effective supporters. An attempt of the Spanish party to make Cisneros president of the council failed, and he retired to Montevideo. On January 31st, 1813, a congress was assembled at Buenos Ayres, and Posadas was elected dictator of the republic. Montevideo still supported the cause of Spain, but was besieged by the revolutionary army of Buenos Ayres, and capitulated in 1814. A sanguinary struggle between the party of independence and the adherents of Spain spread over all the country of the Rio de la Plata; but on March 25th, 1816, a new congress of deputies elected by the people was assembled at Tucuman, where Payridon was declared

president of the republic; and on July 9th, the separation of the country from Spain was formally declared, and a state of comparative order was re-established. Buenos Ayres was then declared the seat of government. The whole of the viceroyalty did not, however, acknowledge this government. Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay, established themselves each as a separate republic, after passing through scenes of disorder, whilst the city of Buenos Ayres was itself the scene of sanguinary disturbances. From this time, however, the struggle for independence became, as regards the Argentine Republic, more of a foreign than a domestic war. The combined forces of Buenos Ayres and Chili defeated the Spaniards at Chacabuco in 1817, and at Maypu in 1818; and from Chili the victorious General San Martin led his troops into Peru, where, on July 9th, 1821, he made a triumphal entry into the city of Lima, which had been the greatest stronghold of the Spanish power, having been, from the time of its foundation by Pizarro, the seat of government of the viceroyalty of Peru. A general congress was assembled at Buenos Ayres on March 1st, 1822, in the presence of ambassadors from all the liberated states, and a general amnesty was decreed, though the war was not ended until December 9th, 1824, when the republican forces gained the final victory of Ayacucho, in the Peruvian districts of the Amazon. The Spanish government did not, however, formally acknowledge the independence of the country until the year 1842. On January 23rd, 1825, a national constitution for the federal states which form the present Argentine Republic was decreed; and on February 2nd of the same year Sir Woodbine Parish, acting under the instructions of Mr. Canning, signed a commercial treaty in Buenos Ayres by which the British government acknowledged the independence of the country.[1]

### REVOLUTION IN URUGUAY

The English invasions, which have already been mentioned, were the chance cause of transcendental changes. We know that owing to the ideas generally held in past centuries with respect to the conquests and colonial system a great difference was made between the Spaniards and Americans of Rio de la Plata; the former discharged the greater part of the public offices, especially the most important, and had monopolised the commerce with the peninsula; the latter lacked political freedom and their civil liberty was restricted, and socially they were looked upon as of inferior race. This difference gave rise to feelings of rivalry which for a long time had been slowly increasing but which, until 1806, when the antagonism had begun to take a definite form had only been noticeable in intimate familiar dealings. The viceroy, in fact, had fled at the approach of the invaders; the Spanish troops had done nothing to check them, and the reconquest was principally due to the forces despatched from Montevideo, under command of Don Santiago Liniers, and to the determination of Buenos Ayres and the neighbouring towns. This caused the viceroy's authority to be disregarded, and he was replaced by the hero of the reconquest. Foreseeing that the English would return, Liniers summoned the people, without distinction, to arms, and organised them in such manner that the corps were distinguished by the nationality of the men, so that there were troops formed exclusively of Spaniards, and exclusively of Argentines. The second invasion took place, in which the latter proved that their strength was worthy to be compared with that of the former. Thus there arose an eager rivalry, which established a certain equality in the influence of the two parties.

The Spaniards then attempted to regain the exclusive power to which they

had been accustomed; towards the close of 1808 the governor and the corporation of Montevideo pronounced against Liniers, and on the 1st of the following January the Spanish troops rose in arms in Buenos Ayres; but this rising was quelled by the patriot forces, the creoles gained the ascendency and secured their complete triumph with the famous revolution of May 25th, 1810. The governing junta appointed on the same day immediately set about obtaining the adherence of all the authorities and towns of the Vireinato; most of them complied, but the Spanish governor and corporation of Montevideo lost no time in declaring war upon the revolutionary powers of Buenos Ayres. The junta then prepared to spread the fire of revolution in the interior of Banda Oriental; it dispatched regular troops, appointed a commander-in-chief of the operations, and intrusted the command of the Uruguay militia to Don José Artigas (1811). The population of the rural districts rose in a body, and after various feats of arms, diplomatic proceedings, and acts of anarchy, Spanish power was forever vanquished in Rio de la Plata by the taking of Montevideo by Alvar, in June, 1814.

The American forces had not yet entered Montevideo, when the Argentine directorate decreed that Banda Oriental should form a province alone, with rights equal to those enjoyed by the other provinces, and should be governed by a governor intendente, in the same manner and with the same prerogatives as the other provinces forming part of the state. Shortly afterward the east province of Rio de la Plata was divided into departments which afterwards served as a basis for the new subdivisions, which have successively followed. Artigas, who had left the scene of war because of his misunderstandings with the generals of the army and with the government of Buenos Ayres, had expressed himself as willing that Banda Oriental should figure in the new state of La Plata as a confederate province; on the fall of Spanish power he claimed for himself the government of Montevideo, compelled the general government to withdraw their troops and officials (February, 1815), carried war into the west Argentine provinces, and the following years were passed in a deplorable state of military anarchism, and under a despotic military rule still remembered with sorrow.

### PORTUGUESE INTERVENTION IN URUGUAY

The Portuguese government took advantage of the state of affairs under pretext of the necessity of maintaining order in Brazil, which was threatened by Artigas; they calculated that if the Argentine government, engaged in the war against the Spanish forces on the northern confines of their west territory, had been unable to compel Artigas to return to his own provinces and content himself with the command of it, they were still less likely to be able effectually to prevent the armies of Portugal and of Brazil from seizing Banda Oriental. They also calculated that the government of Buenos Ayres would offer no opposition, preferring to lose one province on condition that the terrible leader should be annihilated rather than to see themselves deprived of authority in the three or four provinces where he constantly dominated, calling their attention from the war of independence to check the progresses of interior anarchism. The Portuguese government, therefore, caused troops to be despatched from Lisbon, recruited others in Brazil, intrusted the command to Lecor, and gave orders to the latter to occupy the fortress of Montevideo, and all the towns and territories situated to the east of Uruguay, ostensibly to re-establish order but in reality to complete their conquest. Towards the close of 1816, three armies penetrated into the province at three distinct points. The

Argentine government, disposed at first to tolerate the invasion as a means of vanquishing Artigas, afterwards attempted at various times to enter into an agreement with the latter to form an alliance to repel the invaders, but in vain; as, though the Uruguay chief accepted and desired the co-operation of the national forces, it was on condition that he should dispose of them at his will, and that they should not obey the supreme authority of the state; the latter rejected the condition for reasons easily understood, and for fear that the armies it provided would be turned against itself.

Artigas, therefore, had to meet the invaders with the Uruguay militia and with the militia which he compelled the western towns under his sway to supply, that is to say, the towns of Santa Fé, Entre Rios, Corrientes, and Misiones. He fought valiantly during three years, but as the multitudes who obeyed him were uncivilised, undisciplined, and badly armed, and as he lacked leaders of military experience, he was unfortunate in every action and was compelled to abandon the country forever at the beginning of 1820, and to take refuge in Paraguay, pursued by Ramirez, a leader of Entre Rios.

Montevideo threw open its gates to General Lecor on January 20th, 1817, and the other towns successively followed this example; the laws in existence up to that time were declared in force, the religion of the inhabitants was respected, the members of the corporation continued to discharge their municipal duties, and the generals and officers who submitted were incorporated into the army keeping their respective grades. The Portuguese authorities further established a tribunal of justice composed of five members, enlarged the hospital of Caridad, commanding the adjacent houses of Don Juan Cayetano Molina to be hired for the purpose, re-established the civic corps, founded an orphanage adjoining the hospital of Caridad, organised a police force to maintain order and safeguard public health, planned a lottery the object of which was to supply funds for the foundling institution, endeavoured to forward public education on a new plan, devoting to this purpose, together with the foundling institution the proceeds of the seal fishery, and established a body of farmers to forward rural interests, etc. Lecor's administration being from the first distinguished by a careful attention to public and individual interests, he had no difficulty in winning the sympathy of conservative classes, and in causing a congress of deputies from Banda Oriental to be convoked in Montevideo gratifying to Portugal's ambitious aims. This congress on July 18th, 1821, decreed that Banda Oriental should be incorporated within the united kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarve, under the name of Cisplatine State, as its condition rendered it unfitted for independence, and because union with any other state would be less advantageous to it.

### URUGUAY BECOMES PART OF BRAZIL

When Brazil declared its independence the question arose whether the Cisplatine state should continue to be united to Portugal or to the Argentines. The Portuguese troops openly declared in favour of the first, the Brazilians, and a part of the natives of Banda Oriental were for the second course, and the remainder adhered to the Portuguese in the belief that they would leave them free to be re-incorporated with the Argentines. The two parties declared war, but the Brazilians were triumphant without any great military feat, due to the exertions of Brigadier Souza de Macedo, who favoured the Brazilian rather than the Argentine cause; those who had adhered conditionally to Portugal quitted the country, an oath of adherence to the constitution of the

new empire was taken, and the emperor Dom Pedro I proclaimed; thus the territory of Uruguay came to be known as the Cisplatine State in the provinces of Brazil in the last months of 1823 and beginning of 1824.

The Argentine government had taken advantage of these incidents due to the policy of Banda Oriental to demand from Brazil the evacuation of the territory to which the government of Rio de Janeiro replied in the negative. Public opinion was loud in protestations against these last proceedings, the emigrants from Banda Oriental alleged the necessity of their country being reincorporated with the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata. A declaration of war between the Argentine Republic and Brazil was expected and demanded, but the general government of the first had been dissolved since 1820, and the provinces were separated; and although Buenos Ayres had greatly prospered since the separation, she was not sufficiently strong to declare war alone against the empire, the government of Buenos Ayres was thus compelled to await a more favourable opportunity. Meanwhile the press and the public were in a constant state of agitation, and the convocation of a congress for the purpose of re-establishing a common government for the state was sufficient to cause public feeling in favour of the war to greatly increase.

This was the moment for a few natives of Banda Oriental, resident in Buenos Ayres, to form a plan to invade the Cisplatine province, for the purpose of separating it from the empire, and restoring it to the United Provinces. They came to an unanimous decision, and won others to their cause, until the band of the Thirty-three was complete, and entered their native land under the command of Juan Antonio Lavalleja on the memorable day of the 19th of April, 1825, taking with them a few horses, carbines, pistols, and swords, and a few ounces of gold to pay preliminary expenses.

### URUGUAY BECOMES INDEPENDENT

Although the uninhabited and undulating country enabled the cavalry to make surprise attacks, and afforded shelter from danger, yet the expedition of the Thirty-three is worthy to be considered one of the most daring and most deserving of praise for the confidence of victory, which it reveals, in spite of the extreme scarcity of resources with which it was commenced and for the daring courage needed to face the numerous troops of the line defending the Brazilian posts, and the no less terrible power which his fame gave to Rivera in the campaign, his complete knowledge of the territory, and his surpassing ability in guerilla warfare. Results, however, rewarded their heroism; within ten days they captured Rivera, who since Artigas' disappearance had adopted the cause of Brazil, and compelled him to surrender with all the forces under his command; they besieged the fortress of Montevideo, and within two months established in Florida the first revolutionary government. The assembly of deputies within four months declared the acts of incorporation with Portugal and Brazil null, and Banda Oriental to be united to the other provinces of Rio de la Plata; at the end of five months Rivera won the hard fought battle of Rincon de Haedo; within six the forces of Uruguay gained a splendid victory on the field of Sarandi, and immediately obtained from the Argentine congress the recognition of the incorporation of Banda Oriental with the united provinces of Rio de la Plata (1825). As it may be presumed, the emperor of Brazil lost no time in declaring war upon the Argentine Republic, and in 1826 war was begun. An army composed of infantry, cavalry, and artillery invaded Brazil under command of General Alvear; the vanguard composed of Uruguayans was commanded by Lavalleja: a fleet was equipped

in Buenos Ayres, under the orders of Admiral Brown, and glorious hand-to-hand battles followed one on the other for eighteen months; but their forces being weakened the opponents accepted England's friendly mediation in 1828, and on the 27th of August celebrated a preliminary treaty of peace by which Brazilians and Argentines settled differences by converting Banda Oriental into a sovereign independent state. In virtue of this treaty the constituent assembly of Banda Oriental published the republican constitution, by which the new political power was to be governed, and the public and public authorities took a solemn oath adopting it (July 18th, 1830). Such are the most important details of the history of Uruguay up to the time when it is presented to other powers as an independent constitutional state.[i]

## PARAGUAY

Paraguay proclaimed its independence in 1811, and almost immediately came under the power of one man who ruled like a dictator until his death in 1840. This remarkable man was José Gaspar Rodriguez, usually called Doctor Francia, of Brazilian origin, who was secretary to the national junta of 1811.[a]

When the congress or junta of 1813 changed the constitution and established a duumvirate, Doctor Francia and the Gaucho, General Fulgencio, were elected to the office. A story is told in connection with their installation, which recalls the self-coronation of William I of England and Napoleon the Great. In theatrical imitation of Roman custom, two curule chairs had been placed in the assembly, one of them bearing the name of Cæsar, and the other that of Pompey. Francia seated himself in the Cæsar chair, and left his colleague to play the part of Pompey as best he might. In 1814 he secured his own election as dictator for three years, and at the end of that period he obtained the dictatorship for life. He was no mere nominal sovereign; but for the next twenty-five years he might have boasted, with even more truth than Louis XIV, "*L'état c'est moi.*" In the accounts which have been published of his administration we find a strange mixture of capacity and caprice, of far-sighted wisdom and reckless infatuation, strenuous endeavours after a high ideal, and flagrant violations of the simplest principles of justice. He put a stop to the foreign commerce of the country, but carefully fostered its internal industries; was disposed to be hospitable to strangers from other lands, and kept them prisoners for years; lived a life of republican simplicity, and punished with Dionysian severity the slightest want of respect. As time went on he appears to have grown more arbitrary and despotic, more determined to maintain his mastery over the country and more apprehensive lest he should lose it. And yet at the time of his death it is said that he was generally regretted, and his bitterest opponents cannot deny that if he did much evil he also did much good. Deeply imbued with the principles of the French Revolution, he was a stern antagonist of the church. He abolished the Inquisition, suppressed the college of theology, did away with the tithes, and inflicted endless indignities on the priests. "What are they good for?" was his saying; "they make us believe more in the devil than in God." He discouraged marriage both by precepts and example, and left behind him several illegitimate children. For the extravagances of his later years the plea of insanity has been put forward. The circumstances of his death were in strange keeping with his life. He was about to sabre his doctor when he was seized with a fit, and he expired the same day, September 20th, 1840.[k]

## CHAPTER V

## SPANISH AMERICA SINCE THE REVOLUTIONS

One year after Bolivar's death the republic of Colombia was split up into the three independent republics of Venezuela, New Granada, and Ecuador, with similar constitutions, which were in general modelled after the constitution of North America. An elective president, with ministers or governmental councillors, stood at the head of the executive power; the legislative was in the hands of a congress consisting of a senate and representatives; the armed power consisted of a standing army, land militia, etc. But whereas in the United States of North America the parties opposed one another only within the bounds of the constitution, the history of the South American republics is an unbroken succession of upheavals, now in a revolutionary, now in a reactionary sense, during which every one of the great parties, into which the population even here was divided, tried to get the control into its own hands and to organise the state after its own principles, until finally racial passions and wars between the white and coloured populations were added to the political struggles. The division into separate states under a weakly organised central power was not sufficient, as in North America, to assure the feeling of liberty, but rather favoured the inclination to internal discord and division.

### VENEZUELA

In the forties the republic of Venezuela was split up into two factions —oligarchists (conservatives) and federalists (radicals)—through whose rivalries and hostilities the state fell into a condition of anarchy, of which the family of Manazas tried to take advantage for the purpose of establishing a sort of autocratic dictatorship. For ten years members of this family, through corruption and revolts, managed to keep in power, until finally General Castro was raised to the presidential chair by the oligarchic or conservative party, and caused a revision of the constitution by a "national con-

vention." But Castro, who tried to steer his way between parties, succeeded in satisfying none; soon federalists, conservatives, and liberals began to fight one another, and the presidency changed hands four times in three years. Finally Falcon, the leader of the federalists, attained the highest dignity (1863), and, with a newly summoned constitutional assembly, brought about a new constitution, which closely resembled that of the North American union and which gave a most complete victory to the federative system. Eighteen states, independent of one another in their internal political and legislative life, composed the confederated republic of the United States of Venezuela, with a president and congress at Caracas as the highest central authority, and with laws and institutions as in the United States of North America (1864). But the state, by this division of the whole into many single parts, was distracted by revolution and civil dissensions, which, nevertheless, were restricted to a smaller circle and hinged mostly upon a change of persons in authority and upon private interests.[b]

The period of revolutions and civil wars continued until 1870, at the end of which year Guzman Blanco, the leader of the federalists, was made provisional president, and three years later he was elected constitutional president. For the next fifteen years the actual power was in his hands, although according to the terms of the constitution he could hold only alternate presidencies. This period was one of material advance to the country.

### BOUNDARY DISPUTE

The question of the boundary of British Guiana was one of old standing. In the latter part of the thirties Sir Robert Schomburgk had mapped the boundary, and in 1841 he was sent again to survey the line, Venezuela immediately sending a special minister to England to object. In 1876 the dispute was reopened by Venezuela's offer to accept the line proposed by Lord Aberdeen, terminating on the coast at the Rio Moroco, near Cape Nassau. This offer was refused and the question remained open. In 1879 it was claimed that the British made a naval demonstration at the mouth of the Orinoco, to which the United States in the following year objected, intimating that the United States government "could not look with indifference on the forcible acquisition of such territory by England."

In the same year the constitution was modified so as to give more power to the central government and to take away much from the separate states. Lord Granville offered a new line, coinciding inland with the Aberdeen line of 1844, but demanding much more of the coast than the Moroco line, though making no claim to the mouth of the Orinoco. The Venezuela government refused this line, which was the least favourable thus far offered to it, and on November 15th, 1883, Venezuela formally proposed arbitration, and in 1885 Granville agreed, but on June 24th, before the agreement was signed, he went out of office and was replaced by Salisbury, who refused his consent to the convention. By this time relations were becoming greatly strained; both Great Britain and Venezuela accused each other of occupying the territory in dispute, contrary to the agreement of 1850. In December, 1886, Secretary Bayard offered the arbitration of the United States, and the pope also offered to arbitrate. But Great Britain refused both offers. Guzman Blanco, before resigning, brought the boundary question to a head by insisting on British evacuation of the disputed territory before February 20th, 1887, so that diplomatic relations were broken off in 1887. Meanwhile

Blanco went to Europe with plenipotentiary powers, settled in Paris, and enriched himself by selling Venezuelan concessions.

In 1889 there was a revolt against the rule of Blanco and scenes of riot ensued in the capital, statues and portraits of Blanco being destroyed wherever found. In 1890 Andueza Palacio became president by congressional proclamation, and in the same year an attempt was made to revise the constitution. The amendments proposed lengthened the president's term to four years, and extended the power of the president and of the congress by cutting down the powers of the states. Palacio urged the immediate proclamation of the new constitution, so that his term might be lengthened, and, meeting with opposition, resorted to violent measures, which led to a rising against him, headed by the ex-presidents, Joaquin Crespo and Rojas Paul.

The fighting began early in April, and by the middle of June Palacio was hemmed in at Caracas, and resigned in favour of Guillermo Tell Villegas, Domingo Monagas and Julio F. Sarra becoming actual leaders of the liberals. On October 5th the decisive battle of San Pedro gave the victory to Crespo and the legalists. Caracas was occupied by the Crespists on October 7th, and on the 10th Crespo was chosen provisional president by proclamation. His authority was recognised by the United States two weeks afterwards. On May 2nd, 1893, the constituent assembly met, drew up a new constitution, made Crespo provisional president, and gave the control of public property, such as lands or mines, to the central government, although they were formerly controlled by the states. In October Crespo was regularly elected president, extending from February 20th, 1894, to February 20th, 1898.

In 1895 the boundary question was brought to a crisis. A party of Venezuelan officers without authorisation arrested, at Yuran, in April, two British police officers, Barnes and Baker, who were released, however, as soon as the arrest was reported in Caracas. England claimed an indemnity in October, and proposed arbitration afterwards; Venezuela denied the claim and refused the offer, since each implied British possession of Yuran. On July 20th United States Secretary of State Olney vigorously protested against Great Britain's "indefinite but confessedly very large" claim, urged arbitration as a means of solution, and applied the Monroe Doctrine to the case. In reply, Lord Salisbury denied that the Monroe Doctrine had any relation to modern politics and that it had ever been recognised by any government save that of the United States. He stated the arguments for the British claim, at the same time refusing to arbitrate, except as to the ownership of the territory west of the Schomburgk line. To Salisbury's two notes of November 26th President Cleveland replied by a message to congress, dated December 17th, "practically stating that any attempt on the part of the British government to enforce its claims upon Venezuela without resort to arbitration would be considered as a *casus belli* by his government." The congress of the United States authorised the president to appoint a commission to report the actual line between British Guiana and Venezuela. Meanwhile in Venezuela itself Rojas Paul raised a revolution against Crespo, but met with little success, the people being unanimous in support of the government because of its foreign difficulties.

In 1896 the Venezuelan government created a commission to prepare the case for an arbitrating tribunal. Lord Salisbury refused the terms suggested by the United States for the formation of such a tribunal, and insisted on a settlement of the claim for damages because of the arrest of Barnes, the

British colonial police officer. To this Venezuela acceded, stipulating that her territorial claims should not be surrendered thereby. On May 22nd Salisbury suggested a commission composed of two British subjects and two American citizens, who should consider the historical documents bearing on the boundary and make recommendations to Great Britain and Venezuela, by which they should be bound, except in cases where British or Venezuelan settlements had been made before January 1st, 1887. This programme of partial arbitration did not meet with Olney's approval. Finally, on November 12th, unrestricted arbitration was agreed upon, with the understanding that in any instance fifty years of occupation should give title. Thereupon the American commission resigned without making a report, and the tribunal was appointed.

The arbitration treaty was signed in Washington on February 2nd, 1897, and ratified by the Venezuelan congress on April 5th, and diplomatic relations, after ten years' interval, were renewed between Venezuela and Great Britain. Crespo refused his official sanction to any candidate for the presidency, but practically gave the backing of the administration to the liberal candidate, Ignacio Andrade, who represented Venezuela in Washington, and who was almost unanimously elected. With Andrade's accession to the presidency, the revolts which had begun in a desultory way the year before broke out with more violence. Crespo was mortally wounded in a battle with General Hernandez in Zamora, but Hernandez was taken prisoner and the revolution momentarily crushed on June 12th, 1898. In this year a regular steamship service between Italy and Venezuela was established, and Italian immigration began.

The boundary dispute with England was finally settled in 1899. The Anglo-Venezuelan boundary tribunal on October 3rd delivered a unanimous award, granting to Great Britain almost exactly the territory included by the old Schomburgk line, much less than had been claimed by Great Britain for many years.

### PRESIDENCY OF CASTRO

In the following February Ramon Guerra headed a revolution against Andrade, which did not grow to serious proportions, but opened the way for a rising led by General Cipriano Castro. He captured Valencia, September 15th, 1900, shut Andrade up in Caracas, and, after negotiating for the peaceful surrender of the executive, entered the city on October 21st. Two days afterwards he became provisional president. There were a few abortive revolutions, but in July Castro proclaimed a general amnesty. In August the Venezuelan federation was divided into fifteen states and one federal district.

On October 29th, 1901, Castro was declared constitutional president for six years by a congress which drew up a new constitution. The Colombian government backed the opposition to Castro in Venezuela, and he in turn apparently aided the Colombian liberals in their plans to revolt, the border between the states being zealously watched by either army. In August the Venezuelan army openly clashed with the British occupants of Patos. In October a mob in Puerto Cabello maltreated the crew of a German man-of-war. Castro's attitude was unyielding in all these matters as in the quarrel with Colombia, which he refused to arbitrate unless Colombia first paid damages for the invasion of Venezuelan territory. At the time of Castro's election, which was no doubt largely due to the administration's control of the machinery of elections, rebellion on the part of his nationalist opponents

broke out all over the country, but the regular army stood by Castro and was generally victorious. During this year Germany, to facilitate forcible collection of her claims in Venezuela and to prevent American interference, officially recognised the Monroe Doctrine.

In 1902 the revolution under Monagas still dragged on, but won small advantage until August, when the rebels captured Barcelona and Puerto Cabello. In the middle of October the tide again turned. Castro won the battle of La Victoria and put down the rising after an engagement lasting a week. General Matos escaped to Curaçoa. Meanwhile foreign claims for damages during the civil wars of the last five years had become insistent. France's claims were settled by a mixed commission. Germany's claims were for railroad loans and unpaid interest thereon, as well as for property damaged by revolution. The British claims were largely for damages to coasting vessels from Trinidad captured as smugglers by the Venezuelan government. The Venezuelan authorities made a counter claim against Great Britain for permitting the *Ban Righ* or *Liberator*, a British vessel bought by Colombia, to go to sea at a time when Colombia and Venezuela were practically at war. Germany and Great Britain united to force their claims by a "peaceful blockade" beginning on December 10th. Italy joined the blockade on the 11th. On the 13th Castro offered through the United States government at Washington to arbitrate the claims. Secretary Hay objected to the "peaceful blockade," and the British ministry replied by admitting a state of war. Germany, Great Britain, and Italy agreed to the proffered plan of arbitration, but there was some difficulty in deciding who should arbitrate. On December 31st, however, President Castro accepted as arbitrator the Hague tribunal. But the powers, having no guarantee that Venezuela would stand by the decision of the Hague tribunal, refused to raise the blockade, which was rendered ineffective by the opening of the Colombian frontier on January 16th. Immediately afterwards Germany shelled Fort San Carlos at the entrance of Lake Maracaibo. Germany's action was also extreme as regards her demands for a cash payment before the raising of the blockade. February 11th Germany got $340,000 and Great Britain and Italy $27,500 each, and three days later the blockade was lifted. By the final agreement the amount of all claims was left to mixed commissions; the arbitrator selected by the czar was only to decide whether the blockading claimants were to get preferential treatment, and, if so, what such treatment should be.

In May, 1903, Matos again unsuccessfully led the insurgents against Castro. The insurgents, commanded by General Antonio Ramos, were forced to surrender on July 26th, and in September Castro announced that the country was at peace.[a]

## NEW GRANADA OR COLOMBIA

Still more stormy than in Venezuela was the period following the revolution in New Granada, which since September 20th, 1861, has been called the "United States of Colombia." Here liberal, clerical, and military revolutions followed one another in quick succession and kept the land in an almost uninterrupted turmoil. The Bolivianos, *i.e.*, the followers of Bolivar, who had defended his dictatorial power in the last years, disputed the presidency with the patriots or liberals. When, after a long struggle, the latter gained the victory (1839), the former raised a revolt under General Obando, in consequence of which the republic for two years was given up to all the tempests

of a passionate civil war, and Cartagena and other provinces broke loose. Not until the forties, during the presidencies of generals Herran and Mosquera, who were animated by a spirit of moderation, did more peaceful times ensue. The constitution was reformed, the ruined financial system brought into order, and institutions established for instruction, commerce, and the general prosperity and safety.

After a few years, however (1853), the democrats under José Hilario Lopez and José Maria Obando gained the upper hand and enforced a decentralising constitution, according to which it was to be permitted to every province, with the assent of congress, to declare itself an independent state and to enter a confederation with the mother state, New Granada. This happened in the case of Panama and Antioquia. At the end of the fifties new revolts broke out, and Mosquera, a man of an old Spanish family, abandoned his hitherto moderate attitude, and, out of envy and jealousy of the powerful president Mariano Ospina, a lawyer with constitutional opinions, gathered democrats and radicals under his flag and led them to battle against the central government in Bogota. The end of the civil war, which lasted several years, and during which Bogota was captured and burned and several of the most influential officials and citizens were executed, was a new constitution, in a federal sense, in consequence of which the republic of New Granada by a compact of union was reconstituted into the United States of Colombia.

During this confused period Mosquera had for eighteen months wielded a dictatorial power, which he resigned to the constitutional assembly at Bogota after having used it for terroristic measures against the conservatives and clericals. A few years later (1866) he was elected president of the confederated republic by the adherents of his party, and this election did not tend to calm the political excitement. The Spanish-American people seem to lack the devotion to law and constitution and the power of subjecting the individual will to that of the whole, which are necessary in an organised state. The struggle between the adherents of a loose confederation and the supporters of a unified republic continued or broke out anew after short pauses, and in the single states themselves the party struggles often led to complete anarchy. Especially in Panama the desire was manifested to become separated from Colombia and to form an independent republic.[b]

### STRUGGLES BETWEEN CENTRALISTS AND DECENTRALISTS

Mosquera's doctrine upheld the right of the central government to interfere in suppressing revolutions in the separate states; he quarrelled with his congress in consequence, and in 1867 assumed dictatorial powers. He was overthrown, however, and succeeded as president in 1868 by Gutierrez, during whose tenure of office insurrections in different parts of the country continued.

In 1870 General Salgar became president, and during his administration public education was taken out of the hands of the clergy and placed under state control. Revolutions occurred in the states of Boyaca and Panama. In 1872 Manuel Murillo-Toro was elected president for a second term and devoted himself with some success to the reorganisation of the finances. Murillo was succeeded after two years by Santiago Perez, under whom took place the beginnings of the civil war which was to sweep over the whole country. In 1876 Aquileo Perra became president, and armed opposition broke out immediately. The clericals controlled the states of Antioquia

and Tolima, and fighting took place in Cauca. The government, however, succeeded in raising recruits enough to quell the revolts, and in 1878 the liberal president Trujillo was installed. The finances of the country were in so bad a way that it was necessary to suspend the payment of interest on the foreign debt.

In 1880 Rafael Nuñez, nominally a liberal, became president, and set himself to better the financial conditions of the country. An attempt was made to settle the boundary dispute between Costa Rica and Colombia by European arbitration. In 1882 Francisco Laldua became president, but died before the end of the year. In the next year the question of the boundary between Colombia and Venezuela was submitted to the arbitration of Spain, the decision being finally given in 1891.

In 1884 Nuñez again became president, but as he was abroad at the time he entered office by proxy. Nuñez had been supposed to favour the policy of the liberal party, but when it was discovered that he held centralist views he was opposed by the liberals, and in 1885 civil war broke out. A decisive battle was fought at Calamar in July, and the insurgents surrendered in August.

During the disturbance the United States landed troops at Panama and Colon to protect traffic across the isthmus. A new constitution was adopted in August, 1886, according to which the states of the confederation became departments governed by persons appointed by the president. The sovereignty of the individual departments was denied, and the term of the presidential office was extended to six years. To show this change in the system of government the name United States of Colombia was changed to Republic of Colombia. Nuñez became president under the constitution in 1886, and in 1892 he was re-elected, but on account of his ill health Holguin, and afterwards Caro, performed the actual duties of administration. Nuñez died on September 18th, 1894, and the vice-president, Caro, became president. In 1895 there was a successful rising in Boyaca, headed by the liberals, and the revolt soon became general, but was put down without much difficulty.

In 1898 San Clemente, a strong conservative, was elected president, with José Manuel Marroquin as vice-president. The next year the liberals instituted another revolt, which involved the whole country, and especially Panama, where American marines were again landed to protect the railroad. In 1900 Marroquin became president and imprisoned San Clemente, who died in prison. The year following the revolution received aid from Venezuela. Venezuelan troops attacked the forces of the conservative Colombian government; Colombian troops invaded Venezuela, and President Castro recognized the Colombian insurgents as belligerents. In November, 1901, the United States again landed marines to protect the railway in Panama, and on November 18th the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, abrogating the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and giving the United States right of control in time of war of an isthmian canal, was signed, being ratified by the United States senate on December 16th. In 1902 the revolutionary struggle centred in Panama. Uribe was unsuccessful in his attack on Bogota, but the insurgents captured Aguadulce and turned their attention to Panama and Colon, whereupon the United States naval officers forbade any fighting along the line of the railway, and use of the line was withdrawn from government troops. Peace was restored in the last month of the year, and a general amnesty was proclaimed on December 10th. The next year, however, another revolution in Panama succeeded in establishing the independence of that country, which was immediately recognised by the United States and by the other powers. Colombia

protested without avail against the landing of United States troops in Panama. In December, 1903, General Reyes was elected president, and in 1905 a convention extended the presidential term from four to ten years.

## PANAMA AND THE PANAMA CANAL

In 1868 negotiations were opened with Washington for the purpose of building a canal across the isthmus of Panama, and in January, 1869, a treaty between Colombia and the United States of North America was signed for the construction of the Darien or Panama ship canal, at the expense of the latter power; but the Colombian senate did not ratify the treaty, its object being, says a contemporary document, to "get as much money from the United States as could be."

In 1870 the Colombian congress amended the Darien Canal Bill and adopted it; but these amendments, together with the ill success of the surveying expedition sent out by the United States, made the scheme seem no longer practical.

On March 23rd, 1878, the Colombian government approved a contract with Bonaparte Wyse, of the Civil International Interoceanic Canal Society, which had been founded in France, to whom it granted the "exclusive privilege for the excavating of a canal between the two oceans," the privilege to last for ninety-nine years, and the canal to be finished within twelve years after the organisation of the company. The terminal ports and the waters of the canal were declared neutral. The next year Ferdinand de Lesseps took the matter up, and an international congress was convened at Paris for the purpose of considering the plan of a canal. After the adjournment of this congress the Panama Canal Company was organised with De Lesseps as president, and purchased the Wyse concession for the price of 10,000,000 francs. Work upon the canal was begun in 1884 and was continued until 1899, being managed with a degree of corruption which has become notorious. In 1889 the company became bankrupt, was declared in liquidation, and was put into the hands of a liquidator.

As the time limit set for the completion of the canal by the Wyse concession had nearly expired, the concession to the French Isthmian Canal Company was renewed in December, 1890, by Nuñez. The time limit for its completion was extended ten years, on the condition that work be resumed before March 1st, 1893, by a new company, paying 10,000,000 francs in gold and 5,000,000 in shares. In 1893 a new concession was made to the liquidator of the canal company, extending for one year the date of the formation of the new company. Work on the canal began again in the Culebra section on October 1st, and on the 21st a new company was incorporated in Paris. The canal company devoted its energies to improving the harbour at Colon, as well as to working on the Culebra cut.

In the mean time the United States had begun to take an interest in the canal, a route through Nicaragua being considered as well as the Panama route. In 1884 a treaty was negotiated with Nicaragua for the building of a canal at the expense of the United States, but was not ratified by the senate. In 1886 the Nicaragua Canal Association was formed in New York city by private citizens for the purpose of obtaining the necessary concessions and for building the canal. Concessions were obtained from Nicaragua and from Costa Rica, and in 1889 the company was organised after an act of congress authorising the incorporation of the association. Work upon

the canal was begun in the same year and was continued until 1893, when the company went into bankruptcy. In 1899 congress appointed a commission to examine all possible routes for a canal, and this commission reported that the canal across Panama could be constructed with less expense than the Nicaragua canal if the French company could be bought out for a reasonable sum. It was found that the French company was willing to sell its assets at $40,000,000, the value placed upon them by the commission, and in 1902 the United States senate passed the Spooner Act, providing for the construction of the Panama canal, or if this should be impossible (since the French company might prove to have no title, or the Colombian government might refuse its approval) that the Nicaragua canal be built. On October 25th the attorney-general of the United States gave his opinion that the new Panama Canal Company had title, and could legally transfer its title to the strip and to the canal as partially constructed. But negotiations with Señor Concha, the Colombian minister to the United States, were required, for the Salgar-Wyse concession of 1878 expressly forbade the *concessionnaires* to transfer their rights to any foreign nation or government. These negotiations were unsuccessful, and on November 25th Concha practically informed Secretary Hay that Colombia refused the offer of $10,000,000 down and $100,000 (or $125,000) a year. The Colombian opposition seemed plainly a mere matter of price, and Señor Concha was recalled by his government, which apparently took the attitude that his delay had been for his personal ends.

The Hay-Herran Treaty, signed on January 22nd, 1903, with Herran, the Colombian *chargé d'affaires* in Washington, in accordance with which the Panama concession was sold by the Colombian Republic for $10,000,000 down and $250,000 annually, was definitely rejected by the Colombian senate on August 12th, and on September 12th the time for ratification expired. At this point matters were taken out of the hands of Colombia, and on November 3rd there was an insurrection on the isthmus which immediately and peaceably gained control of the department and proclaimed the independence of Panama. The United States recognised the provisional government as the *de facto* government and landed marines to protect the trans-isthmian commerce, thus making it impossible for the Colombian troops to strike a blow at the insurgents in Panama. Marroquin strongly protested against the action of the United States, which he interpreted as connivance in the plot against the Colombian central government and as a direct infringement of the treaty of 1846, and he urged the Latin-American republics to make common cause with him in a war on the United States of North America. In the last week of November Marroquin sent General Rafael Reyes to Washington to appeal for Colombia's ownership of Panama, or for the release of such ownership on receipt of a compensation from the United States. He was well received, but was given clearly to understand that the United States was determined to abide by what had been done; and, the independence of Panama having been recognized by the principal powers, it would be impossible to open negotiations with Colombia concerning the suppression of that republic.

In the mean time negotiations had been concluded between Panama and the United States for the building of the canal, and on November 18th the Isthmian Canal Treaty was signed at Washington, according to which the United States was to give to Panama $10,000,000, and to the French Canal Company $40,000,000. This treaty was ratified by the senate in February, 1904, and the president almost immediately appointed a commission to push the work.

## PERU

Of all the republics of southern and central America, Peru was the only one which had not been able to obtain the recognition of its independence from Spain. After the Spaniards had given up their last position—Callao—after their defeat at Ayacucho, and had evacuated the country, the history of Peru for twenty years offered a dismal picture of revolutions and civil wars which hindered the development of the country, undermined prosperity, and brought no benefits in recompense. Selfish and ambitious party leaders fought for the supremacy, being led by personal and selfish motives with no higher aims. Not till the forties was a better period ushered in by the presidency of Ramon Castilla, who exerted himself to establish an organised government (1845). At the expiration of his term of office the highest state authority went over to the legally elected successor for the first time in the history of the republic. This successor was Don José Rufino Echenique, who, more of a general than a statesman, brought the republic into warlike entanglements with Ecuador, and fought successfully with the confederated states for the possession of the Lobos Islands, which were rich in guano. But before his term of office was completed, in consequence of the diminishing of the rate of interest on the national debt, a revolt broke out, which, coinciding with a war with Bolivia, soon endangered the position of the government. Castilla, the leader of the insurgents, conquered Lima, gained the presidency, and caused a revision of the constitution which finally led to a new state law.[b]

In 1860 Miguel San Roman became president, but upon his death was succeeded by Pezet, the vice-president. In 1864 the Spanish fleet seized the Chincha Islands as surety for Spanish claims against Peru for the murder of some Basque workmen. In this year Great Britain's claim on Peru for the imprisonment of Captain T. Melville White was referred to the senate of Hamburg, but was disallowed. Pezet, after much delay, made an arrangement with the Spanish fleet on January 27th, 1865, by which a part of the claim was recognised. This arrangement was regarded as dishonourable; an opposition was begun, with Colonel Mariano Ignacio Prado at its head, and Pezet, rather than plunge the country in civil war, left for England. Prado declared war on Spain, allied himself with Chili, and in May, 1866, the Spanish fleet was forced to retire. Prado's position, however, as chief magistrate was unconstitutional, and he was obliged to give way to Canseco, second vice-president and legal successor of Pezet. In 1868, Balta, who had headed an insurrection in the north the year before, was made president. With Balta's administration began a period of peace and of reckless loans for public works, especially for railroads and forts. In 1871 there were two unsuccessful revolts against Balta's rule, and on July 26th, 1872, Balta was assassinated by the agents of Gutierrez, whom the president blocked in a projected *coup d'état* and who was immediately killed by the people. The constitutional government continued, and Manuel Pardo was regularly elected president on August 2nd. Pardo at once attempted to meet the tremendous obligations created by Balta's internal policy. In this year the czar of Russia was requested to pass on Peru's claims against Japan for the seizure of the *Maria Luz*. In February, 1873, Bolivia and Peru united to prevent Chili from seizing the valuable nitrate deposits, and in 1874 a treaty with China was signed regulating coolie immigration.

In 1875 the fall in the price of guano, due to artificial manures, cut into the government resources; but the state bought up the nitrate deposits and thus formed a monopoly. In this year the *María Luz* case was decided in favour of Japan. In 1876 General Prado was elected president. In 1879 Chili seized all Bolivian ports and made war on Peru when Peru offered to mediate. The quarrel was fixed on Peru. During the last of May and the first of June the Peruvian navy made some opposition, though against great odds, and on October 8th the *Huascar*, the only seaworthy ship in the Peruvian navy, was disabled by the two superior Chilian ironclads. The Chilian army landed at Pisagua on November 2nd, and won the battle of San Francisco on the 18th. One month later, President Prado left the country, of which Pierola, as the result of a revolution, assumed control as supreme chief on December 23rd. The blockade was kept up and the province containing the coveted nitrate soon seized.[a]

## POLITICAL HISTORY SINCE 1880

The victory of the Chilians over the combined forces of Peru and Bolivia at Tacna on June 7th, 1880, marked the close of the second stage of the war which had broken out in April of 1879. In November, 1880, the Chilians began to make preparations for the landing of an army to attack the Peruvian capital. The Peruvians meanwhile had not been idle. After the crushing defeat at Arica every effort was made to put Lima in an effectual state of defence. Under the direction of Señor Nicolas de Pierola, who had assumed dictatorial powers after the departure of General Prado to Europe, all the remaining strength of Peru was organised for resistance. The military command was confided to General Andres Caceres. The Peruvian army at this juncture numbered twenty-six thousand men of the line and eighteen thousand in the reserves. The defensive measures inspired great confidence, both Señor Pierola and General Caceres considering the position of Lima practically impregnable. At daybreak on January 13th, 1881, the Chilian attack began, and the action soon became general throughout the whole length of the Peruvian first line of defence. The Chilian troops carried the trenches at the point of the bayonet after repeated charges, and at midday the defenders were forced to fall back upon the second line of fortifications. In this engagement, known as the battle of Chorrillos, the Chilian loss was eight hundred killed and twenty-five hundred wounded; the Peruvian, five thousand killed, four thousand wounded, and two thousand prisoners. On the following day an attempt was made by the diplomatic representatives of foreign governments in Lima to negotiate peace, but it proved abortive. On January 15th, at two in the afternoon, the final struggle of the war, known as the battle of Miraflores, commenced, and continued for some four hours. The Chilians were again victorious, and carried the second line of defence, this success placing Lima completely at their mercy. At the battle of Miraflores the Chilian losses were five hundred killed and sixteen hundred and twenty-five wounded; the Peruvian, three thousand, including killed and wounded. On January 17th a division of four thousand Chilian troops under command of General Saavedra entered Lima under instructions from the Chilian commander-in-chief to occupy the city and restore order within the municipal limits.

Desultory fighting was now maintained by the remnants of the Peruvian army in the interior, under direction of General Caceres, against Chilian authority. The Chilian occupation of Lima and the Peruvian seaboard

continued uninterruptedly until 1883. In that year Admiral Lynch, who had replaced General Baquedano in command of the Chilian forces after the taking of Lima, sent an expedition against the Peruvians under General Caceres, and defeated the latter in the month of August. The Chilian authorities now began preparations for the evacuation of Lima, and to enable this measure to be effected a Peruvian administration was organised with the support of the Chilians. General Iglesias was nominated to the office of president of the republic, and in October, 1883, a treaty of peace, known as the Treaty of Ancon, between Peru and Chili was signed. The army of occupation was withdrawn from Lima on October 22nd, 1883, but a strong Chilian force was maintained at Chorrillos until July, 1884, when the terms of the treaty were finally approved. The principal conditions imposed by Chili were the absolute cession by Peru of the province of Tarapacá and the occupation for a period of ten years of the territories of Tacna and Arica, the ownership of these districts to be decided by a popular vote of the inhabitants of Tacna and Arica at the expiration of the period named. A further condition was enacted that an indemnity of 10,000,000 soles was to be paid by the country finally remaining in possession—a sum equal to about £1,000,000 to-day. The Peruvians in the interior refused to recognise the validity of the nomination of President Iglesias, and at once began active operations to overthrow his authority on the final departure of the Chilian troops. A series of skirmishes now took place between the men in the country under Caceres and the supporters of the administration in Lima. Affairs continued in this unsettled state until the middle of 1885, Caceres meanwhile steadily gaining many adherents to his side of the quarrel. In the latter part of 1885 President Iglesias found his position, after some severe fighting in Lima, impossible, and he abdicated his office, leaving the field clear for Caceres and his friends to assume the administration of public affairs. In the following year (1886), General Caceres was elected president of the republic for the usual term of four years. The task assumed by the new president was no sinecure. The disasters suffered in the war with Chili had thrown the country into absolute confusion from a political and administrative point of view. Gradually, however, order in the official departments was restored, and peaceful conditions were reconstituted throughout the republic.

The four years of office for which General Caceres was elected passed in uneventful fashion, and in 1890 Señor Morales Bermudez was nominated to the presidency, with Señor Solar and Señor Borgoño as first and second vice-presidents. Matters continued without alteration from the normal course until 1894, and in that year President Bermudez died suddenly a few months before the expiration of the period for which he had been chosen as president. General Caceres, who was the power behind the scenes, brought influence to bear to secure the nomination of Vice-President Borgoño to act as chief of the executive for the unexpired portion of the term of the late president Bermudez. Armed resistance to the authority of President Borgoño was immediately organised in the south of Peru. In the month of August, 1894, General Caceres was again elected to fill the office of president, but the revolutionary movement set afoot against President Borgoño was continued against his successor, and rapidly gained ground. President Caceres adopted energetic measures to suppress the outbreak; his efforts, however, proved unavailing, the close of 1894 finding the country districts in the power of the rebels and the authority of the legal government confined to Lima and other principal cities held by strong garrisons. A concentration of the revolutionary forces was now made upon the city of Lima, and early in March, 1895, the

insurgents encamped near the outskirts of the town. On March 17th, 18th, and 19th severe fighting took place, ending in the defeat of the troops under General Caceres. A suspension of hostilities was then brought about by the efforts of the British consul, Mr. St. John. The loss on both sides to the struggle during these two days was twenty-eight hundred between killed and wounded. President Caceres, finding his cause was lost, left the country, a provisional government under Señor Candamo assuming the direction of public affairs. On September 8th, 1895, Señor Pierola was declared to be duly elected as president of the republic for the following four years. The Peruvians were now heartily tired of revolutionary disturbances, and the administration of President Pierola promised to be peaceful and advantageous to the country. In 1896 a reform of the electoral law was sanctioned. Revolutionary troubles again disturbed the country in 1899, when the presidency of Señor Pierola was drawing to a close. In consequence of dissensions amongst the members of the election committee constituted by the Act of 1896, the president ordered the suppression of this body. In September, 1899, President Pierola vacated the presidency in favour of Señor Romaña, who had been elected to the office as a popular candidate and without the exercise of any undue official influence.[c] Romaña was succeeded in 1903 by Manuel Candamo, and after the latter's death in 1904 Dr. Serapio Caldero held the office temporarily until in a special election Dr. José was chosen.[a]

The principal political problem before the government of Peru at the opening of the twentieth century was the question with Chili of the ownership of the territories of Tacna and Arica. The period of ten years originally agreed upon for the Chilian occupation of these provinces expired in 1894. At that date the peace of Peru was so seriously disturbed by internal troubles that the government was quite unable to take active steps to bring about any solution of the matter. Since 1894 negotiations between the two governments have been attempted from time to time, but without any satisfactory results. The question hinges to a great extent on the qualification necessary for the inhabitants to vote, in the event of a plebiscite being called to decide whether Chilian ownership be finally established or the provinces revert to Peruvian sovereignty. It is not so much the value of Tacna and Arica that makes the present difficulties in the way of a settlement, as it is that the national pride of the Peruvians ill brooks the idea of permanently losing all claim to this section of country. The money, about £1,000,000, could probably be obtained to indemnify Chili, if occasion for it arose.

The question of the delimitation of the frontier between Peru and the neighbouring republics of Ecuador, Colombia, and Brazil has also cropped up at intervals. A treaty was signed with Brazil as far back as 1876 by which certain physical features were accepted by both countries as the basis for the boundary, but nothing has been accomplished towards definitely surveying the proposed line of limits. In a treaty signed by the three interested states in 1895 a compromise was effected by which Colombia withdrew a part of the claim advanced, and it was agreed that any further differences arising out of this frontier question should be submitted to the arbitration of the Spanish crown.[c]

## CHILI

Chili, the long coast land stretching between the Andes and the Pacific, had the advantage of a more stable political organisation than the other South American republics. However, even Chili was not free from civil

disturbances. From the time (1817) when General San Martin with emigrant Chilians and auxiliary troops from La Plata, starting from Mendoza, crossed the pass of Uspallata over the Andes, and, a year afterwards, conquered the Spaniards, surprised by this bold march, in a desperate fight at Chacabuco on the Mayo river, until the year 1826, when General Freire conquered the island of Chiloe, the last standpoint of the Spanish government, Chili also was torn by party struggles.[b]

On May 2nd, 1826, after a series of political broils and constitutional changes, Freire resigned from the presidency. Pinto succeeded him on the 8th. At the end of the year there were complications with Great Britain.

The congress of 1828 drew up a liberal constitution. Revolts, especially of the conservative party, followed. Pinto resigned in July of the following year, was re-elected, and again resigned on November 2nd. A revolution headed by General Prieto opposed the government of Vicuña and occupied Santiago in December. By this time the conservatives controlled Santiago, and by 1830 all Chili. Prieto became president in 1831. In 1832 General Bulnes suppressed the Pincheiras, and the same year the silver deposits of Copiapo and Chañarcillo were discovered. The year following Portales, a conservative, became governor of Valparaiso. The next three years were occupied with a war which Chili waged successfully against the Peruvian-Bolivian confederacy. On June 6th, 1837, Portales was shot. In 1841 a steamship line between Valparaiso and Callao began running and a foreign commerce was built up. Prieto's second five-year term ended, and he was succeeded September 18th, 1841, by Bulnes, who proclaimed a political amnesty, but showed himself in general a conservative (*Pelucon*). In 1842 Valparaiso was made a province. The colony of Punta Arenas was established on the straits of Magellan in 1843, and the University of Chili founded in Santiago. Atacama also became a province in this year. The year following (1844) Spain recognized by a treaty the independence of the republic.

The discovery of gold in California in 1849 made a great Pacific market for Chilian wheat. In 1851 Manuel Montt succeeded Bulnes as president. In 1858 the liberals and anti-administration conservatives united. Martial law was proclaimed in the middle of December. In September, 1859, the principal liberal leaders were banished.

In 1861 Perez succeeded Montt as president, at a time of financial depression due to the failure of Chilian breadstuffs to compete with those of California and Australia. Perez's policy was to unite the conservatives and the moderate liberals, with the result that the Montt-Varistas and the radicals also united. The year following the Araucanian Indians set up an empire, led by a Frenchman, who was speedily captured by the Chilian authorities. In 1865 the liberals succeeded in passing a law permitting the exercise of religions other than the Roman Catholic. Spain demanded satisfaction from Chili and blockaded the Chilian ports. Peru and Chili formed in 1866 an alliance against Spain. After numerous engagements and destruction of property, the Spanish fleet withdrew, leaving the demands of Spain unsatisfied. Soon after this Perez was re-elected, defeating the *Pelucon* candidate, Bulnes. The policy of colonising the Araucanian frontier was carried on. Bolivia granted Chili the territory in dispute between them as far as the 24th parallel, with half the customs between the 23rd and 24th parallels.

The discovery of the Caracoles silver mines in 1870 opened up the question of the Bolivian boundary. In 1871 the conservative candidate, Errazuriz, was elected. In this year also the constitution was revised, the most important change being the prohibition of the re-election of the president. In 1872

Ramirez discovered guano at the straits of Magellan, and so raised the question of the Argentine boundary. In 1873 Bolivia and Peru made a secret treaty guaranteeing mutual protection against the attacks of Chili, and in 1874 Chili and Bolivia agreed that Chili's claim to half duty from Bolivian ports should be exchanged for twenty-five years' freedom from taxation for all Chilian industries in Bolivia. The following year Peru roused Chilian hostility by an attempt to monopolise the Tarapaca nitrate beds in which Chilian capital was interested.

In 1876 Anibal Pinto was elected president. Two years later the Bolivian government refused to be bound by the terms of the treaty of 1874 unless Chili paid a tax of ten cents a quintal on all nitrates. On March 1st, 1879, war was declared by Bolivia. Peru's offer to mediate was refused by Chili, which declared war against Peru. This war terminated in 1884 with a treaty favourable to Peru.

In 1886 José Manuel Balmaceda was elected president. He gradually lost the support of all parties save the office-holders, and on January 7th, 1891, civil war broke out, the navy and the congress opposing the army and the president. After a decisive victory of the revolutionary party, Balmaceda took refuge with the Argentine consul, and committed suicide on the last day of his term. Jorge Montt, head of the revolutionary junta, became president, and a general amnesty was declared December 25th. On October 16th, 1891, a sailor of the United States navy was killed by a mob in Valparaiso. The United States pressed on Chili the necessity of reparation, and in 1892 the Chilian government replied satisfactorily. In 1893 a Chilian Claims Commission was constituted to settle all claims between Chilian and American citizens. The newly elected congress decreed the resumption of specie payments on January 1st, 1896. The municipalities received from congress full self-governing powers. The gold standard was established February 11th, 1895. In 1896 Errazuriz, the government candidate, was elected president. A period of financial depression set in, due to the conversion of the paper money and to the cessation of shipments of nitrates. During 1898 financial conditions grew worse, partly because of threatening war with Argentina over the boundary. The president put the currency again on an inconvertible paper basis. Finally Chili decided to observe the Argentine agreement of 1896, and Argentina agreed. The question of the ownership of Puña of Atacama was settled in 1899 by the arbitration of the United States minister to Buenos Ayres, who gave one fourth of the disputed territory to Chili. Errazuriz quarrelled with congress over his cabinet (the last of thirty during his administration) and resigned in May, 1901. Riesco was elected president. In November the conversion of the paper currency, which was to have begun January 1st, 1902, was postponed to October, 1903. The Chilian lower house refused its assent to the Billingshurst-Latorre protocol as to the method of the plebiscite on the Tacna-Arica provinces. A new boundary dispute arose with Argentina as to the possession of Ultima Esperanza. Chili refused to be a member of the Pan-American congress unless the plan for compulsory arbitration between all American governments should be understood as referring only to the future. In 1902 Colombia and Ecuador joined Chili in objection to the Pan-American scheme of retroactive compulsory arbitration, and a treaty was signed between Chili and Colombia. A severe cabinet crisis followed the draft on the conversion reserve to pay for new war-ships. In January, 1903, congress voted to consider the tenders to build the trans-Andean railway. Strikes took place in May, necessitating the proclamation of martial law. Grave ministerial

difficulties ensued. In 1904 Bolivia gave up to Chili her claims to the Pacific littoral; in return Chili agreed to assume certain war claims and to build a railroad from Tacna to La Paz.[a]

## BOLIVIA

After the rich and fruitful land between the river Beni to the western coast region of Atacama, with the rich gold mines of Potosi, had been led to independence by Bolivar and by General Sucre and had adopted a republican representative constitution, the same sort of events took place as in the other republics—party strifes between conservatives and liberals, revolts and civil wars, changes of the constitution to suit the victorious party and its leaders. Not until Santa Cruz became president (1831) and effected an adjustment of party disputes by a new civil code did better days ensue, during which the land entered upon a period of prosperous development. Santa Cruz acted as pacificator in Peru, which was torn by internal struggles, and brought about a union between the related states in which he as protector was to stand at the head of the central power. This arrangement, however, only sowed seeds for new civil wars. The confederation had bitter opponents in both Peru and Bolivia. In Peru, General Gamarra raised the standard of revolt against the protector, and, supported by the envious Chilians, defeated him at Yungay; in Bolivia, General Velasco found so many followers that Santa Cruz found it advisable to leave the republic. Not until the Peruvians under Gamarra had taken advantage of the confusion of their neighbouring state to seize the rich district La Paz, on Lake Titicaca, did the Bolivians unite and elect General Ballivian president. After a victorious engagement on the Pampa of Ingavi, near Viacha, in which Gamarra was killed, Ballivian crossed the boundary and compelled a treaty of peace and the establishment of the former status (1841).[b]

This victory definitely assured the independence of Bolivia, but a period of disunion and anarchy followed, the details of which are tiresome and confusing. As Mr. Dawson[d] says: "A recital of the literally countless armed risings, and of the various individuals who exercised or claimed to exercise supreme power, would throw little light on the progress of the country." He points out that the government was always poor, having few resources of commerce or industry upon which to depend. Peru possessed the seaports, and thus had commercial control, while Chili was a dominating military power. Either one of these neighbours could bring on a revolution at will, by lending its aid to ambitious factions—and such opposing factions were always to be found amidst the turbulent creole military classes. Hence the utter instability of the government at this period. Finally, in 1848, Belzu attained to the presidency and managed to maintain himself in power for seven years, at the end of which he was succeeded by his son-in-law Cordova.

During the next fifteen years the presidency changed hands eight times, and no less than four new constitutions were promulgated. In 1876 General Daza usurped the highest power, and in 1879 led the country into a war with Chili which involved a war between Chili and Peru. Daza was deposed after the first defeat, and the troops elected Colonel Camacho to lead them in his stead. The war lasted until 1883, when Chili, completely victorious, concluded a treaty of peace with Bolivia, taking from that country the territory which had been in dispute. In 1886 a boundary treaty between Bolivia

and Peru was drafted, by which, among other provisions, Bolivia's war debt was remitted, and an attempt made to induce Chili to allow Peru to cede to Bolivia the provinces of Tacna and Arica. In 1887 a treaty was concluded with Paraguay, settling the international boundary and arranging for Bolivian trade by the Paraguay river.[a]

On May 18th, 1895, a treaty was signed at Santiago between Chili and Bolivia, "with a view to strengthening the bonds of friendship which unite the two countries," and "in accord with the higher necessity that the future development and commercial prosperity of Bolivia require her free access to the sea." By this treaty Chili declared that if, in consequence of the plebiscite (to take place under the Treaty of Ancon with Peru), or by virtue of direct arrangement, she should "acquire dominion and permanent sovereignty over the territories of Tacna and Arica, she undertakes to transfer them to Bolivia in the same form and to the same extent as she may acquire them"; the republic of Bolivia paying as an indemnity for that transfer $5,000,000 silver. If this cession should be effected, Chili should advance her own frontier north of Camerones to Vitor, from the sea up to the frontier which actually separates that district from Bolivia. Chili also pledged herself to use her utmost endeavour, either separately or jointly with Bolivia, to obtain possession of Tacna and Arica. If she failed, she bound herself to cede to Bolivia the roadstead (*caleta*) of Vitor or another analogous one, and $5,000,000 silver. Supplementary protocols to this treaty stipulated that the port to be ceded must "fully satisfy the present and future requirements" of the commerce of Bolivia.

On May 23rd, 1895, further treaties of peace and commerce were signed with Chili, but the provisions with regard to the cession of a seaport to Bolivia still remain unfulfilled. During those ten years of recovery on the part of Bolivia from the effects of the war the presidency was held by Doctor Pacheco, who succeeded Campero, and held office for the full term; by Doctor Aniceto Arce, who held it until 1892; and by Doctor Mariano Baptista, his successor. In 1896 Doctor Severo Alonso became president, and during his tenure of office diplomatic relations were resumed with Great Britain, Señor Aramayo being sent to London as minister plenipotentiary in July, 1897. As an outcome of his mission an extradition treaty was concluded with Great Britain in March, 1898.

In December an attempt was made to pass a law creating Sucre the perpetual capital of the republic. Until this time Sucre had taken its turn with La Paz, Cochabamba, and Oruro. La Paz rose in open revolt. On January 17th of the following year a battle was fought some forty miles from La Paz between the insurgents and the government forces, in which the latter were defeated with the loss of a colonel and forty-three men. Colonel Pando, the insurgent leader, having gained a strong following, marched upon Oruro, and entered that town on April 11th, 1899, after completely defeating the government troops. Doctor Severo Alonso took refuge in Chilian territory; and on October 26th Colonel Pando was elected constitutional president and formed a government.

Peace and prosperity for Bolivia, as well as for the two republics with whose fortunes her own are so closely allied, depend mainly on the question of her seaboard, in which Chili and Peru are also concerned, being definitely settled, and, with it, the question of boundary. In October, 1901, Tacna and Arica had not yet been invited to declare by plebiscite their willingness to become Chilian territory. Chili still waited the final settlement of her frontier with Peru, and Bolivia was still without her seaport. The feeling of sus-

pense, engendered by the uncertainty of the situation, had led to some show of impatience on the part of Chili, who seemed disposed to press for the legitimisation of her position on what was formerly Bolivian territory before the way had been cleared towards providing Bolivia with a compensating access to the sea.[e] In 1904 Bolivia agreed to recognise the sovereignty of Chili over the Pacific littoral in consideration of Chili's assuming certain war claims and agreeing to construct a railroad from Tacna to La Paz. In the same year in return for $10,000,000 Bolivia gave up to Brazil her claims to the Acre district.[a]

## ECUADOR

After the old Spanish province of Quito had broken away from the republic of Colombia (1830) and had constituted itself into the independent republic of Ecuador the history of the country alternated between revolution and reaction. Flores himself, the leader of the conservatives, managed to keep in power for fifteen years.

At the time when the reactionary movement was triumphing in Europe the clerical party in Ecuador gained a temporary victory, but it was of short duration. The threatening attitude of the government of New Granada gave the supremacy to the opposition. A junta constituted in Guayaquil declared the president Naboa to be deposed, and brought about his capture and exile. General José Maria Urbina, the radical leader, now [1852] took the helm as president and dictator, and established his seat in Guayaquil.[b]

In 1834 General Flores' term of office as president expired, and Rocafuerte was elected; Flores[1] himself was appointed commander-in-chief of the republican forces. In January, 1835, the liberal army [under Flores] was routed and put to flight.

Rocafuerte convoked an assembly in Ambato, which elected him president in June, 1835; the same assembly confirmed the appointment of Flores as generalissimo.[f]

The next twenty-five years were filled with disputes between liberals and conservatives. The only events of importance were the adoption of a penal code in 1837, the recognition of the independence of Ecuador by Spain in 1841, a convention with England for the abolition of slavery in 1847, and the adoption of the decimal system in 1858.[a]

In 1861 a newly elected national assembly gave the presidency to Moreno. From that time on the conservatives remained in power for several years, and Moreno, a scholarly man of mathematical and historical knowledge, who understood various languages, took advantage of the peace to increase commerce and general prosperity. But the democrats nourished a deep hatred against him and worked continually for his downfall. However, it was not until the war broke out between Peru and Spain that Moreno was no longer able to maintain his place After a hotly contested election, Geronimo Carrion was chosen president of Ecuador (May 1st, 1865). He, too, belonged to the conservative party, but followed a different policy and entered the alliance of Peru and Chili against the former mother country 1866).[b] In 1869, however, Moreno was re-elected, this time for a term of six years.

[1 Flores had just signed a treaty of peace with Rocafuerte, who as liberal leader had defeated him the previous year.]

Moreno showed himself reactionary and intensely devoted to the clerical party. Nevertheless, in 1875, he was re-elected for a third term, no doubt because of the perfect governmental control of elections. On the 14th of August, just before his inauguration, he was assassinated by three private enemies among his own political following. The party of the administration broke into three factions, which were easily defeated, perhaps with a show of force, by the liberal candidate, Antonio Borrero.

The new president acted with too much moderation and too great friendliness towards the clerical party to satisfy the radicals, and under the lead of General Veintemilla they revolted in Guayaquil, and in 1876 formed a provisional government with Veintemilla as provisional president.

In October, 1882, a revolution broke out against Veintemilla, in which moderate liberals, conservatives, and clericals joined. In May of the following year Antonio Flores, son of General and President Flores, landed in Ecuador and joined the insurgents in the siege of Guayaquil, which resulted in the capture of the city on July 9th. Veintemilla escaped to Peru. A convention, meeting in October, adopted the constitution of 1861 and elected José Maria Placido Caamaño provisional president. General Alfaro, leader of the liberals, occupied the northern cities of Ecuador. On the 17th of February, 1884, Caamaño was proclaimed president. Liberal revolutions continued to disturb the country for a period; but meeting with no success the movement died a natural death. An attempt was made to assassinate the president, but it was unsuccessful.

Little of importance occurred in the next ten years. In 1887 the boundary dispute with Peru was referred to the queen of Spain for arbitration. In 1888 Antonio Flores was elected president to succeed Caamaño. The following year the ecclesiastical tithe was abolished, but set export tariffs were reserved to the church. In September of the same year Chinese immigration was abolished.

In 1891 a new tariff went into effect with most duties increased and with a special *ad valorem* duty of 20 or 25 per cent. to raise interest, and a sinking fund for the national debt. In June, 1892, Flores was succeeded by Luis Cordero, a moderate liberal. The foreign debt was scaled down more than 60 per cent., from £2,000,000 and more to £750,000.

In 1895 the Japanese government, on the eve of its war with China, bought from Ecuador the *Esmeralda*, a cruiser purchased the year before from Chili. The sordidness and corruption of the government of Ecuador in this transaction aroused general disgust, of which General Elroy Alfaro, the radical leader, took instant advantage by invading the country. Cordero resigned April 24th, and was succeeded by the first vice-president or *designado*, Vicente Salazar. But the government was everywhere beaten; Alfaro occupied Guayaquil in June and formed a provisional government there, took Riobamba after a desperate fight, and September 1st entered Quito with practically no opposition. On October 28th he was made supreme chief of the republic. The year following, the national convention meeting at Guayaquil voted religious freedom for the first time, making Alfaro president, and decreeing the issue of a gold currency.

In 1897 the constitution was again amended, and a little later the foreign debt was taken over by the Guayaquil and Quito Railroad Company, an American corporation. A coinage law passed providing for the adoption of the gold standard November 4th, 1900. In 1901 General Leonidas Plaza became president, and in 1905 was succeeded by Lizardo Garcia. In January, 1904, Peru and Ecuador agreed to arbitrate all disputes between them.

## ARGENTINA

A general congress of the La Plata states, convened in 1824, adopted a new constitution, which gave Buenos Ayres the control of foreign affairs. On February 2nd, 1825, a commercial treaty was signed with Great Britain. On December 24th, 1826, a strong centralist constitution was voted, but was not adopted by all the provinces. Rivadavia was elected president. In this same year Argentina made war with Brazil for the Banda Oriental, which was finally recognized by each as the independent state Uruguay. In 1827 Rivadavia abdicated because of the ill-success of the centralist constitution, and on August 27th of the following year Argentina formed an alliance with Brazil and Uruguay for purposes of international peace. In 1829 Rosas, the guacho-leader of the federalists, effected the adoption of a federalist constitution, and became governor of Buenos Ayres and supreme head of the confederation.

In August, 1830, he received dictatorial powers for two years. In this year France protested through her consul against French citizens being obliged to render Argentina military service. The next twelve years saw the steady increase of Rosas' power. Then the tide turned. The story of Urquiza's rebellion and Rosas' downfall has been told in the history of Uruguay. On May 1st, 1853, at Santa Fé a constitution was adopted modelled on that of the United States of North America. Parana was made temporary capital until Buenos Ayres should accept the constitution. Urquiza was chosen first president. In 1859 Buenos Ayres sent an army against the federal government, which was defeated at Cepeda, October 23rd, by Urquiza, who seized the city and forced it to join the confederacy.

In 1861 Derqui, Urquiza's successor, was deposed after being defeated, September 17th, at Pavon, by Mitre of the Buenos Ayres party, being suspected of hostility to the provincial governments. The federalist constitution was abolished and a centralised government begun. Mitre became provisional president in May, 1862, and in October entered on a regular term of six years. The government then assumed some stability, and the country made great industrial advances. In 1864 Great Britain and Argentina referred to the president of Chili the case of losses to Great Britain through an Argentine decree forbidding vessels from Montevideo to enter the ports of Argentina, and on May 4th, 1865, Argentina joined Uruguay and Brazil with a formal treaty of alliance to suppress Lopez, the Paraguayan dictator, who invaded Argentina, and occupied Correntes, April 13th. Mitre held the supreme command in this war for two years. In 1868 Sarmiento succeeded Mitre as president, and Argentina no longer played an important part in the Paraguayan War. Sarmiento was a civilian, the "schoolmaster president," and Argentina took a remarkable industrial start, due partly to the trade of the Brazilian army, and partly to Sarmiento's policy of encouraging immigration, commerce, agriculture, and education. In 1870 a caudillo revolt in Entre Rios, led by Lopez Jordan, resulted in the capture and murder of Urquiza.

By the terms of the Paraguayan Peace, Argentina and Brazil, though victorious, agreed to the arbitration of their dispute. A decision in favour of Argentina was rendered by the Chilian president in the case with Great Britain, pending since 1864. In 1872 the first Argentine coal deposits were discovered. Avellaneda was elected president in 1874. The financial condition of the country was bad, because of the heavy expenses of the Paraguayan

war and the fact of the revenue being limited by import taxes. On February 3rd, 1876, the boundary dispute with Paraguay was referred to the president of the United States for arbitration. In 1877 a stamp tax was introduced, the high tariff having gradually killed import trade and with it the government's sole income. The frontier dispute with Paraguay was decided against Argentina on November 12th, 1878.

In 1880, after a brief and bitter civil war between the Buenos Ayres party and Roca's followers, Roca became president; the city of Buenos Ayres was separated from the province of the same name and put under federal control. On July 23rd, 1881, a convention was signed between Chili and Argentina, arranging the Patagonian boundary. Argentina bonds first reached par in December. In 1883 the currency was made convertible, the old paper dollar notes being exchangeable for four cents gold. At the same time great government loans were floated. A financial panic resulted from the government loans still unfloated and from the constriction of the money market following specie resumption. On January 16th the national currency was declared legal tender and the panic subsided. In this year Argentine expeditions explored Patagonia, and the next year there were gold discoveries in Argentine Patagonia. Roca was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Juarez Celman.

Administrative dishonesty during the next three years resulted in an alarming financial condition, and necessitated the resignation of Celman. He was succeeded by Pellegrini, who effected no reforms. In 1891 the disorder became so grave that martial law was proclaimed. The following year the powerful vote of the liberal opposition to the government was forcibly suppressed, and Saenz Peña, the administration candidate, was elected. In 1894 the president's influence waned, and the opposition made great gains in the congressional elections of March 25th. A sudden fall in the price of agricultural products and excessive importation forced up the price of gold to a premium of 320. In 1895 the president resigned. Vice-President Uriburu succeeded him for the unexpired term, and immediately proclaimed an amnesty. On April 17th, 1896, a protocol was signed referring the Patagonian dispute with Chili to the arbitration of the British government.

In 1898 Roca, leader of the nationalist party and of the provinces as against the capital, was elected president and took office in October. New internal duties were voted, and it was proposed to realize on the national railroads by their sale or lease. In 1899 the Puña of Atacama dispute was settled by the arbitration of the United States minister at Buenos Ayres. In the autumn of 1900 Argentina entered into an *entente* with Brazil, Peru, and Bolivia for the purpose of withstanding Chilian aggression. In 1901 a "Unification Bill," aimed to consolidate the national indebtedness, met with great popular opposition, and was withdrawn. Soon after this Chili quarrelled with Argentina over Ultima Esperanza. On November 20th, 1902, King Edward made the award in the boundary dispute with Chili, giving Chili nearly 60 per cent. of the disputed territory, but to Argentina nearly all the fertile soil. In 1904 Manuel Quintana became president.

## URUGUAY

The constituent assembly met at Montevideo, July 18th, 1830, declared the constitution drafted in the former year, and elected Fructuoso Rivera president. Two years later Rivera was sharply attacked by the blancos.

Montevideo was seized by them in the president's absence, but soon retaken. The civil war thus begun lasted two years. The colorados were successful in this civil war, but Oribe, formerly a follower of Rivera, leader of the blancos, was elected president.

From 1835 to 1851 Uruguay was torn between two factions, one of which desired, one of which opposed the incorporation of Uruguay into the Argentine Confederation. Rosas, dictator of Buenos Ayres, led the Argentine party, and Oribe united with him. Rivera led the opposition and was for a time successful, but in 1841–1842 he suffered reverses. In 1843 Oribe began the nine years' siege of Montevideo. Suarez became acting president. In 1845 English and French fleets intervened against Rosas at a moment when his victory seemed assured. His next reverse was the defection of one of his best generals, Urquiza, governor of Entre Rios. Entre Rios became a separate state, and in 1851 Urquiza led an alliance between Entre Rios, Corrientes, the Unitarians, the Colorados, and Brazil. This alliance compelled the surrender of Rosas at Montevideo, and again defeated him in the great battle of Monte-Caseros.

After several governmental crises Flores became president in 1854. A strong opposition to him had grown up within the colorado party. Revolution followed, compelling his resignation. In 1857 Oribe died, and this was a signal for disorder to begin again. In the first week of January, 1858, Diaz and his troops occupied Montevideo, and chose Freire president, but this revolutionary government was crushed. Freire and twenty-four officers were executed.

In April, 1863, Flores returned from Argentina with an Argentine following, and was quickly joined by the colorados. Brazil recognised Flores as president, but Uruguay, now in the hands of Flores, joined Brazil in making war on Paraguay. Brazilian troops entered Uruguay October 12th. On the 20th of February, 1865, a convention signed at La Union gave Flores complete control. On May 1st, by the *entente* with Argentina, the Triple Alliance was formed against Paraguay. The withdrawal of Flores from active participation in the war with Paraguay, however, practically removed Uruguay from the struggle. The president's home administration in this year did much to advance the country's industrial condition. On February 19th of the following year, 1868, the president was assassinated—probably as the result of a blanco plot. Three days afterwards Manuel Flores, a brother of the president, who acted as provisional executive, was killed, as were also twenty-one more colorado leaders. Nevertheless, the machinery of government remained with the colorados, who elected as president one of their number, Lawrence Battle.

During the succeeding seven years there were constant struggles between the blancos and the colorados. On March 1st, 1873, Ellaury was elected president. As the result of the friction between him and the legislature, the president left the country on January 15th, whereupon Pedro Varela, vice-president in Ellaury's administration, succeeded him. Varela's financial policy was flagrantly corrupt, and as a result there was a general rising against him. General Latorre, a colorado, who deposed Ellaury and replaced him with Varela, led the opposition, and on the 10th of March, 1876, Latorre was made provisional president—practically dictator—the following year becoming president. He introduced rigid economy, and proposed refunding the national debt at 6 per cent., instead of 12 per cent. His strict administration roused opposition, and in 1880 he resigned. General Maximo Santos became president in 1882. Santos won hatred through his corrupt adminis-

tration, and after being wounded by an assassin he fled the country, and was succeeded by his enemy, Maximo Tajes.

Herrera y Obes, prime minister, holding the portfolio of the interior, was the actual administrative head of Tajes' government. A national bank was founded in 1887, with a capital of $10,000,000, and on July 18th, 1888, the first South American international congress met at Montevideo. The 6 per cent. bonds of the government, amounting to $21,276,800, were converted to 4 per cent. bonds by the issue in London during August of $20,000,000 of bonds at 82½.

In March, 1890, Julio Herrera y Obes became president. In June of the same year the government negotiated a loan of $10,000,000 from the Barings, to avert threatened financial panic, and in the next month, after the national bank had suspended specie payment, the government unsuccessfully attempted to make the notes of the bank legal currency for six months; but the co-operation of the business men of Montevideo in favour of gold payments drove the bank-notes out of use. Early in October, at the orders of the president, who was practically supreme, the legislature voted the consolidation of the external debt and the reduction of the interest rate to 3½ per cent.

In 1894 Herrera y Obes' administration drew to a close, with general discontent on account of his extravagance and his complete control of the legislative machinery. On March 21st Borda was chosen representative of the administration, but was pledged to economy—a pledge he lived up to through the year. But Borda was clearly in the hands of corrupt advisers, and by 1896 had lost popularity. His term was filled with the uproar of a blanco revolution. On August 25th, 1897, he was assassinated.[a] His place was taken by the vice-president, Juan Luis Cuestas, who, though formerly a violent colorado, immediately negotiated with the blancos, and on September 10th secured peace by granting them all they asked, notably electoral reforms and a minority representation. Cuestas openly opposed the presidential candidacy of Herrera y Obes, and, after an attempt to abduct the president, this leader of the opposition was arrested and exiled.

At the beginning of 1898 President Cuestas declared himself dictator, and on February 10th dissolved the government and convoked an assembly of notables or council of state. A military revolt on July 4th of the same year in favour of Herrera y Obes occasioned a sharp and bloody struggle in Montevideo; but it proved unsuccessful and the enterprise was abandoned. The year passed without a presidential election, Cuestas occupying the office of provisional governor. In February, 1899, Cuestas formally resigned and was constitutionally elected president in March. In the elections of 1900 the blancos won enough senatorial seats to put the colorados in the minority.

In 1901 a "scientific congress" of the Latin-American countries met in Montevideo and urged international arbitration. Chili alone refused to agree to this motion. In the same year President Cuestas utilised domestic capital for internal improvements, notably the harbour of Montevideo. An electoral agreement was effected (with some difficulty) between the two parties. Two years later José Ordonez, a leader of the liberal colorado faction, and so a sympathiser with Cuestas, was chosen president.

In 1904 a dangerous revolutionary movement assumed threatening proportions, but was suppressed, after some difficulty, by the government troops aided by the national guard. In 1905 the government agreed to proposals for important railway extensions.

## PARAGUAY

The people still feared Francia, even after he was dead, as an evil demon. His secretary, Patiño, attempted to carry on his master's government and formed a junta, which put him in prison, where he hanged himself.

On January 23rd, 1841, the people deposed the junta and put in power a triumvirate, almost immediately superseded by Alonso, commandante generale, and his secretary, Carlos Antonio Lopez. The real power was in Lopez's hands. The consular government passed sane though crude laws, and proclaimed that the children of all slaves born after that year would become free in 1867. When the consular term expired in 1844 Lopez was elected by congress president for ten years, with practically dictatorial powers. In this year Rosas in Buenos Ayres forbade Paraguayan vessels to sail to the sea. The year following Paraguay was opened to outside influence and foreigners were declared free from military service.

In 1857 Lopez was re-elected, this time for life, with the privilege of naming his successor. On September 10th, 1862, the elder Lopez died, and his place was taken immediately by Francisco Solano Lopez.

Lopez, on August 30th, 1864, claiming to be protector of the equilibrium of La Plata, ordered Brazil to withdraw her armed interference in behalf of Flores' revolution in Uruguay, and followed this order by a show of force, thus provoking war, for which Lopez made elaborate preparations throughout the year. In December the Paraguayan forces occupied the Brazilian province of Matto Grosso. Lopez crossed the Argentine province of Corrientes so as to overrun Rio Grande, and thus drew Argentina into the confederation against him. Uruguay and Brazil formally became members of the alliance on May 1st, the three powers agreeing to overthrow the government of Paraguay, which declared war on March 18th.

The war ended in the complete ruin of the country. On March 1st, 1870, in a skirmish at Aquidaban, Lopez was killed. Cirilo Rivarola was elected president. In 1872 Rivarola resigned, and Jovellanos took his place. On March 27th the treaty of peace with Brazil was ratified, the claims made against Brazil and Argentina were relinquished. In 1874 Juan Bautista Gill became president. At this time the republic was listed as bankrupt in Europe.

In 1876 payment of interest on the home loan was resumed, and coffee planting began to be an important industry. The Brazilian army of occupation was withdrawn on June 22nd, and a frontier dispute with Argentina referred to the president of the United States for arbitration. On April 12th, 1877, President Gill and his brother, minister of finance, were assassinated. Bareiro was made president, and was succeeded by Caballero.

In 1885 the government negotiated for the settlement of the national debt as held by British bondholders. On November 28th, 1886, General Patricio Escobar was made president, and commercial treaties were signed with Great Britain and Germany. Juan G. Gonzalez entered office as president November 25th, 1890. In 1892 the government ceased to pay the coupons on its bonds. Two years later President Gonzalez was seized and deported to Buenos Ayres. A new arrangement was made for paying the national debt. In 1898 Emilio Aceval became president, and was succeeded in 1902 by Juan Ezcurra. In December, 1904, Señor Gaorra was elected president, and two years later he was succeeded by General Ferreya.[a]

## CHAPTER VI

## MEXICO IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In none of the Spanish possessions at the beginning of the nineteenth century was the necessity of a radical and sovereign change more keenly felt than in New Spain—to-day the republic of Mexico. For reasons which we will not examine here, and which belong rather to the domain of the philosopher and statistician than to that of the historian, all the evils connected with Spanish administration in America were united in this country, in which the line of demarcation between the two classes of society—the privileged and the exploited—was also more clearly marked. The latter class and the more important one, although formed of heterogeneous elements, was composed of what might be called the indigenous Mexican [creole] and of the popular elements; it made common cause with the natives of the country, not through sympathy or because it understood their needs, but because, although belonging in greater part to the conquering race, it was kept out of the public offices and hence became confounded with the conquered, identifying itself with them and thus preparing the work of common vengeance.

The other class included, besides what might be called the official class, the authorities and the employees of the public administration of the colony—mostly of Spanish origin—a certain aristocracy which had been created at the time of the conquest of Mexico, after the model of that nobility which the conquering races had formed in Spain: the higher clergy, bishops, dignitaries, and prelates, the large landholders, chief merchants, etc. The growing aversion, the mutual defiances and deep enmities which separated the individuals of the one class from the other, manifested themselves on the one hand in an inexorable war and in protests imprinted with threats and maledictions, and on the other hand in continual severities and in an insulting defiance.

From the year 1789, in which the first conspiracy against the mother country—a spark which was a precursor of the storm soon to break—was denounced to the viceroy, Don Miguel José de Aranza, down to the promulgation in 1857 of the constitution and of the laws of reform which completed it, Mexico may be considered as in a state of permanent warfare,

sometimes foreign, more often civil, but almost always disastrous and sanguinary.

As we have already said, it was under the vice-royalty of Aranza that the first symptoms of rebellion against the royal power were manifested in New Spain. However, their first revolutionary movement, so rapidly discovered and suppressed, was speedily reawakened under the rule of Don Pedro de Garibay. Later, in 1809, a new conspiracy was discovered at Morelia, and finally, in 1810, under the governorship of Don Francisco Venegas, there broke out at Dolores the great insurrection from which Mexican independence was to emerge, and which had for its leader Hidalgo, curate of that same town of Dolores, in the state of Guanajuato.[b] Hidalgo, a man noble in his intentions, although perhaps not seeing clearly the scope and the final end of his undertaking, kindled a civil war than which history can hardly show a more terrible one. The storm of revolt raged fiercely through the land and soon carried away with it all classes of society in its confusing vortex, destroying and deranging the old order of things and creating new only with difficulty.[c]

The creoles sided with the Spanish government. Hidalgo, who had soon an immense force with him, took Guanajuato by storm, and occupied Valladolid, whence he advanced over the table-land of Toluca to that of Tenochtitlan. The Spanish governor sent a small corps against him, which was defeated by Hidalgo on the 30th of October at Las Cruces, a pass in the chain which separates the table-lands of Tenochtitlan and Toluca. But notwithstanding this victory, Hidalgo retreated, and eight days afterwards was in his turn defeated by Calleja. Hidalgo retired to Valladolid and Guadalajara, and in the neighbourhood of the last-mentioned town he was again defeated, and soon afterwards taken prisoner and shot.

In the mean time the whole country had risen in insurrection, and many leaders began to act separately. The most remarkable among them was Don José Maria Morelos, who with great activity, talents, and success maintained the southern provinces in rebellion against the governor and formed a *junta*, or central government, which in September, 1811, assembled in the town of Zitacuaro, in the state of Michoacan. But that town was soon afterwards taken by Calleja, and the junta were dispersed. Calleja, however, was soon obliged to march against Morelos, who had penetrated into the table-land of Tenochtitlan from the south. He was attacked by Calleja in the town of Cuantla y Amilpas, and after defending himself for nearly three months with great skill and gallantry, he abandoned that place and took Oajaca.

The junta was now increased by new members, and under the title of the "national assembly" it declared the independence of Mexico on the 13th of November, 1813. But after that event Morelos had less success in his daring enterprises, and in November, 1815, he was taken prisoner, conducted to Mexico, and shot. Many of his companions-in-arms maintained the conflict for some time, but they did not act in concert with one another, especially after one of them, Terán, had dissolved the congress, which had been transferred from Oajaca to Tehuacan, in the state of Puebla. The viceroy, Venegas, supported by the gallantry and skill of Calleja, destroyed successively the armies of these chiefs, so that when Don Javier Mina, the famous Spanish guerilla chief, landed in Mexico, in 1817, the fortune of the insurgents was at so low an ebb that he was unable to restore their cause and he perished in the attempt. The country gradually became more tranquil, and in 1820 it was restored nearly to the same degree of order which it had

enjoyed before 1808, to which fortunate results the mildness of the new viceroy, Apodaca, materially contributed.

The events which occurred in Spain in the beginning of 1820 suddenly changed the aspect of affairs, and deprived Spain of the most valuable of her possessions in America, which it had regained at the cost of much blood and treasure. The Spaniards and the creoles, who had formerly made common cause, were now divided into two parties, royalists and constitutionalists. Apodaca, who inclined to the former party, wished to overthrow the constitution of Mexico, and chose for his instrument Don Agustin de Iturbide, a young man, born in the province of Valladolid, of respectable but not wealthy parents. He had distinguished himself in the battle of Las Cruces, and always shown great attachment to the Spanish party. Iturbide had about eight hundred men under his command, when, on the 24th of February, 1821, at the little town of Iguala, on the road from Mexico to Acapulco, he issued a proclamation which, since that time, has been called the Plan of Iguala. Its object was to conciliate all parties. It was to establish the independence of Mexico and still to preserve its union with Spain. To effect this, the crown of Mexico was to be offered to the king of Spain, and in case of his refusal, to one of his brothers, Don Carlos or Don Francisco de Paulo, provided they would consent to reside in the country.

Though Iturbide had certainly exceeded the powers which he had received from Apodaca, the viceroy, seeing that this proposal met the wishes of most persons, took no step to crush Iturbide, and the Spaniards of the capital, alarmed at this delay, deposed him, and placed Don Francisco Novella at the head of affairs. But the disorders which always attend such violent changes gave Iturbide time to unite his troops with those of Guerrero, the only insurgent chief still existing in the country, and to bring over to his party all the western and northern provinces. Before the month of July the whole country recognised his authority, with the exception of the capital, in which Novella had shut himself up with all the European troops. At this moment he received intelligence of the arrival at Vera Cruz of the new constitutional viceroy Don Juan O'Donoju. Iturbide hastened to the coast, obtained an interview with O'Donoju, and persuaded him to accept the Plan of Iguala as an armistice and final settlement, if it should be approved in Spain. This is called the Treaty of Cordova, from the place where it was made.

Iturbide thus got possession of the capital, where a junta and regency were established, but in such a form that all power remained in the hands of Iturbide. By a decree of the cortes, dated the 13th of February, 1822, the Treaty of Cordova was declared to be illegal, null, and void, and Iturbide, who had the power in his hands, and a great number of adherents, found no difficulty in ascending the throne. The army declared him emperor of Mexico on the 18th of May, 1822, and he took the title of Augustin I. He was acknowledged by the Mexican congress, which had been opened on the 24th of February; but a struggle for power soon arose between Iturbide and the congress, which the emperor terminated by dissolving the assembly, in the same manner as Cromwell dissolved the Long Parliament. On the same day he formed a new legislative assembly, composed of persons favourable to his wishes and intentions. But he had not skill enough to reconcile his companions in arms to these changes. Several generals declared against his proceedings, and prepared for resistance. Iturbide, terrified at the storm which was ready to burst on all sides, called together the old congress, abdicated in March, 1823, and went to

Europe, whence, however, he returned to Mexico in 1824. He had been outlawed by the congress, and upon landing on the coast he was shot at Padilla, in Tamaulipas.

Mexico was thus left without a regular form of government, or even a constitution, affairs being managed provisionally by Bravo, Victoria, and Negrete. But on the 4th of October, 1824, a constitution uniting the sixteen original states into a federal republic was proclaimed by a national convention after a session of fourteen months. The first congress assembled at Mexico (January 1st, 1825), and installed General Victoria as president of the nation.

With the exception of some discontents occasioned by *pronunciamentos* of Robato, Padre, Arenas, and others, Victoria's administration was encouraging to the friends of republicanism, until his term of office had nearly expired. All parties had then merged into two, the Escocezes and Yorkinos, or Scotch and York parties—the first strongly opposed to republicanism, the second in favour of it. In December, 1827, General Bravo placed himself at the head of the Scotch party, and marched against the president, but he was defeated by the latter and banished. In the succeeding election, however, the Escocezes elected their presidential candidate, Gomez Pedraza, by a majority of two votes. The exasperated republicans were not disposed to submit to this defeat with a good grace, and even before Pedraza was installed, Santa Anna marched against him with a small force. The Indians flocked to the standard of the insurgents, and on the 4th of December, 1828, a pronunciamento was issued in favour of Guerrero, the president's political opponent. The city of Mexico was rifled, and Pedraza compelled to fly to the United States. Immediately after, congress declared in favour of Guerrero for president and Bustamante for vice-president. The latter act was most unfortunate. The new administration had scarcely gone into operation when the vice-president raised an army, induced Santa Anna to join him, overthrew Guerrero, and seized the government. Not long after (September 11th, 1829), Santa Anna broke the remaining Spanish influence in Mexico, by the victory of Barradas.

Guerrero was executed by order of the government in 1831, and in the following year Santa Anna took up arms against Bustamante. After various successes, he induced the president to permit the recall of Pedraza, who was immediately elevated to his former dignity, and served out his term of office. At its expiration, May 15th, 1833, Santa Anna was elected to succeed him.

Santa Anna's energy of character and skill as a general were known and dreaded throughout Mexico; but he was subjected to the same dangers from insurrections, declarations, and other symptoms of discontent as his predecessors had been. The most formidable to the constitution was the Plan of Tuluco, substituting a central for a federal republic, abolishing the individuality of the states, and constituting the chief magistrate a military chieftain. It gave rise to the Texan revolution, during which the president marched into the disaffected department, and, after alternate success and disaster, was entirely defeated and taken prisoner at San Jacinto. On returning from the United States, he found his influence destroyed, and retired to his farm at Manga de Clavo. During his absence and retirement affairs were conducted by Barragan, Coro, and Bustamante.

The insurrection of Alexia, in 1838, afforded the first opportunity for Santa Anna to reappear in public life. The insurgents were defeated, and their leader was put to death. The blockade of Vera Cruz by the French, during the ensuing winter, was another step towards regaining popularity.

He there received a severe wound in the leg, which rendered amputation necessary; but this mischance he knew well how to appropriate to his own benefit. In 1839 the difficulties between France and Mexico were settled by British arbitration, Mexico paying an indemnity of 600,000 piastres. Santa Anna became acting president.[a]

In July, 1840, Urrea attempted to overthrow the government, but was defeated; but one year after, Valentia, Lombidini, Alaman, Paredes, and Santa Anna pronounced against Bustamante. This revolution was one of the most fearful of all that have distracted Mexico since the days of the viceroys. The armies fought more than a month in the streets of the capital, after which it was subjected to bombardment. The president was finally overthrown, and Santa Anna inaugurated military dictator (January 1st, 1841).

The dictator held his power with great firmness until 1843, when he ordered Paredes to be arrested at Tula, in consequence of his having joined Valencia in a proposed insurrection. This measure incensed the friends of Paredes, and they collected in small parties preparatory to revolting. The dictator then changed his policy, and invited the general to accept the government of Sonora and Sinaloa.

This, however, was ineffectual, and, leaving Canalizo at the capital, Santa Anna marched against the insurgents. A civil war was the consequence. This was ended by the indiscreet zeal of Canalizo, who, on the 2nd of December, 1844, closed the sitting of congress, and declared Santa Anna supreme dictator. Incensed at this act, the people and army rose *en masse*, imprisoned Canalizo, and caused Herrera to be proclaimed president by congress. Santa Anna was left almost entirely alone, and, after the most violent efforts at the head of a small force, he was taken prisoner. After long deliberation, congress condemned him to perpetual exile. In June, 1845, he embarked for Havana, in company with his wife, nephew, and a few friends.

### WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES

Congress now proclaimed a general amnesty and passed a vote recognising the independence of Texas, on condition of its not becoming a part of the United States. This state of quiet was of short duration. The separation of Texas from the parent government was, of all measures, the most unpopular in Mexico; and soon Paredes, aided by Arista, was in arms against Herrera. The latter was deposed, Paredes assumed the reins of government, and the United States minister was ordered from the country. In the ensuing war Paredes marched with the army to the north, leaving the management of affairs in the hands of General Bravo. His efforts were attended with uninterrupted misfortune, and the nation again turned its gaze towards Santa Anna, as the only one capable of retrieving its disasters. Vera Cruz and other cities declared for him, and General Salas, assuming provisional authority, imprisoned Paredes, and invited Santa Anna to return. He arrived at Vera Cruz, August, 1846, and was immediately appointed president and dictator.[d]

Santa Anna rejected American offers of peace and British offers of mediation and the war continued. It will not be necessary here to enter upon its details; Santa Fé was lost on August 22nd, and Monterey on September 24th. In January of the next year the government forced a loan of $4,000,000 from the church. Taylor won the two days' battle of Buena Vista on February 22nd and 23rd, and Scott defeated the Mexicans at Cerro Gordo, April 18th, and took the city of Mexico on September 15th. The easy victory of the

American army was made more simple by the opposition to the war of the moderados or polkos, under Salas' leadership. In November Anaya became acting president, succeeding Peña y Peña, and Santa Anna left the country.

On February 2nd, 1849, the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo was signed near Mexico City, and was submitted to the United States senate on February 23rd; it was ratified on March 16th by the United States senate; on May 19th, by the Mexican authorities; ratifications were exchanged May 30th, and the treaty was proclaimed in July. It took from Mexico the provinces of New Mexico and California on payment of $15,000,000, and made the southern boundary of Texas the Rio Grande. Herrera's wise administration, which began at Queretaro June 3rd, was menaced by Paredes and the guerilla chieftains even in August, and as early as June 16th Old California, Sonora, Sinaloa, Chihuahua, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas seceded from the republic.[a]

### CHARACTER OF SANTA ANNA

Among all the agitators of the country no one was, by turns, so much courted and dreaded as Santa Anna. His political history discloses many but not all the features of his private character. He possessed a wilful, observant, patient intellect, which had received very little culture; but constant intercourse with all classes of men made him perfectly familiar with the strength and weaknesses of his countrymen. There was not a person of note in the republic whose value he did not know, nor was there a venal politician with whose price he was unacquainted. Believing most men corrupt or corruptible, he was constantly busy in contriving expedients to control or win them. A soldier almost from his infancy, during turbulent times among semi-civilised troops, he had become so habitually despotic that when he left the camp for the cabinet he still blended the imperious general with the intriguing president. He seemed to cherish the idea that his country could not be virtuously governed. Ambitious and avaricious, he sought for power not only to gratify his individual lust of personal glory, but as a means of enriching himself and purchasing the instruments who might sustain his authority. Accordingly, he rarely distinguished the public treasure from his private funds. Soldier as he was by profession, he was slightly skilled in the duties of a commander in the field, and never won a great battle except through the blunders of his opponents. He was a systematic revolutionist, a manager of men, an astute intriguer; and, personally timid, he seldom meditated an advance without planning a retreat. Covetous as a miser, he nevertheless delighted to watch the mean combat between fowls upon whose prowess he had staked his thousands. An agriculturist with vast landed possessions, his chief rural pleasure was in training these birds for the brutal battle of the pit. Loving money insatiably, he leaned with the eagerness of a gambler over the table where those who knew how to propitiate his greediness learned the graceful art of losing judiciously. Sensual by constitution, he valued woman only as the minister of his pleasures. The gentlest being imaginable in tone, address, and demeanour to foreigners or his equals, he was oppressively haughty to his inferiors, unless they were necessary for his purposes or not absolutely in his power. The correspondence and public papers which were either written or dictated by him fully displayed the sophistry by which he changed defeats into victories or converted criminal faults into philanthropy. Gifted with an extraordinary power of expression, he used his splendid language to impose by sonorous periods upon the credu-

lity or fancy of his people. No one excelled him in ingenuity, eloquence, bombast, gasconade, or dialectic skill. When at the head of power, he lived constantly in a gorgeous military pageant; and, a perfect master of dramatic effect upon the excitable masses of his countrymen, he forgot the exhumation of the dishonoured bones of Cortes to superintend the majestic interment of the limb he had lost at Vera Cruz.

It will easily be understood how such a man, in the revolutionary times of Mexico, became neither the Cromwell nor the Washington of his country. The great talent which he unquestionably possessed taught him that it was easier to deal corruptly with corruptions than to rise to the dignity of a loyal reformer. He and his country mutually acted and reacted upon each other. Neither a student nor a traveller, he knew nothing of human character except as he saw it exhibited at home, and there he certainly sometimes found excuses for severity and even despotism. It is undeniable that he was endowed with a peculiar genius, but it was that kind of energetic genius which may raise a dexterous man from disgrace, defeat, or reverses, rather than sustain him in power when he has reached it. He never was popular, and never relied for success on the democratic sentiment of his country. He ascertained, at an early day, that the people would not favour his aspirations, and, abandoning federalism, he threw himself in the embrace of the centralists. The army and the church establishment—combined for mutual protection under his auspices—were the only two elements of his political strength, and as long as he wielded their mingled power, he was enabled to do more than any other Mexican in thoroughly demoralising his country. As a military demagogue he was often valuable even to honest patriots, who were willing to call him to power for a moment to save the country either from anarchy or from the grasp of more dangerous aspirants. Until the army was destroyed, Santa Anna could not fall, nor would the military politicians yield to the civil. As long as this dangerous chief and his myrmidons remained in Mexico, either in or out of power, every citizen felt that he was suffering under the rod of a despot, or that the progress of his country would soon be paralysed by the wand of an unprincipled agitator. But with the army reduced to the mere requirements of a police system, and Santa Anna beyond the limits of the republic, the nation may breathe with freedom and vigour.[e]

### GROWTH OF THE MONARCHICAL PARTY

The history of the republic is one of boundless anarchy. Presidents and counter-presidents, back and forth in countless number; disputes and struggles as to whether to have a central or a federative state; civil wars; demoralisation of all classes; repeated appearance on the scene of Santa Anna, who always came as a saviour in time of need, and who, three times banished and three times recalled, was called on to exercise the dictatorial power; financial and economical ruin of the country—such are in general the chief events which filled the history of the republic, upon the details of which we will not enter. It can easily be understood that under such circumstances a monarchical party was gradually formed; this had its special organ in the *Universal*, and saw its salvation only in monarchical institutions. This monarchical party, which had in fact been founded ever since the declaration of independence, and, although not numerous, had maintained its position, counted many worthy men among its members, among others Don Gutierrez de Estrade, a rare, blameless character whom years before disgust at the ruinous

condition of his republican fatherland had sent into voluntary exile to Europe. Although his views were inopportune, he was one of the few who had carefully studied and understood the conditions of Mexico, and already in 1846, at Vienna, he had tried to gain an Austrian archduke for an imperial throne in Mexico. Prince Metternich imposed three, at that time, impossible conditions, before the matter could even be considered: consent of the sea power, a majority of the Mexican people, and sufficient financial means. It is difficult not to recognise the wisdom of the old state chancellor in these conditions.

In the year 1850 the monarchical party began to rouse itself to action. Opposed to it stood two other parties, the liberal, which was really conservative, and the democratic, called more appropriately the radical. To this belonged General Arista, who had been made president in 1851, and during his short time of office, being a plaything of all parties, had accomplished nothing good or useful. In 1852 Arista was obliged to give up his position of power, in consequence of the revolt of nearly all the Mexican states. Santa Anna, who had been living in Cartagena (New Granada), was again called back. Lucas Alaman says, in his history of Mexico, that the history of the republic after 1823 could best be designated as the history of Santa Anna's revolutions. His rule as dictator aroused hopes of great things; he showed great energy and a zealous effort to improve the disordered conditions of his country. Through the Gadsden Treaty, concluded with North America on December 30th, 1853, although he ceded a considerable territory north of the Rio Grande, he brought $10,000,000 into the exhausted treasury.

True to his convictions, he strove to rule alone; in 1854 he adopted the title "most serene highness," obtained the right to choose his successor, and renewed the order of Our Lady of Guadalupe. But the rebellion soon broke out again. Juan Alvarez, an Indian chief in Guerrero, defeated him in several battles, and in 1855 Santa Anna had to go into exile again. The dictatorship was at an end, but the confusion was so much the worse. In the capital, the houses of the ministers were immediately plundered, and the monument was torn down which had been erected a few months before to "the most meritorious servant of his fatherland."

With Alvarez all the horrors of barbarism celebrated a complete victory over what little was left of morality and outward decency. Immediately after his entry he declared all privileges of the soldiers and clergy abolished. The rough Indian, however, could not maintain himself in the presidential chair, in which he had never felt at ease. Hence he declared that he no longer had any desire to be president, took all that he found in the way of weapons, guns, and ammunition, emptied the treasury, in which were two hundred thousand piastres, and on December 12th, 1855, surrendered his power to the tax-collector, Ignacio Comonfort. The latter belonged to the conservative party, and had soon to struggle with a rebellion, which he put down successfully, and to fight out differences with Spain, which, through the mediation of the United States, were settled in favour of Mexico. On June 15th, 1856, he issued the famous decree forbidding all corporations to hold real estate. Thereby the clergy lost their numerous estates, and hence did not neglect to place all possible difficulties in the way of the president, even to raising a revolt against him in Puebla. In these battles Colonel Miguel Miramon first distinguished himself by his courage and decision. On the other side, the governor of Coahuila, the liberal General Santiago Vidaurri, had likewise arisen, but was persuaded by the compromise of 1856 to recognise the president.

In the congress, elected amid the general disorder and clothed with constitutional power, which opened on February 18th, 1856, triumphant radicalism

soon gained the upper hand. Instead of working for a constitution appropriate to the needs of the country, congress, with inopportune and sometimes shallow pathos, discussed the most sublime social questions, discussed the rights of men, the freedom of labour, changed the laws of marriage, arbitrarily broke treaties with Spain, and completed the long list of its grave mistakes by laying hand on the ecclesiastical institutions, and plunged into this most dangerous of reforms without any reflection and even with inexcusable levity. In the mean while, anarchy reigned on all sides under a thousand forms. Armed bands plundered and robbed without punishment, one *pronunciamento* followed another, and discord soon broke out between Comonfort and the assembly, which, however, finally ended in a constitution of which the radicals could proudly say that it went "to the extreme verge of liberty" and began by placing the "rights of man" at the head.

The archbishop of Mexico forbade granting absolution to those who should swear to the constitution, whereupon twenty-seven generals and higher officers immediately refused to take the oath. According to the custom of the country the knot was cut by a *coup d'état*. The new constitution was to go into effect on September 10th. Before that a definitive president and a regular congress had to be chosen. The elections were held in July, 1857, in the midst of universal disorder, and as a result Comonfort became president, a stubborn radical of Indian blood. Don Benito Juarez became president of the supreme court, and a legislature was elected which was, if possible, even more revolutionary than the constituent. Mexico was again to form a federative republic, but even before the new form was introduced several states had broken loose from the central government and others had altered their constitutions and inner organisation in wholly sovereign fashion. On December 17th General Felix Zuloaga with his troops declared against the constitution and dispersed the congress. Comonfort (who had proclaimed himself dictator on December 1st, 1857) placed himself at the head of the movement, but his dictatorship lasted only a month. The rebellion soon turned against him and compelled him, in January, 1858, to lay down his office.[c]

Not even the European ambassadors and consuls who lived in the midst of affairs were able to give a complete picture of the confusion which reigned in Mexico in the year 1858. The British *chargé d'affaires* counted no less than eight prominent party leaders, every one of whom went his own way. With the spring of 1859 the confusion cleared to some extent, in that the aims and objects of both parties became more recognisable. In Mexico General Miramon stood at the head of the government, while the republican-federalist party put up Juarez as president, who in the mean while made Vera Cruz his headquarters. The war between the two parties raged with bitterness, being split up at first into a hundred guerilla warfares in accordance with the nature and custom of the country. The envoys of European powers negotiated with the chief who was in possession of the capital, whereas North America sent its ambassador to Juarez.

Juarez was without question one of the first men of his country. It can be imagined, however, with what bitterness the news of the presidency of an Indian supreme judge was received in the circles of the conservatives and of the church party. Two elements worked together against him: in him was hated the reckless radical reformer, who was willing not only to follow Comonfort's laws, but even to extend them, but he was still more despised as an Indian who presumed to rule over men of pure Spanish blood. Besides, Juarez, immediately after becoming president, had concluded several treaties

with America, so that a large portion of the Mexicans from the very first detected in him a man who would unconcernedly see the independence of his land disappear and become absorbed in the great republic of the north.

The final possession of the land had to be decided by arms. After many single battles in the year 1860, towards the end of the year (December 22nd) a battle was fought at San Miguelito, in which the conservatives were completely defeated. After scenes of indescribable confusion, on January 1st, 1861, the constitutional president, Juarez, made his entry into Mexico, and proclaimed his intention of attempting to conciliate the warring elements and of giving back peace and prosperity to the land.*f*

### EUROPEAN INVASION

For years during the confused condition of the country the rights and property of foreigners had been frequently violated, without the demands for indemnification of the European powers having met with any response; but complaints and protests became more frequent when the *puros* under Juarez came into power. Instead of satisfying these demands, the chief thought of the new government was to fill the empty treasury. Congress passed a law according to which all payments, including the interest on the debt to England, were to be suspended for two years and the inland duties on foreign wares were to be doubled. At this point the government of Spain succeeded in persuading France and England to adopt joint measures against the republic. By the convention of London (October 31st, 1861) the three powers—France, England, and Spain—declared that on account of the unreliability of the Mexican authorities they felt compelled to demand better protection for their subjects and their property, and to enforce the execution of the agreements stipulated by treaty, adding at the same time that they had no intention of curtailing the right of Mexico to choose and model her own form of government, nor did they have in mind any extensions of their own possessions or other private interests. After the conclusion of this convention, three fleets with landing troops were despatched to America to demand satisfaction for the past and guarantees for the future. They occupied the city of Vera Cruz, together with the fort San Juan de Ulua, which had been evacuated by the Spanish troops and officials, and took up camping positions inland, where the troops were less exposed to the ravages of the yellow fever. The Spaniards, under General Prim, camped in Orizaba; the French, under De la Gravière, in Tehuacan; the English commander, Sir Charles Wyke, chose Cordova. But since the expedition had no commander-in-chief, and a joint method of procedure was difficult of attainment, while at the same time the three leaders followed different ends and interests, the undertaking lacked strength and unity. Juarez responded to a manifesto drawn up in a moderate tone by the plenipotentiaries of the three powers (February 19th, 1862) by threatening to punish all who should have any intercourse with the foreigners, and after long delay he rejected an ultimatum in words which sounded like an insult. Nevertheless, the commanders entered upon fresh negotiations with Juarez, and through the Treaty of La Soledad concluded a sort of truce in which the presidency of Juarez was indirectly recognised in contradiction to the convention of London. Soon afterwards Don Juan Almante Son of the revolutionist Morelo, who had spent several years in Paris and was greatly esteemed by the conservatives, arrived in camp, in company with Father Miranda and other heads of the church party.*g*

### FRENCH EXPEDITION

But as the French harboured leaders of the Mexican reactionaries, and showed a disposition to interfere in Mexican domestic politics, which lay beyond the terms of the joint convention, Great Britain and Spain withdrew their forces in March, 1862. For the refugees in Paris had been taken up by the empress Eugénie and the French "clericals," and had revived the old idea of a Mexican monarchy, which Napoleon adopted in the autumn of 1861. More troops were sent from France. Their advance was checked by Zaragoza and Porfirio Diaz in the battle of Cinco de Mayo, May 5th, 1862, and in September of that year thirty thousand more French troops arrived under General Forey. Wintering at Orizaba, they recommenced their advance, February 17th, 1863, besieged and reduced Puebla, and entered Mexico City June 17th. A provisional government of Mexicans was established, nominated directly or indirectly by Dubois de Saligny, the French plenipotentiary. It adopted monarchy, offered the crown to Maximilian of Austria, brother of the emperor Francis Joseph, and, should he refuse, left its disposal to Napoleon III.

Maximilian, after making some difficulty as to renouncing his right of succession to the throne of Austria, as was required of him, accepted the crown subject to the approval of the Mexican people, and reached Mexico City June 12th, 1864. Juarez meanwhile had set up his capital, first in San Luis Potosi, then in Chihuahua. The new empire was unstable from the first. Before Maximilian arrived the provisional government had refused to cancel the sales of confiscated church lands, as the clericals demanded. When he came, a host of new difficulties arose. A new loan, nominally of about £8,000,000, but yielding little more than four, owing to discount and commission, was raised in Europe, but no funds were really available for its service. Maximilian spent his resources too freely in mere luxury, and carried the elaborate etiquette of the court of Vienna to Mexico. Favouring as he did toleration of Protestantism and the supremacy of the crown over the church, he was too liberal for the clericals who had set him up. As a foreigner he was unpopular, and the regiments of Austrians and Belgians, which were to serve as the nucleus of his own army, were more so. As an administrator he was enthusiastic, but futile; his reforms, excellent on paper, could not be carried out, for the trained bureaucracy necessary—nay, even the material for it—did not exist. For a time he nominally held sway over about two thirds of the country—roughly, from latitude 18° to 23°, thus excluding the extreme north and south. Oajaca City, under Porfirio Diaz, capitulated to Bazaine—who had superseded the too pro-clerical Forey in October, 1864—in February, 1865, and by the autumn of that year the condition of the Juarists in the north seemed desperate. But the towns asked for permanent French garrisons, which were refused, as weakening their own power of self-defence. Instead, the country was traversed by flying columns, and the guerillas dealt with by a French service of "contreguerilla," who fought with much the same savagery as their foes. Directly the French troops had passed republican bands sprang up, and the non-combatant Mexicans, to save themselves, could only profess neutrality. Yet on October 3rd, 1865, Maximilian, misled by a false report that Juarez had left the country, issued a decree declaring the Juarists guerillas, who, whenever captured, were to be tried by court-martial and shot. Mexican generals on both sides had done as much. But Maximilian's decree prepared his own fate.[h]

MAXIMILIAN ON THE THRONE

It was Maximilian's intention to govern; but, as ill luck would have it, he did not grasp the essentials of government. Thus, he had been chosen emperor by an assembly of notables selected by the French minister; this election had been ratified—he held the ratification good—by the votes of one section of the people expressed in acts of approval which had been laid before him; thence he derived his right to the crown. But, in order to govern, something else was needed. Maximilian owed to this people, which was to be rescued from barbarism, that which makes the strength of civilised nations—namely, a constitution. Of that he never even thought, and no one thought of it for him. There were, then, neither houses of parliament, nor popular delegates, nor any kind of control by the citizens, nor representation of the taxpayers. All power was concentrated in the emperor's hands.

This condition of affairs would not have been without its advantages if Maximilian had been another man. Dictatorial powers are sometimes good to draw a people from a state of decay and anarchy into which years of turmoil and revolution have plunged it. But the hand which holds the helm must steer without weakening, and undeviatingly; in fact, the head which guides the hand must contain that something which men admire and curse under the name of genius. The founders of empires are despots; so much the better if liberty follows after.

Maximilian, then, without elective bodies near him, remained alone, exposed to the responsibilities of power; he confined himself to employing executive agents, that is to say, ministers. He confided the foreign office to Ramirez; he summoned Peza to the ministry of war and of the navy, and Robles Pezuela to the ministry of public works, commerce, and industry. The choice was good; both had been under-secretaries of state under the regency in the same offices of which they now became the titulary heads. Some days later he completed his ministry by naming Escudero y Echanove minister of justice, and Cortes Espaza home secretary. All belonged to that new party which was fairly representative of moderate opinions.

There lay the future; at least so it was thought amongst the representatives of France. To afford this policy an efficient support, M. de Montholon, the French minister plenipotentiary, resolved to add to the weight of French arms the influence of that other power which has developed with so much rapidity in our century, and which possesses a force which penetrates everywhere; we mean the press. There were already several newspapers in Mexico, and amongst them the *Estafette*, edited by a Frenchman; but the *Estafette* did not represent the policy of intervention. M. de Montholon set to work to create a new paper, the management of which he confided to a Frenchman.

*L'Ere Nouvelle* appeared on October 1st. The programme of the paper was naturally conservative and liberal. Notwithstanding its origin, it did not separate the cause of intervention from that of the empire, and it laboured to disseminate the doctrines of equality before the law and of the abolition of the privileges of the clergy and nobility, which corresponded to the doctrines of 1789. It was a valuable and useful auxiliary to the cause of intervention.

From the time of his arrival in Mexico, Maximilian, dazzled by the acclamations which greeted him on the way and intoxicated by his popularity, thought only of destroying what he believed to be the last remnants of rebellion.

[1865 A.D.]

"My duties as sovereign," he wrote to his minister of state on November 3rd, "oblige me to protect the people with an iron hand, and, in answer to the needs loudly expressed in all quarters, we, as head of the nation, in full recognition of our sacred mission and of the duty which is imposed upon us, declare that all the armed bands still roaming in some parts of our beautiful country and spreading desolation, turmoil, and menace against the liberty and labour of industrious citizens, shall be considered as assemblies of bandits and fall consequently under the inflexible and inexorable rigours of the law. If our government respects all political opinions, it cannot tolerate the criminals who violate the first of the liberties it is called on to guarantee, namely, that of person and property."

To the political prefects he gave analogous instructions, especially recommending them to show themselves severe towards the theft and pillage which had discredited Mexico in the eyes of the whole world. Then, with that imagination which he could neither master nor regulate, he embraced, in his recommendations, all the subjects which presented themselves to his mind: the care of the roads, the public health, the development of public instruction and of agriculture, the breeding of animals, the improvement of the race of horses, the investigations respecting coal, mercury, and copper mines, the state of abandoned tracts of country, etc. To stimulate the prefects' zeal, and in the hope of obtaining better information, he borrowed from Charlemagne the institution of *missi dominici*, and created inspectors, charged to see everything, hear everything, and report to the emperor what they had seen and heard. He forgot only one thing in assigning their duties to these prefects, and that was the keeping of the civil registers. He left this in the hands of the clergy, only imposing on them the obligation to transmit a copy every month to the civil administration.

He completed these measures of government by the creation of a council of state, to which he assigned as duties the drafting of laws and regulations and the administrative judgment of disputed claims, and all questions concerning the responsibility of the great functionaries which should be submitted to it by the emperor.

The composition of this council bore the mark of Maximilian's inclinations; that is to say, the councillors were taken as much from the clericals as from the liberals. Above all it bore the mark of the tendencies of those immediately about the emperor, in that nearly all these councillors were hostile to France. These selections were so much the less justified in that, if Maximilian's government had the time to legislate and create a council of state, it was precisely to the arms of France that they owed it. Every fresh day of success ought to have reminded them of it.

The French victories, whilst they witnessed to the bravery of the French army and the services it was rendering to the empire, showed only too plainly how little the country was really pacified, and what need there still was for our military co-operation. When, therefore, in the last two months of this year of 1864, the marshal, in obedience to the desire so often expressed by Napoleon III, sent back to France the troops that had first arrived in Mexico with General Lorencez, the battery of the garde imperiale, the 2nd zouaves, the 99th regiment of the line, and the 1st battalion of foot chasseurs, the Mexican government felt nothing but regret at the measure. The arrival of the Belgian legion did not seem enough to make up for this withdrawal.

The empress Charlotte echoed this impression in a letter addressed to Europe: "We must have troops; the Austrians and Belgians are very well in times of calm, but let the tempest come and there is nothing but red panta-

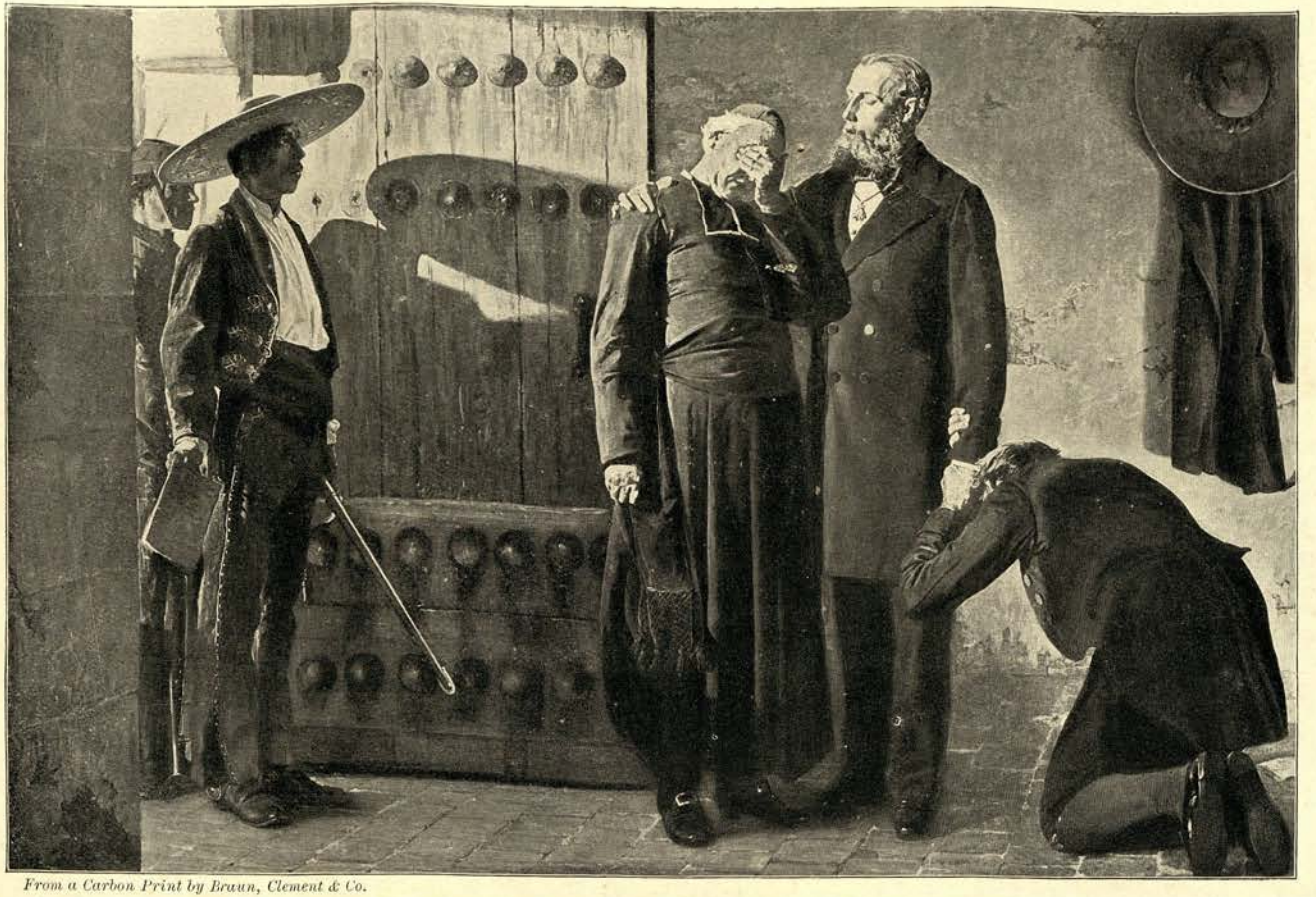
loons. If I may be allowed to say all I think, I believe that it will be very difficult for us to get through the first vital crisis if the country is not better occupied than at present. The troops are all very scattered, and it seems to me that instead of recalling any they ought to have been increased. I greatly fear lest the marshal may repent not having written what we asked him in the month of October; he feared the discontent in France, and has, I think, exchanged a slight unpleasantness for a greater one."

This letter reflects the impression that many had at the time—and that many have still—that Marshal Bazaine was absolute master, to do as he would, and to him was attributed the initiative in all the acts of his administration. This error is explained by the ignorance, which has existed till this day, of the secret correspondence that Napoleon III and Marshal Randon never ceased to carry on with him. Napoleon III had indeed declared in one of his letters that he gave him *carte blanche;* but it is none the less certain that in every circumstance the marshal obeyed orders from Paris, and, as regards the special case with which we are dealing, here is an extract from a letter of Marshal Randon (October 31st) which abundantly proves that, if he sent back troops, it was because he could not do otherwise: "I thank you for the assurance you give me that the home-coming of the troops you have designated for return to France will suffer no delay, for, if it had been otherwise, the question of the war budget would have been compromised, and it would have been difficult to make it understood why, after the repeated successes which our troops obtain at all points, and in view of the arrival of these nine thousand Belgians and Germans, the convention agreed upon with Maximilian should be delayed in its execution."

The marshal had, besides, an excellent motive for diminishing the French army of occupation; the Belgians and Austrians who came to Mexico were not so much to be despised as the empress Charlotte appeared to think, and they showed in several encounters that they were "very well" at other times than "times of calm."*i*

The American Civil War ended in the spring of 1865, and a strong popular feeling was at once manifested in favour of asserting the Monroe Doctrine against Maximilian's government. In the summer there were threatening movements of United States troops towards the Rio Grande; early in 1866 Napoleon III announced to the French chambers his intention of withdrawing his forces; in response to a note of Seward, the United States secretary of state, of February 12th, 1866, he was induced to promise their return by three instalments at specific dates (November, 1866; March and November, 1867). Maximilian now turned for support to the Mexican clericals; meditated abdication, but was dissuaded by his wife Charlotte ("the better man of the two," as he had once jestingly said), who went to intercede for him with the emperor of the French. Finding him obdurate, she went on to appeal to the pope; on her way, at Bozen, she went mad (end of September, 1866).

Maximilian had meanwhile drawn nearer to the clericals and further from the French, and, to protect French interests, Napoleon III had decided to send out General Castelnau to supersede Bazaine, arrange for the withdrawal of the French forces in one body, and restore the republic under Ortega, who had quarrelled with Juarez, and was, therefore, of all republicans, least unacceptable to the clericals. But fearing the prospect, they induced Maximilian, who had retired to Orizaba for his health, to remain. Father Fischer, a German-American by extraction, was specially influential here.



*From a Carbon Print by Braun, Clement & Co.*

THE LAST MOMENTS OF MAXIMILIAN, EMPEROR OF MEXICO

(From the painting by Jean Paul Laurens)

[1867 A.D.]

A conference of eighteen representative Mexicans was summoned, and refused his offer to retire, by ten votes to eight. He yielded on condition that a congress of all parties should be summoned to decide the fate of the empire. Hereupon he returned to the capital; the Juarist dominion extended rapidly; the French troops left (in one body) on February 5th, 1867, ignoring and ignored by the imperial government, and shortly after Maximilian took command of the army at Queretaro. Here, with Miramon, he was besieged by the Juarists under Escobedo, and the garrison, when about to make a last attempt to break out and seek refuge in the fastnesses of the Sierra Gorda, was betrayed by Colonel Lopez to the besiegers (May 15th, 1867). Maximilian, with the Mexican generals Miramon and Mejia, was tried (fairly enough) by court-martial, and, refusing (or neglecting) to avail himself of various opportunities of escape, was convicted on charges which may be summarised as rebellion, murder, and brigandage, on June 14th, and executed with Miramon and Mejia on June 19th, 1867.*h*

### BANCROFT[1] ON THE EMPIRE OF MAXIMILIAN

The empire was undoubtedly a huge mistake. It can hardly be termed illegal, for all international law is based upon the right of might. The assembly which issued the plan and nomination may be challenged, but the country cannot repudiate the immense vote which lent confirmation, whatever the insincerity and reservation underlying that vote. The plea of compulsion affected only a part. It was but natural to suppose that a nation so long torn by revolutions and attendant maladministration would hail a stable government; and Napoleon and Maximilian hugged the belief only too eagerly, the latter influenced not a little by the glitter of an imperial crown. Unfortunately, their views were framed by European standards, and by the expressions of a comparatively small party in Mexico. The rest of the people they failed to understand or to fully consider. There was little to fear from the passive Indian, but everything from the middle race, the mestizos, that mixture of activity and indolence, of brightness and dreaminess, insincerity and selfishness, in whose ever-growing strength rests the future of the country. Although reckless and improvident by nature, the mestizo had tired for a while of war, and yielded with the substantial classes to the effort for a peaceful rule. But soon his jealousy was roused by the growth of foreign influence and the preference accorded to assuming officials from beyond the ocean. The gleam of foreign bayonets supporting the throne now flashed wider, and his restive independence of spirit took alarm, fostered by conservative discontent. The very strength of the invader became a source of weakness.

The liberal policy of Maximilian was based on apparently good grounds, seeking as it did to conciliate factions which formed the worst foe to unity and progress, and making an effort to reach the people itself. If in a sense he turned traitor to the principles of the party to whom he stood bound, and consequently lost a certain support, he did so in search of advancement and in the hope of greater gains. He meant well. Noble ideas ever filled his mind with grand and humanitarian schemes, but he lacked strength and energy to carry them out. He might have done well in a settled country like Lombardy, where he gained so much approval, but Mexico needed a creative reformer, and this he was not.*i*

[1 Taken with permission from the edition of 1882, copyrighted by H. H. Bancroft.]

JUAREZ PRESIDENT

Meanwhile Porfirio Diaz had captured Puebla (April 2nd) and besieged Mexico City, which fell June 21st. The republican government behaved with comparative leniency, though Juarez and Diaz were to some extent forced on by their followers, who rejected a general amnesty. The last anti-Juarist stronghold submitted on July 20th, 1867. A good deal of discontent was caused among the republican rank and file, partly by the reduction of the army, and partly by a proposal to allow priests to vote, which came to nothing, and in the result Juarez's election in October to the presidency was opposed by Diaz, or rather Diaz's friends, but without success. But so soon as Juarez was elected, insurrections broke out in various states, and brigandage prevailed throughout the following year. There were unsuccessful insurrections also in 1869 (clerical) and 1870 (republican), but an amnesty, passed October 13th, 1870, helped to restore peace; trouble again arose, however, at the 1871 election, at which the candidates were Juarez, Lerdo de Tejada, and Diaz. Juarez's continued re-election was regarded as unconstitutional, and, no party obtaining a clear majority, the matter was thrown into congress, which elected him. Diaz's supporters refused to recognise him, and a revolution broke out which went on sporadically till Juarez's death on July 18th, 1872. Lerdo de Tejada, as president of the supreme court, succeeded him, and amnestied the rebels, but made no further concessions.[h]

Juarez with his death bequeathed to his country the boon of peace. Opponents in arms laid them down and placed themselves under the constitutional flag. He had ever an unfaltering faith in his mission. Old traditions he ignored; petty wrangles and temporising policies he despised. Heeding only the dictates of duty, he opposed an iron will to the torrent of personal ambitions and party strife, to the wicked envoy of a triumphant reaction as well as of a foreign invasion. He saved the constitution of 1857 by taking into his hands the reins of government at the time that the allied clergy and army were endeavouring to destroy it. Without him the liberal party would have found itself without a leader, or even a cause to fight for. What would have been the fate of the republic, we might ask, if Juarez, the chief magistrate, without soldiers or resources, had faltered? Who would have taken up the struggle had he abandoned it? Indeed, in vain may we search history for a more wonderful example of human greatness and success—a poor ignorant Indian boy, emerging from the wild mountains of Oajaca to link his name to some of the most radical reforms the American continent ever witnessed.[i]

In the next year, however, laws were passed repeating in a stronger form the attacks of 1857 on the supremacy of the church, and prohibiting the monastic orders or monastic life. The first day of 1873 was marked by the opening of the Vera Cruz and Mexico railway. For the next two years there were only local disturbances, chiefly in Yucatan, and an Indian rising in Michoacan. Protestant missions established themselves (with some opposition) in the country, and diplomatic relations were renewed with France and Spain (1874). But towards the close of Lerdo de Tejada's term as president he was suspected of aiming at a dictatorship, and Diaz made preparations for a rising, then retiring to Brownsville. At the beginning of 1875 the revolution broke out in Oajaca, with the Plan of Tuxtepec, which was adopted by Diaz and proclaimed as the Plan of Palo Alto (March 22nd). Diaz's attempt to raise the north, however, failed, and, trying to reach Vera Cruz by sea, he was recognised on the steamer, recaptured while attempting a four-mile

swim ashore, concealed by the purser for some days, generally inside one of the saloon sofas, and helped to get ashore in disguise at Vera Cruz. Lerdo was declared re-elected, but was overthrown and forced into exile (January, 1877), and Diaz, who had assumed the provisional presidency, was declared constitutional president on May 2nd, 1877. A law forbidding the re-election of a president till four years had elapsed from his retirement from office, the outcome of the republican opposition to Juarez and Lerdo, was passed in the autumn of that year (but so modified as to enable Diaz to be re-elected indefinitely in 1887 and 1892).

Diaz's first presidency (1877–1880) was marked by some unsuccessful attempts at revolution, notably by Escobedo from Texas; by the resumption of diplomatic relations with Spain, Germany, Italy, and some South American states (1877), and France (1880); by some frontier difficulties with the United States, whose soldiery had occasionally followed brigands into Mexican territory, and with Guatemala, which revived a claim, dropped since 1858, to a portion of the state of Chiapas; and by considerable internal progress, aided by a too liberal policy of subsidies to railways. The boundary questions were settled under President Gonzales (1880–1884); relations with Great Britain were renewed in 1883. The claims of the railways, however, necessitated retrenchment on official salaries, and the president's plan for conversion of the debt roused unexpected opposition in an ordinarily subservient congress. It was attacked with great force and eloquence by the youngest member of the house, Señor Miron; Señor Guillermo Prieto, a noted poet and ex-minister, added the weight of his authority to the attack; the students demonstrated against the bill in the streets; and finally it was rejected, on the ground that the expenses of conversion were too heavy and the burden on Mexico too great. At the end of 1884 Porfirio Diaz was again elected president, and was continually re-elected, the constitution being twice modified expressly to allow him to continue in office (1887, 1892).

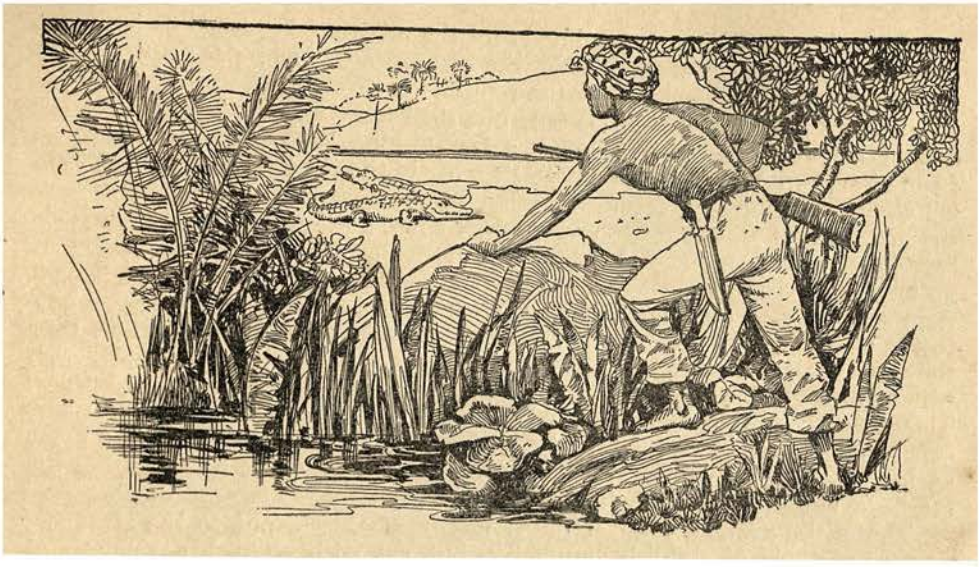
The history of Mexico from 1884 to 1902 is almost void of political strife. President Diaz's policy was to keep down disorder with a strong hand; to enforce the law; to foster railway development and economic progress; to develop native manufactures by protective tariffs; to introduce new industries, *e.g.*, the production of silk and wine, of coca and quinine; to promote forestry; to improve elementary and higher education—for all which purposes the Ministerio del Fomento is a potent engine; to encourage colonisation, and, above all, to place the national credit on a sound basis. The first step in this process was a settlement of the British debt by direct arrangement with the bondholders, who were induced to exchange their outstanding bonds (at a discount of about 85 per cent.) for 6 per cent. bonds secured on one-fifth of the import and export duties and the product of certain direct taxes (1887–1888). In 1890 the Spanish bondholders' claims were satisfactorily arranged also. In 1891 the tariff was made more protectionist. In 1893 the depreciation of silver, Mexico's currency and principal article of export, necessitated stringent retrenchment in the diplomatic service and reduction of official salaries; but the budget balanced for the first time during many years, the floating debt was converted, and a loan raised for the completion of the Tehuantepec railway. After 1896 there were substantial annual surpluses, which were spent in reducing taxation and in the extinction of debt. In 1895 the 6 per cent. external debt was converted into a 5 per cent. debt, the bonds of which were in 1902 at a premium; in 1896 the alcabalas or interstate customs and municipal *octrois* were abolished, and replaced in part by direct taxation and increased stamp duties.

The institution by Diaz of the *guardias rurales*, a mounted gendarmerie composed of the class who in former days drifted into revolution and brigandage, was a potent means of maintaining order, and the extension of railways and telegraphs enabled the government to cope at once with any disturbance. The old local revolutions practically disappeared. In 1886–1887 there were some disturbances in Coahuila, New Leon, Sinaloa, and Tamaulipas; subsequently hardly anything was heard of such disorders, except on the Texan frontier, where, in 1890, Francisco Ruiz Sandoval and, in 1891, Catarino Garza made incursions into Mexico with some support from Mexican ranch-owners in Texas and speculators who expected mining concessions in the event of a revolution. But the raiders, though they seem to have had some sympathisers in the Mexican army, were few, and in fact little more than brigands. Occasionally the church gave trouble—the presence of foreign priests was complained of; attempts to evade the law prohibiting conventual life were detected and foiled (1891, 1894); and there were Indian risings, repressed sometimes with great severity, among the Maquis of Yucatan and the Yaquis of Sonora. Now and then the old passions break out; in September, 1897, an absurd attempt to assassinate President Diaz was made by a countryman named Arroyo, who was secured, and early next morning lynched in the central police office, partly by members of the force, ten of whom, however, were sentenced to death for the crime. Discontent with Diaz's rule was confined to a small minority.[1]

In foreign affairs the rule of Diaz was uneventful. There have been transient disputes with the United States (1886, 1888). In 1888–1890 and 1894–1895 a boundary dispute with Guatemala became serious, and Mexican wood-cutters were driven out of the disputed territory between the rivers Xicoz and Usumacinto by Guatemalan officials, on the ground that, an arbitration in progress being suspended, the territory was still Guatemalan. But Guatemala gave way at the threat of war (January, 1895). In the difficulty between England and the United States over the Venezuelan boundary (December, 1895) Mexico expressed strong adherence to the Monroe Doctrine in the abstract, and suggested that its maintenance should not be left wholly to the United States, but should be undertaken by all American powers.

In brief, under President Diaz's rule, the history of Mexico is mainly economic. In the six financial years 1893–1894 to 1899–1900 inclusive, the yield of the import duties increased by upwards of 80 per cent.; the revenue from stamps (an excellent index of the volume of business) over 60 per cent., though the duties were reduced; the postal revenue from 1895–1896 to 1899–1900 rose 60 per cent.; the telegraph revenue over 75 per cent. The great drainage tunnel which is to take the waters of the valley of Mexico, hitherto most inadequately drained, out to the Pacific was completed in 1902; the Tehuantepec Railway, likely to prove a formidable rival to any interoceanic canal, approached completion. Great improvements have also been made in the harbours at Tampico and Vera Cruz. In 1891 elementary education was reorganised, and made compulsory, secular, and gratuitous. Great attention has been paid to higher education, and—at least in the hospitals—to modern sanitation and hygiene.[h]

[1] Don Augustin Iturbide, grandson of the emperor, godson and (perhaps) at one time the destined heir of Maximilian, was turned out of the army and imprisoned in 1890 for abusing President Diaz.



# CHAPTER VII

## CENTRAL AMERICA

THE term Central America is usually applied to the region formerly known as Old Guatemala. In a geographical sense, however, it may be applied still more extensively, including the provinces of Guatemala, Yucatan, and the Balize.

Guatemala is an extensive region, stretching between the Pacific Ocean and Caribbean Sea, from the southern boundary of Mexico, to the isthmus of Darien. In its climate, soil, productions, and geographical features, it much resembles the West Indies, except that the Andes render it one of the most mountainous of American countries. The western shore is subject to the most violent earthquakes; the interior is but little known. Politically it is divided into the states of Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica.[b]

### DISCOVERY OF NICARAGUA

The discovery of Nicaragua follows closely upon the death of Vasco Nuñez Balboa, and was intimately connected with that lamentable proceeding. Andres Niño, a bold pilot who was well acquainted with the coast of Darien, and had been employed there, proceeded to the court of Spain. He proposed an expedition to the Spice Islands, which met with royal approval and with that of the bishop of Burgos. At the head of the expedition was placed Gil Gonzalez Davila, the contador of Hispaniola, formerly attached to the household of the bishop of Burgos. These explorers were to make use of the ships which had been constructed with incredible toil by Vasco Nuñez; and they relied upon the friendship of Lope de Sosa, who was to go out at the same time as governor of Darien, and to take a *residencia* of Pedrarias de Avila. Meanwhile, as might have been expected, Pedrarias had made use of these

vessels for his own purposes, and had sent the licentiate Espinosa on a voyage of discovery in the sea of the South, who had proceeded as far as Cape Blanco, which is situated in what is now the republic of Costa Rica.

Lope de Sosa arrived at Darien, but died almost immediately after his arrival — indeed, before he landed, accomplishing less even than Ponce de Leon afterward did when he went to New Spain to take a *residencia* of Cortes. Gil Gonzalez, therefore, found himself with an enemy instead of a friend in the governor of Darien. He and Andres Niño, however, persevered in their enterprise, and in January, 1522, set sail from the gulf of San Miguel. Their notions of geography must have been somewhat limited and incorrect if they were still bent on discovering the Spice Islands, for they pursued their way to the northwest instead of the southwest. The result, however, was, that they discovered the whole coast of Nicaragua as far as the bay of Fonseca, which Gil Gonzalez must have named after his patron, the bishop of Burgos. They did not content themselves with merely discovering the coast, but made considerable excursions into the interior. There Gil Gonzalez found a great cacique called Nicaragua, whose *pueblo* was situated three leagues from the seashore, close to the lake which now bears his name.

The cacique was a man of much intelligence. He put to the strangers many questions of childish simplicity, but yet with childish daringness of thought. He inquired if they had heard of any great deluge, and asked whether there would be another. He wished to know when the sun and the moon would lose their brightness and forsake their appointed courses. He desired to be informed as to the causes of darkness and of cold, and was inclined to blame the nature of things because it was not always bright and warm.

He further wished to know what became of the souls of men who lived so short a time in the body, and yet were immortal. Descending from these great questions to discuss the information which the Spaniards brought him about their affairs, he inquired whether the pope was subject to death, and whether the cacique of Castile, of whom they spoke so much, was mortal. He concluded by asking the pertinent question why it was that so few men, as they were, sought so much gold. Gil Gonzalez and his companions were astonished to hear a semi-naked "barbarian" interrogate them in this fashion and never, it was said, had an Indian been found who talked in this way with the Spaniards. It will be needless to recount in detail the rest of Gil Gonzalez's discoveries. Suffice it to say that they were sufficient to entitle him fairly to the claim of being the discoverer of Nicaragua.

### ORIGIN OF THE NICARAGUANS

The Nicaraguans, it appears, were of Mexican origin. They had been driven southward by a great drought; and if so, they had certainly fled to a country pre-eminently abounding in the element they then needed. But this tradition is not the only ground for ascribing to them, or at least to one tribe among them, an affinity with the Mexicans. The language and the mode of writing were in this case similar; and, though the religions of the two nations were not wholly alike, there was sufficient similarity to render far from improbable, if not to establish, the notion of a common origin.

The Nicaraguans were in that state of civilisation which gives great promise of the gradual formation of an important empire. The edifices were not so grand as those of the Mexicans, but there was no want of skill in their buildings or of polity in their laws. Still, they were in that state of comparatively

low intelligence when men and women think they can improve the work of God, their own countenances, by piercing and otherwise maltreating their noses, lips, and ears.

Gil Gonzalez returned to Panama on the 25th of June, 1523, with a large quantity of gold, and with the conviction that he had made a great discovery. He had also baptised no less than thirty thousand of the natives. What knowledge, however, of Christianity he had left among them may be imagined from the strange kind of soldierly theology which most of these captains displayed when they took upon them to commence the conversion of the natives. He proceeded, not without molestation from Pedrarias, to Hispaniola, whence, after communicating with the emperor, and begging for the government of the lands he had discovered, he returned to Honduras.

The object of Gil Gonzalez in going to Honduras was to find a way to Nicaragua which he might take without any hinderance from Pedrarias at Panama. With the vessels he had brought from Hispaniola, Gil Gonzalez endeavoured to make the Puerto Caballos, which received its name from an accident that happened to him on this occasion. A storm came on when he was near that port; he was obliged to throw overboard some of his horses; and was driven back to the Golfo Dulce, where he landed, and founded the town of San Gil de Buena Vista.[c]

### SPANIARDS IN NICARAGUA

The possession of Nicaragua proved a matter of much dispute; Pedrarias sent Hernandez de Cordova to occupy the country and he succeeded in driving out Gonzalez, but was accused of attempting to form an independent government and was court-martialed and killed by Pedrarias. The governor of Honduras also laid claim to the province and finally Spain interfered and appointed Pedrarias independent governor of Nicaragua, which position he held from 1527 until his death in 1536.[a]

The foregoing narrative sufficiently describes the dire confusion which prevailed in Nicaragua among the Spanish authorities — a confusion that was sure to have its counterpart in burnings, massacres, and tortures among the conquered people. They paid the penalty for every error committed at the court of Spain, for every movement prompted by avarice, envy, or discord, which took place among the Spanish captains, each of whom had some show of authority from headquarters, and whose marchings, countermarchings, and battles were marked upon the broad map of that fertile province, unhappily well suited for the movements of the cavalry, in huge streaks of blood and devastation.

It was in vain that the unhappy Indians of Nicaragua consulted their idols, and prayed for a response to the question how they were to get rid of these strangers. The discerning oracles replied that if they were to heap the sea upon these Spaniards they would certainly drown; but then, to do that, it would be necessary for the Nicaraguans to drown themselves; whereupon they did not question their oracles any further in this matter.

### DISCOVERY OF GUATEMALA

In the decade of years that followed after the conquest of Mexico, the spot where some of the most important conquests were completed and the greatest expeditions prepared, where the strangest experiments were made for the conversion of the natives, where the discovery took place of the most remark-

able monuments of American civilisation, and the theatre wherein was acted that series of events which led to the greatest changes in Spanish legislation for the Indies, was the province of Guatemala. The wars in this province, though very considerable, were not of the first magnitude or interest; and as, in the early periods of historical writing, wars are the main staple of history, the other events in this part of the world, not being illustrated by great wars, have escaped due notice. Hence the majority even of studious men are probably not aware of the important circumstances in the history of America with which this narrow strip of territory, called Guatemala, is connected.

Cortes was a man of insatiable activity. It might have been thought that, after the conquest of Mexico, the rebuilding and repeopling of the city would have sufficiently exhausted the energies even of that active man. But it was not so. He is chiefly known to the world by that conquest of Mexico which, for its audacity, stands unrivalled in the annals of mankind; but he was subsequently employed in further conquests, which cost him far more labour and suffering, but have hardly added at all to his renown.

In his third letter to the emperor, after that in which he describes the siege and capture of Mexico, Cortes begins to inform his majesty what steps he has taken for the discovery of that which he calls "the other sea of the South." After the last discharge of the cannon of Cortes had been made upon the helpless but unyielding crowd of Mexico, the news of the city's fall was not slow in reaching the adjacent territories.

And how did the listeners receive the astonishing news? With joy, regret, and apprehension: joy, that a ruthless enemy, to whose fell gods their young men and their maidens had been sacrificed, was now no more; regret, that they the injured, had had no part in the misfortunes of the detested city; and apprehension, lest a worse thing should come upon them than even the power of the hateful Aztecs.

The Indian kings who were opposed to the Mexican dynasty, no less than those who were allied to it, shuddered at the success of these awful invaders from another sphere. The first potentate who sent ambassadors to Cortes was the king of Michoacan, a province about seventy leagues to the southwest of Mexico. From these ambassadors, Cortes, who had already heard something about this "sea of the South," made further inquiries. He found that it was to be reached through Michoacan; and, accordingly, after causing his cavalry to manœuvre before these Michoacan ambassadors, so as to impress them with a fitting sense of his powers, and after making them some presents, he sent two Spaniards back with them on a journey of discovery. Hearing still more about this sea from other quarters, he sent in different directions two other parties of Spaniards to explore the way to the sea, and to take "possession" of it. He seems to have been fully aware of the importance of this discovery, for he says, "I was very proud, for it appeared to me that, in discovering it, his majesty would receive a great and signal service; since," he adds, "it was the decided opinion of all men who had any knowledge or experience in the navigation of the Indies that when this sea was discovered many islands would be found in it abounding in gold, pearls, precious stones, and spices." Cortes thought, moreover, that many "secrets and wonderful things" were yet to be discovered there. From this faith in what was marvellous, the first explorers and conquerors derived an ardour in pursuit, and an untiring love of novelty, which reminds one of the same qualities as they exist in the untravelled souls of little children.

As the sea was at no great distance, it was soon discovered by one or other of the parties sent out to explore, and formal possession was taken of

[1522 A.D.]

it in the name of the emperor some time in the year 1522, nine years after the discovery of the same sea by Vasco Nuñez, about a thousand miles lower down.

Following the ambassage from Michoacan, there arrived at the camp of Cortes another set of envoys, from a people about a hundred leagues farther south than Michoacan, inhabiting a maritime country called Tehuantepec, which it appears was the territory where one of these parties of discovering Spaniards had come upon the sea of the South. These Indians, as was usually the case, were at war with their next neighbours, the inhabitants of a country called Tututepec. Immediately south of Tehuantepec lies the province of Soconusco, and south of that is Guatemala. Following the usual rule, these two last-named provinces were also at feud with one another. The great political doctrine of the balance of power was but beginning to be understood in Europe in those days, and was totally beyond the compass of Indian statesmanship. Accordingly, a similar series of events to those which had enabled Cortes to reach and to conquer Mexico was now to conduct his lieutenants into the southern provinces of Central America. These two provinces of Tututepec and Tehuantepec, which, from the similarity of their names, we may fairly conjecture to have been inhabited by tribes of the same race, were the first to give occasion to the stranger to enter armed into their territories; for Cortes, at the request of the envoys from Tehuantepec, dispatched Pedro de Alvarado with a body of troops to conquer the unfriendly province of Tututepec.

After a few skirmishes, Pedro de Alvarado made his way into the town of Tututepec, where he was well received, and was furnished with provisions and presented with gold. The hostile Indians, however, of the next province, Tehuantepec, suggested that all this friendly demonstration was but feigned, and that an offer which the cacique had made to the Spaniards, to lodge them in his own palace, was but a scheme to destroy them by setting their quarters on fire. Pedro de Alvarado believed this accusation, or affected to believe it, and seized upon the person of the cacique, who, after giving much money to his captor, died in prison. That this seizure of the cacique was thought unjust even by the Spaniards of that time is proved by the testimony of Bernal Diaz. There is no novelty in this proceeding of Alvarado. Indeed, the dealings of the Spaniards with the Indians seem, at this period of the conquest, to be arranged according to a certain routine, in which the capture of the principal chief is seldom omitted; and it is worth while to notice the imprisonment of the cacique of Tututepec merely because it is the first of a series of such proceedings on the part of Alvarado, who was the principal conqueror of Central America. His qualifications for command, as far as they appear in the page of history, were not of the highest order. He was brave, daring, restless, crafty, devout, but without any true policy. He was a great talker, but still a man of considerable force, if not skill, in action, as he was largely trusted by Cortes. He was nearly the same age as Cortes, for Bernal Diaz says he was about thirty-four years old when he came to New Spain. In his daring qualities he may be compared to Murat.

Alvarado founded a town in Tututepec which he called Segura, but, on account of the heat of the climate and the swarms of insects, it was soon deserted. This expedition of Alvarado's took place in the year 1522. From the seat of his new conquest Pedro de Alvarado despatched two messengers to Guatemala (called by the Indians Quauhtemallan, the place of wood, or of decayed wood), who were to offer on the part of Cortes "his friendship and his religion" to the chief of that province.

### EARLY HISTORY OF GUATEMALA

The origin of the kingdom of Guatemala is very obscure. It was governed by a dominant race called the Tultecas. These Tultecas had come from Mexico. Their abode in that country had been Tula, twelve leagues from the city of Mexico. The derivation of their name is said to be from "Tulteca," the art of stone-work. The account of their migration from Tula to Guatemala is not unlike that of the exodus of the Israelites from among the Egyptians. Having been oppressed by certain kings for five hundred years, they held a great festival, in which they were warned by the devil (any supernatural being in Indian story is said to be the devil by Spanish narrators) to quit the country of Mexico. In other words, the Aztecs, or some other conquering race, were too strong for the Tultecas. The story of the apparition of this demon is highly picturesque, and somewhat awful. It is said that, while the nation were celebrating certain religious rites, there appeared a great giant among them, who began to mingle in their sacred dances, and that his embrace in the dance was death.

The flight to other countries was resolved upon. The king who led the Tultecas forth was Nimaquiché. He was accompanied by three brothers, and these four men became the heads of four ruling families in four independent provinces: one brother of the province of the Quelenes and Chapanecos; another of Tuzulutlan; a third of the Mam Indians and the Pocomanes; and Nimaquiché himself, in the person of his son, of the Quichés, Cakchiguels, and Zutugils. In the course of their pilgrimage southward, the Tultecas suffered great hardships and passed many years. The king Nimaquiché died on this journey — another resemblance to the Mosaic story — and was succeeded by his son Acxopil, who was the prince that finally conducted that branch of the Tultecas called Quichés into the neighbourhood of Lake Atitlan. Their great town, founded near this lake, was called Utatlan, and was situated where the present village of Santa Cruz de Quiché stands. A further division of the Tultecan states took place in the old age of Nimaquiché's son, Acxopil. The old king retained the kingdom of Quiché for himself; to his eldest, Jiutemal, he gave that of Kachiquel; and the third kingdom of Zutugil he gave to his second son Axciquat. On the day of this division three suns were said to have been visible in the heavens.

It must not be supposed that the narrative of the Tultecan migration from Mexico and their occupation of Guatemala is wholly fabulous, and that there is no historic truth to be made out of it. It will account for a circumstance which otherwise would be very strange — namely, that though there were as many as twenty-four or twenty-six languages in Central America, yet throughout a considerable part of it communication was evidently possible by means of one language. Then, again, the mode of settling the succession to the sovereignties coincides with the Tultecan story. One principle in this succession uniformly prevailed: it was that a man of experience, and not a youth, should ascend the throne.

From sources that we can rely upon, we learn what were the manners, laws, customs, and resources of what was called the kingdom of Guatemala. The resources were abundant: it was a land with a fine climate and a most fertile soil, bearing maize, cotton, and very fine balsam, with irrigated plains, which were wont to give a return of three hundred measures for one measure of seed. It was found, too, that it would bear wheat and all the fruits of Spain. It also produced cocoa, which was used then, and for some time continued to be used, as money.

[—1524 A.D.]

From the possession of money we may at once conclude that these people were to a certain extent civilised, though this did not prevent them from adoring idols and occasionally eating human flesh. They had fairs which were generally held in close proximity to the temples and over which a judge presided, regulating the prices. Among their artisans were goldsmiths, painters, and workers in feathers. The plumage of birds formed one of the principal materials for ornament used by the most skilful nations in the Indies.

The laws of Guatemala appear to have been framed with considerable care. In some things they were very reasonable, in others not so. It appears that, though the government of the Guatemalans was a monarchy, they had a recognized power if the king behaved very tyrannically, of calling together the principal men and the judges of the kingdom, and deposing him. Their laws with regard to theft were curious, and in some respects commendable. They made much distinction between small and great thefts; and they graduated their punishments with care, beginning from a pecuniary fine, and continuing, if the culprit showed himself to be a resolute offender, up to execution by hanging. Before, however, taking the final step, they proceeded to the thief's relations, and asked them whether they would pay all the penalties for him, which, no doubt, in this latter state, were very considerable. If they would not do so; if — according to their expressive phrase — they had had enough of carrying their relative upon their shoulders, and would make no more satisfaction for him, the man was hanged.

In war, the main body of their captives, the common people, were made slaves, but the principal chiefs were killed and eaten, with a view of inspiring terror in the enemy. This practice, though horrible enough, is very different from a system of human sacrifices like that in force among the Mexicans. In matters of education, the Guatemalans showed themselves a civilised people; and, not being afflicted by much diversity of opinion upon small matters connected with religious questions, they had schools in all their chief towns both for boys and girls.

The Guatemalans, if subject at all to the Mexicans, had only recently become so — that is, within the last twenty years of the Mexican Empire. Their country, far different from what it is now, was exceedingly populous. The languages spoken were very numerous — no less than twenty-six are named — which shows how much the people of that district were broken up into mere tribes, a division tending greatly to facilitate the conquests of the Spaniards, but to embarrass them in all their dealings with the country when conquered.

### CONQUEST OF GUATEMALA

Returning now to the camp of Cortes, at Mexico, we find him informing the emperor, in the year 1524, that from Utatlan and Guatemala an ambassage of a hundred persons had come, offering themselves as vassals to the Spanish monarchy, whom he had received and dismissed with every mark of friendship. Meanwhile, however, this indefatigable commander had made friends with the Soconuscans, and had even begun ship-building on that part of the coast. The Guatemalans, when their ambassage returned home, being assured of the friendship of Cortes, were only the more inclined on that account to carry war into the territories of their enemies the Soconuscans, and thus they did not fail to come into collision with the settlers sent out by Cortes. For this offence the Guatemalans apologised, but their excuses were not received.

An old chronicler has compared the advance of Alvarado to the darting of a flash of lightning. The first place the lightning fell upon was Soconusco, the territory in behalf of which the expedition had been sent out. A great battle, accompanied by much slaughter and great destruction (the traces of which were visible nearly a hundred years afterward), took place on the frontier of that province, in which battle the king of Zacapa was killed. Of the further advance of the army we possess an account written by the conqueror himself, who states that he pushed on from Soconusco to Zacapa, from thence to Quezaltenango, from thence to Utatlan, fighting, negotiating, and terrifying the Indians into submission.

From Utatlan he marched in two days to Guatemala, where he was very well received — according to his own account, as if he had been in his father's house. But not resting there, he proceeded, as he says, to conquer a people who dwelt upon Lake Atitan (probably Amatitlan), and who had made themselves so strong in those waters that they were able to harass all their neighbours without being liable to be attacked in their turn. Alvarado routed this people, but most of them were able to escape by swimming. From thence he again proceeded, conquering the Indian tribes he met with, or bringing them into subjection by means of messengers, who, sometimes by threats, sometimes by promises of favour, contrived to secure the allegiance of the natives. Occasionally Alvarado was defeated in his encounters with the Indians, in consequence of the roughness of the ground, or the density of the woods where they took shelter. Finding winter approach, he returned to his friendly Guatemalans, in whose country he founded the city of Santiago of Guatemala (July, 1524).[c]

Alvarado now turned his attention to the various tribes who were not yet conquered, but whose submission was essential to the security of Spanish authority. By the end of December, the campaign had terminated. Alvarado returned to the capital of the Cakchiquels laden with wealth and glory. The rapidity of his movements had been no less surprising than the ease with which he had conquered the Indian armies. The greater part of the Pacific shore acknowledged the authority of Spain. At the same time, Alvarado's brother, Gonzalo, had defeated the Mams in several battles.

The fortress of Mixco, which was always considered impregnable by the Indians, was situated on a high perpendicular rock, the only access to which was so narrow as to permit but one man to pass at a time. A small force could defend it against an entire army, by merely throwing down rocks upon the assailants. The first detachment sent against this place was so disheartened by its strength and the apparent impossibility of making any impression upon the works, that they determined to abandon it. But the arrival of Pedro Alvarado in camp changed the appearance of affairs. That intrepid general immediately called a council of war, over which he presided in person, and which determined on a vigorous prosecution of the siege. The Spaniards now resorted to stratagem, but in this they were foiled with considerable loss. Their cause now appeared hopeless, and it is more than probable that they would finally have been compelled to relinquish the undertaking, had not the caciques of Chignanta appeared in camp, demanded a peace, and informed the Spanish general of a subterranean passage leading from the citadel to the bank of a neighbouring river, by which the garrison could escape should the fortress be captured. This infused new life into the besiegers. A general attack was made on the heights by the army, marching in single file, while a detachment posted itself at the mouth of the subterranean passage to intercept stragglers. The fortress was finally carried by storm, and the

Indians, with their wives and little ones, either killed or captured. The works were then entirely destroyed.

The submission of the country being now complete, Alvarado determined on returning to Spain and announcing his conquests to Charles V. But, when on the eve of departing, he received notice that Cortes had arrived in the province of Honduras; and deeming it his duty to visit his superior, he set out (February, 1526) for that purpose. On reaching Choluteca, he met a detachment of Spanish troops coming from Honduras, and was informed that Cortes had returned to Mexico. Not being able to follow him so far, Alvarado seems to have abandoned, for a while, the idea of visiting Europe, and returned to Guatemala.

He found the country, which had been left so peaceful, in a state of the most violent excitement. His brother, Gonzalo, who had ruled in his absence, had, by his cruelty and tyranny, especially toward the Indians, alienated all parties from him. The king of Quiché, Sequechul, with King Sinacum, were gathering the different native tribes for a desperate effort to shake off the yoke of bondage.

### SPANISH DOMINION IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Alvarado immediately adopted the most energetic measures to suppress so formidable a rebellion. Confident of the support of all Spaniards, he marched against the Indians, and in a great battle (November 22nd, 1526) he completely routed them, taking the two kings prisoners. The unfortunate princes, by fifteen years of hard captivity, expiated the unpardonable crime of having wished to recover independence for themselves and their oppressed people.

This victory broke the spirits of the Indians inhabiting the conquered provinces, and from this time they seemed willing to acknowledge the authority of Spain. In proportion, however, as this danger decreased, a far more formidable evil began to display itself. This was dissension among the conquerors — the almost inseparable sequel to Spanish conquests. The difficulty of defining boundary lines between different provinces was one fruitful source of these disturbances. Either by accident or design, petty rulers encroached on the territory of others; and several rich provinces were claimed simultaneously by numerous competitors. These claims kept the whole country in a state of civil war, until December, 1527, when Alvarado received from the emperor the office of captain-general of Guatemala, an appointment which rendered him independent of Cortes. The energetic, and often oppressive rule of this officer restored in a great measure the general tranquillity. The influences of religion were added to his own efforts. In 1537, the execution of a most extensive plan for the conversion of the Indians was commenced by a number of missionaries, at the head of whom was the celebrated Las Casas. They visited nations hitherto unconquerable, and by inducing them to accept Christianity, opened an easy way to a cordial recognition of Spanish authority. These labours were continued through great difficulties, by themselves and successors, for upwards of a century: and to them, as much as to the mail-clad warriors, was owing the Spanish ascendency in Central America.

The year 1541 was signalised by the death of Pedro Alvarado. After this event, the emperor established an audience (November 20th, 1542), or supreme tribunal, of which Alonzo de Maldonado was named president. The seat of this court was fixed at Valladolid de Comayagua, but subsequently

transferred to Gracias á Dios. In 1555, it was again removed to Guatemala, then to Panama, and finally to the capital. The tranquillity which the genius of Alvarado had secured to the province was buried with him. Faction, exasperated by the temporary obstruction, broke out fiercer than ever. Public morals were depreciated to the very lowest scale. Justice was but a name — crimes of the deepest and darkest dye were committed with impunity, and the criminals bought off from retribution by trifling sums. The Indians were treated as brutes — in short, all government was at an end — anarchy, crime, and reckless audacity rioted over the ruins of the Indian civilisation. Such was the condition of affairs for a great portion of the long period of the Spanish dominion in Guatemala, till at last the country was ripe for revolution.

The first symptom of dissatisfaction exhibited by the Indians and others, was after the invasion of Spain by France, in 1808. The deepest anxiety was manifested throughout the whole of the Peninsular War, and the subsequent continental struggles. But after the fall of Napoleon, hardly had Spain adopted a constitution when Guatemala, anxious to extirpate the remnant of absolute tyranny, appropriated the same one to herself without any alteration. But the formation of a junta in the following year, with absolute power to settle "indispensable" measures, gave rise to two parties, one in favour of entire emancipation from both Spain and Mexico; the other advocating the installation of the Bourbon family on the throne of Central America. The old Spanish party, supported by Leon, the capital of Nicaragua and Comayagua, capital of Honduras, were in favour of the latter course; but the greater part of the cities and provinces adhered to the act of independence proclaimed by the junta.

### REVOLUTION IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Such was the situation of affairs when, on the 19th of October, 1821, Iturbide, emperor of Mexico, addressed to the inhabitants of Guatemala a manifesto, in which, after having complimented them on their independence, he announced that, to consolidate their growing liberties, he would direct a numerous body of troops to their frontiers. This strange proclamation was not received by the independents as favourably as the emperor had wished; but the influential members of the Spanish party solicited his protection, changing the appellation of his troops from that of "servants" to "imperialists." This faction chose as their chief, Filisola, president of the junta; and by him the proclamation of Iturbide was distributed throughout the different provinces. Not satisfied with this, he joined with it an invitation to the people to merge their nationality into that of Mexico; and he even took upon himself the responsibility, as president of the junta, to declare the union effected (January 11th, 1822).

The indignation of the people at this arbitrary stretch of power rose to the utmost pitch. The junta was dissolved. The president marched with some troops against San Salvador, but was completely beaten (July 3rd). Defeated a second time by the people of the same province (February 23rd, 1823), he recommenced his march to Guatemala, where he received news of the revolution which had precipitated Iturbide from the imperial throne. The blow was astounding — his last hope was gone; he immediately gave up all resistance and consented to the act of independence. A national convention, having immediately assembled, ordered the Mexican troops to leave the country. Filisola led them out in person, taking possession, during his

march, of the province of Chiapas, which he claimed for Mexico. This act was afterwards made good by Mexico, and Chiapa has ever since remained a fruitful source of dissension between the two countries.

### FORMATION OF A REPUBLIC

This obstacle being removed, the national assembly met again on the 24th of June, 1823. Complete independence was declared on the 21st of July, and on the 17th of December, the basis of a new constitution, modelled after that of the United States, was proclaimed to the nation. The republic was styled the "United Provinces of Central America." On the 6th of September, 1824, congress completed the basis of the confederation at Costa Rica; nine days after (15th) the federal congress was installed; and on the 22nd of November, the constitution was solemnly signed by the deputies.

Thus Guatemala had proclaimed her freedom and established a republican constitution; but very soon she was to learn by bitter experience that something more than these is necessary to secure the tranquillity and happiness of the people. Hardly had the instrument of independence been signed when fierce party spirit again sowed seeds of discord among the populace. The citizens were divided into aristocrats, or centralists, and federalists. The former wished to consolidate and centralise the powers of the general government. They were composed principally of influential families, who, pampered during the domination of the Spaniards with privileges and exorbitant monopolies, had gradually imbibed the state and feelings of the European nobility. The federalists, on the contrary, were led by men, young and energetic, many of whom were actuated by an ardent love of country, a desire to set her free, and a disgust at the former civil oppression. They advocated the supremacy of the states, and freedom of conscience in religious matters. At the third session of congress, the two parties came to an open rupture. Soon after, the vice-president, Flores, visited the city of Quezaltenango, where he had rendered himself odious by his republican principles, and by levying a contribution on its convent. Seeing him in their city, the religious orders now excited the common people against him, and soon an infuriated mob was before his house exclaiming, "Death to the heretic!" Flores ran to the church; but, when entering, he was seized by some women, his face and head severely beaten, and his life placed in the most imminent danger. By desperate exertions, he escaped into the church; but even here he was not secure. The bell rang, crowds collected from all quarters, and, although opposed by the soldiery, forced their way into the church. Fearful of the result, the priest came forward with a crucifix, and implored the people to spare the officer, promising to send him immediately from the city. The unhappy man confirmed these words on his knees. But all was of no avail. The populace rushed upon him, dragged him into the convent, and delivered him into the hands of its women. He soon expired under their dreadful treatment, and the body was submitted to the insults of the mob. Crowds then rushed through the streets, exclaiming, "*Viva la religion*! — death to the heretics of congress." Encouraged by this success, the centralists of the province of Guatemala rose in open rebellion, and extirpated the republicans.

These outrages roused the indignation of the inhabitants of San Salvador, who resolved to avenge the patriots of Guatemala. Accordingly, on the 6th of March, 1827, their army appeared before the gates of the capital, and threatened it with complete destruction. But religious fanaticism was too powerful to be easily intimidated. The priests ran, exhorting the people to

take arms; the nuns and other women assembled with knives in their hands, swearing that every enemy of their religion should perish by their hands. The army of San Salvador was in the issue entirely defeated.

### REPUBLICANS AND CENTRALISTS

The other provinces of Guatemala were in a like condition. In Nicaragua, the streets were barricaded, the chief centralist and his soldiers massacred, part of the city burned to the ground, and the two parties so exasperated against each other that, for three months, even an ambassador could not be sent from one to the other. The war continued with but little intermission for two years, at which time (1829) the troops of San Salvador, under General Morazan, again marched against Guatemala. After three days' continual battle, the city was taken. A scene of stern retribution followed. The leaders of the centralists were exiled, the convents opened and sacked, monastic orders abolished, the nuns sent from the country, and the archbishop driven into exile.

In 1831, Morazan was elected president of the republic; and for eight years managed the public affairs with a degree of quiet long unknown to the country. But at the expiration of his second term, signs of faction began to reappear. Many of the banished centralists had maintained a correspondence with those at home, some even venturing to return. These attentively watched an opportunity to recover their lost ascendency. They found a leader in the notorious Carrera, a mulatto who from an obscure station had raised himself to the command of numerous parties who infested the highroads. This individual kept the country in a state of continual ferment, and, though often defeated, he still managed to rally round him the priests, Indians, and most of the centralists. The capital and other cities were several times taken, and shocking excesses committed on the opposite faction. Morazan was finally driven into exile, and with him fell the republican party.[b]

### REPUBLIC DIVIDED INTO CONSTITUENT STATES

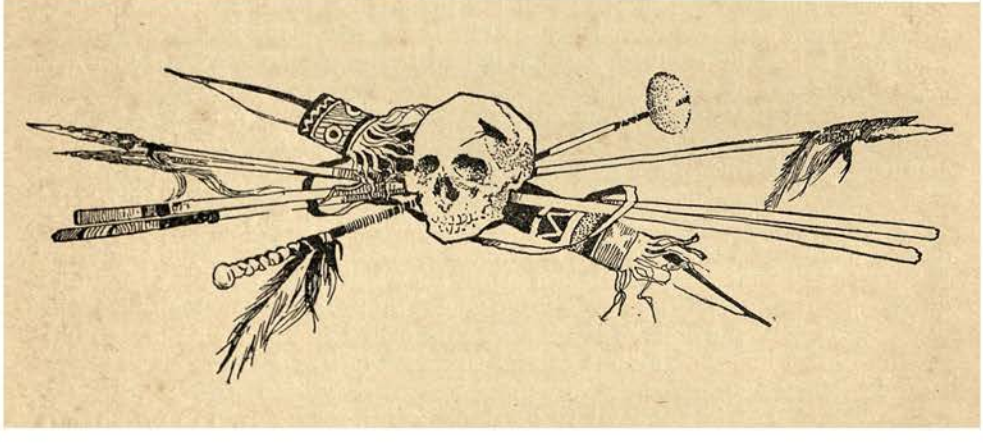
From that time on the "republic of Central America" was only a geographical conception. Every one of the five states had its own independent government and all attempts to restore the union failed on account of inner discord, or were defeated by force of arms. The defeat of the allies by Carrera at Arada (February 2nd, 1851) was a severe blow to the federalists. All that could be attained after that were treaties between the single states for the preservation of peace and for the promotion of commerce. A political union with a joint congress in the style of the North American Union appeared to be an impossibility. There were as many separate governments and presidents as there were states. Internal quarrels and party disputes, a supreme magistracy without authority and mutual rivalries weakened political power. Thus it came about that William Walker, a North American adventurer of courage and enterprise, was able to make himself commander-in-chief in Nicaragua and maintained a dictatorial power for some years, until finally in an attack upon Honduras he was seized by the English and delivered up to the magistrates who had him shot in Truxillo. A political execution took place shortly afterwards in Costa Rica also, and the former president, Rafael Mora, who had attempted to regain his earlier position by force of arms, was captured and shot in San José. The war in Mexico had an influence upon Central America, where aristocratic, democratic, and clerical elements were

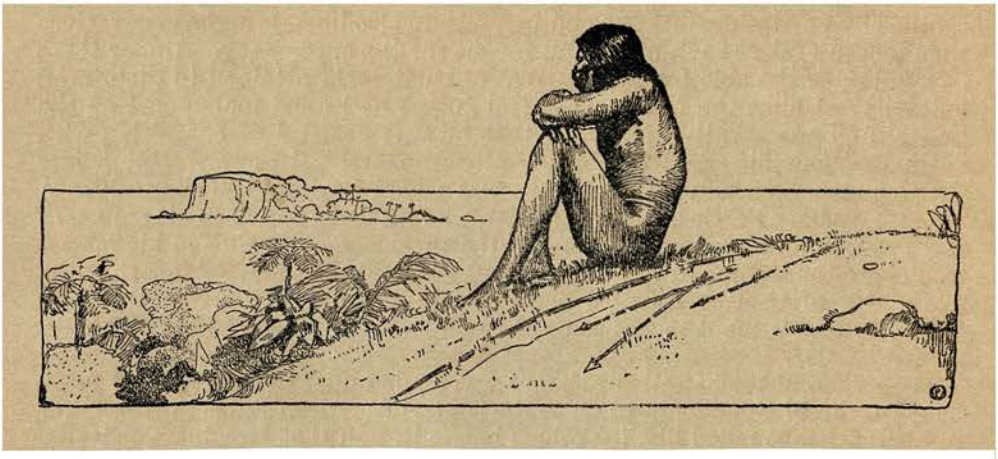
[1851-1904 A.D.]

continually warring against one another. Here also liberals and conservatives were ranged against each other and fought for the supremacy. Under these circumstances the able General Carrera of Guatemala attained to dictatorial authority. Unlike the Mexican General Juarez he leaned for support on the clerical and conservative party, so that he was accused of conspiring with Emperor Maximilian and of seeking after monarchical power. But before the sanguinary tragedy of Queretaro was ended Carrera died suddenly. A few months later Barrios of San Salvador, who for years had been his opponent and rival, upon his attempt to regain the presidency was shot in his former capital by the command of his victorious successor Dueñas. After that the five states of Central America continued in the old way without central authority and without influence on the political conditions of the two hemispheres.[d]

In 1884 and 1885 another attempt was made under the influence of President Barrios of Guatemala to unite the Central American states in federation, but this attempt failed like the others before it. In 1895 Honduras, Salvador and Nicaragua united in the Greater Republic of Central America but before the new system had gone into operation, a revolution in Salvador (1898) prevented the execution of the plan although a diet had been convened and administrative officials appointed. The Greater Republic was dissolved into its separate states.

The individual histories of the Central American states deal mainly with internal disturbances or quarrels with one another and have little interest for the rest of the world or influence on its history. Nicaragua made treaties with Spain (1850), Belgium (1858), France (1859), and the United States (1867) concerning the neutrality of a Nicaraguan Canal; and in 1884 the United States negotiated the Frelinghuysen-Zarala Treaty with Nicaragua according to which the United States was to build the canal, but the treaty was not ratified. The Nicaragua Canal Association and its efforts were mentioned in connection with the Panama Canal. The Nicaragua route appears now to be definitely abandoned.[a]





## CHAPTER VIII

## BRAZIL

THE first person who discovered the coast of Brazil was Vicente Yañez Pinzon, who had sailed with Columbus on his first voyage as commander and master of the *Niña*. Seven years afterwards he and his nephew Arias obtained a commission to go in search of new countries and trade in any which Columbus had not previously appropriated. The Pinzons set sail from Palos in December, 1499, made the Cape Verds, then steered to the southwest, and were the first Spaniards who crossed the line and lost sight of the north star. They saw land on January 26th, 1500, to which Vicente gave the name of Cape Consolation, but which is now called Cape St. Augustine. From hence they coasted along toward the north. Vicente continued his course till he came to the Orinoco, then made for the islands, and sailed homeward, losing two of his three ships by the way. The coast which Pinzon had discovered lay within the Portuguese limits of demarcation, and before he reached Europe it had been taken possession of by the nation to whom it was allotted.[b]

The Portuguese king Emmanuel determined to send a fleet to establish friendship and a treaty of commerce with the king of Calcutta. For the command of this fleet, which consisted of ten caravels, and three larger vessels, a hidalgo was chosen. It was determined that the fleet should sail on the 9th of March, 1500. On the 14th of March the fleet passed the Canaries and to profit by the prevailing northeast trade wind they stood so much to the westward that, on the 21st of April they met with signals of land, and late the following day they saw a large round mountain with small hills which were the highest portions of the Sierra, now called Aimorés. Cabral gave the mountain the name of Mount Pascal [because it was Easter time], and the land he called Vera Cruz. Emmanuel was so delighted with the discovery of Vera Cruz that he resolved to send out another squadron to explore minutely its extent; and it appears that three caravels were ordered to sail upon this project from the Tagus on the 1st of May, 1501, but there is a considerable doubt who was the commander of them; some say it was Amerigo Vespucci, others that it was Gonzalo Collho.[c]

### NATIVES OF BRAZIL

At the time when the Portuguese invaded Brazil more than a hundred peoples of different religions, customs, and institutions occupied and disputed with one another the space comprised between the two great rivers —the La Plata and the Amazon. The most ancient of these tribes, that of the Tapuyas, had dominated all the coast between the mouths of the two rivers. Shortly before the arrival of the Europeans this tribe had been violently dispossessed and driven out by the Tupis, who were the absolute masters of these shores at the time when Alvares Cabral planted the Portuguese flag on the soil of astonished Brazil. The name Tupis would be enough to reveal the power and the pride of those who bore it for its etymological signification is that of thunder and divinity; their god was called Tupan. The great family of Tupis was divided into sixteen tribes, forming as many separate and distinct republics which a common danger could reunite into a powerful confederation.

The Tupis wore absolutely no clothing; they dyed their bodies red, all except the face. The men wore a ring in the lower lip, and the women had long earrings reaching to their shoulders. Their life, which approached nature very closely, freed them from most of the diseases caused by civilisation. They had, moreover, found a way of getting along without physicians. When they thought their relatives and friends had suffered too long they administered to them a well-aimed blow of a hammer on the head, in guise of a remedy, telling them it was better to die quickly than to suffer first only to die afterwards. Human flesh they considered a great delicacy, and they ate not only their enemies, but also their sick relatives, and even their sick children. Of the little ones, the father and mother made only a mouthful, but if they were adults they profited by the occasion to give a little family feast. The Tupis recognised neither kings nor princes. The only supremacy they admitted was that of their old men who met in council to decide on the affairs of the tribe.

Another people not less remarkable than the Tupis were the Tapudias, who after having owned a part of Brazil were now relegated to its extreme northern part. They were a warlike and vagabond tribe, leading a nomadic life in free space. The Tapudias were tall, and very strong, with long black hair and brown skin. This people was divided into about twenty-four tribes of different names who spread over the banks of the Sahara, of the Rio Grande, and of the northern Parahyba. Other races of less importance covered the immense stretch of land newly conquered by the Portuguese, some of them docile and ready to submit to the yoke of the conqueror; others impatient of foreign domination and disposed to resist to the uttermost.

### METHOD OF COLONISATION

John III, the son and successor of Emmanuel, adopted for Brazil the system of colonisation which had first been thought of for the Azores and for Madeira. He divided the country into hereditary captaincies, and granted them to the Portuguese nobles whom he found disposed to risk the adventure and to found settlements which might have to be defended by force. In reality these concessions were nothing else than the right of conquest which the sovereign granted to his vassals. With the exception of inflicting capital punishment and of coining money, the authority of those obtaining the concessions was almost as unlimited as it was uncontrolled. It was only neces-

sary to subdue or dispossess the old proprietors. That was not always an easy task.

The first holder of a Portuguese captaincy was Martim Affonso de Sousa, who explored the coast in the vicinity of the Rio Janeiro or River of January, so called because he reached it the first day of that month. Martim Affonso, who discovered the island of the Magi, the island of San Sebastian, and Cape Saint Vincent, understood how to win the friendship of the natives of the country, and established himself among them without striking a blow.

Pedro de Goes, to whom the king gave a concession of thirty leagues of coast between Saint Vincent and Espiritu Santo, was obliged to leave the land after five years of disastrous struggles with the savages. The beautiful bay, known by the name of bay of San Salvador, was conceded to Francisco Pereira Coutinho on the one condition — that he should found there a city and permanent settlements, either by subduing the natives or by civilising them.

The individual concessions made by the court of Lisbon with such extensive powers might at a desired moment excite the spirit of enterprise and thus facilitate Portuguese emigration to Brazil; but it would not have been good policy to let things go on for long in that way. The ties between the colony and the mother country were becoming looser every day; the captains-general abused their authority: the property, the honour, and the lives of the colonists were in their hands; complaints, alternately energetic and pathetic, mounted even to the throne. João III understood the necessity of re-establishing the supreme authority over all these petty tyrannies. The powers of the concessioners were taken away, and a governor-general was clothed with the plenitude of civil and military authority over all Portuguese Brazil.

The first representative of the royal authority was Thomé de Sousa. The governor-general left in April, 1549, and after two months of sailing arrived in the bay of San Salvador. Thomé, without wasting any time, laid the foundations of a city which he named San Salvador. After four years of labour and success, when he had subdued and pacified the coast and started the colony on a road of prosperity where it seemed it had nothing to do but go forward, Thomé de Sousa, thinking he had done enough both for the good of others and for his own glory, asked for his recall. He was succeeded by Edward da Costa, under whose government the Jesuits distinguished themselves by a redoubling of apostolic zeal, which did more than arms for the definitive triumph of the Portuguese. In the midst of inevitable struggles, which broke out more often perhaps than was at first thought probable, Portugal ended by establishing its authority over the immense colony.

The death of João III placed on the throne his grandson Dom Sebastian, who at that time was only three years old and was the grandson, on his mother's side, of the emperor Charles V. The regency followed in regard to Brazil the policy which had been adopted in the preceding reign. The governor-general Mem de Sa, who succeeded Dom Edward, was appointed for an indefinite period and was, more than his predecessors, subject to the influence of the Jesuits. The administration of Louis de Brito, who succeeded Mem de Sa, saw the division of Brazil into two independent and separate provinces. Bahia was the residence of one of the governors; the other established himself at San Sebastian, on the gulf of Rio Janeiro. But the court of Lisbon soon gave up the idea of dividing Brazil into two provinces, and the government of San Sebastian was again united to that of Bahia under the direction of Brito. He was succeeded by Lorenzo de Veiga in the fatal year in which Dom Sebastian and the flower of the Portuguese nobility perished on

the battlefields of Morocco (1578). The consequences are well known of this death of the king of Portugal, who left no children, and whose kingdom fell into the greedy and ambitious hands of Philip II.

### BRAZIL BECOMES SPANISH

All the Portuguese colonies passed to the power of the Spaniards and Brazil shared the common lot. The change of mother-country was disastrous for the colony. The hatred which Philip II and Queen Elizabeth had for each other brought their two countries into a war whose counteraction was felt even on the shores of the New World. Robert Witherington, Thomas Cavendish, and James Lancaster came in turn to devastate these coasts and brought thither destruction by fire and sword. Philip II died without having done Brazil anything but harm. Philip III, his successor, sent Dom Pedro Bottelho as a governor to the colony, and he developed a certain zeal in the exploration of the interior of the country. The Jesuits seconded his efforts and extended their influence to the most remote parts of the vast colony. Diego de Menezes, who succeeded Bottelho, conceived the project of conquering and colonising the mouth of the Amazon River. It was time to think of it. This part of the coast was already very much frequented by the armed vessels of France and of Holland. The French had already established themselves on the large and beautiful island of Maranhão, a hundred leagues south-east of the mouth of the Amazon. It was at this moment that a Portuguese expedition destined to conquer the north of Brazil was placed under the orders of Jerome de Albuquerque, who attacked the French in their new possessions, defeating them and forcing them to evacuate the island. Almost at the same time Castillo Branco drove out the Dutch who were trafficking on the northern bank; but he irritated profoundly the natives of the country by his cruelty, and obliged the central government to depose him. What he had attempted was soon accomplished by Maciel and Vasconcellos.

However, the Portuguese were soon to find themselves in the presence of new enemies come from Europe. On March 7th, 1624, a Dutch fleet appeared at the bar of San Salvador. The defenders of the city, seized by an inexplicable panic, abandoned it, and the Dutch were soon masters of San Salvador. The Portuguese, however, were not slow in avenging the shame of this defeat, and the capital of Brazil soon fell into the hands of its former masters.

### TRANSFER OF PORTUGUESE EMPIRE TO BRAZIL

Dom Pedro, the husband and uncle of the queen of Portugal, had had the title of king without the authority. At his death, in 1786, his wife Maria, the first of that name, continued to govern. She soon witnessed the death of her eldest son, the heir presumptive, a young prince who carried to the tomb the love and the hope of Portugal. His brother Dom João de Braganza became prince of Brazil and at the same time crown prince. Dom João was animated with loyal intentions. He was of a religious spirit, a man of amiable and gentle manners; but the revolutionary convulsions which were overturning Europe demanded other qualities of princes jealous of maintaining their power. Portugal would have liked to remain neutral during the great struggle which was dividing France and England. Old treaties and intimate relations made it incline towards the cabinet of St.

James. In 1806 an English fleet appeared in the waters of the Tagus. Portugal received in its ports vessels of the enemies of France from Europe and America; the neutrality was openly violated in a thousand cases. Napoleon threatened. Promises were made to him and were not kept. Soon a French army of invasion appeared on the frontiers of Portugal at the same time that Commodore Sidney Smith blocked the mouth of the royal river. The English ambassador gave the regent the alternative of sending the fleet back to England or of using it to transport the family of Braganza to its Brazilian possessions, in order to protect it from the influence and perhaps from the arms of France. Portugal was invaded; Brazil was intact. The choice of Dom João could not long be doubtful. He decided in favour of a brilliant exile, and on November 29th, in the morning, the Portuguese fleet left the shores of the home land carrying towards the New World the hope and the fortunes of the monarchy.

On the 19th of the following January it reached Bahia, where the royal family was received with enthusiastic demonstrations of devotion. However, Bahia was only a stage in the flight of the princes; it was Rio Janeiro which they had chosen for the provisional capital of their government. Their resolution was determined by the admirable situation of the bay, perhaps the most magnificent in the world, and by the facility of its relations with Europe, America, Africa, India, and the islands of the southern sea. It was in a sense the centre of the commercial world. Dom João was received there in the same way as at Bahia. One of the first cares of the regent was to open the ports of Brazil to the commerce of countries at peace with Portugal—that is, England and the allies of England.

On April 1st, 1808, the prince-regent abolished by another decree all the limitations which had been put on Brazilian industry. Everyone was free to establish factories and manufactures; in a word, instead of trying as formerly to make Brazil subservient to the mother country, every effort was made to free it and to make it independent of the rest of the world. Almost at the same time the regent established a printing press at Rio Janeiro. That was a definite triumph over the old spirit which had till then animated the masters of Brazil. They had seen a danger in the diffusion of light which it was now desired to spread abroad. It was time; the country was plunged in an ignorance of which nothing can give a just idea. But, if there was much to do, it must at least be admitted that much was done. The first press served to print a gazette. Brazil thus possessed the most powerful instrument of modern civilisation.

### REACTION

The Brazilians emerged promptly from the sort of moral lethargy in which they had been kept intentionally. It was the commencement of a new era. But the influence of the court of Lisbon was not as great perhaps as had at first been thought. There was an undercurrent of opposition to it, and disagreements arose between the colonists and the guests who had just arrived from the mother-country. However, a decree of December 15th, 1815, raising Brazil from its secondary position of a province and colony to the dignity of a kingdom, reanimated the benevolent dispositions of the nationalists. They warmly applauded this move of a wise policy which united under a common appellation the united states of Portugal, of the Algarves, and of Brazil. Almost at the same time Queen Maria died; her intelligence had already been dead for a long time. The prince-regent took

the title of king under the name of João VI. However, the causes of friction which existed between the Brazilians and the Portuguese had increased rather than diminished. Events in Europe recalled the king to Lisbon (1821), and from that time a revolution was certain. Brazil, understanding the necessity of a political change, decided to form a representative chamber. The preparatory assembly of electors was dispersed by force, and there were scenes of deplorable violence.

Soon João VI more or less voluntarily renounced his rights over Brazil, and his son Dom Pedro was solemnly proclaimed constitutional emperor. The constitution, being once promised, had to be given to Brazil. Deputies from the provinces assembled at Rio Janeiro. The emperor thought he could discover republican tendencies among them and dissolved the chamber. Dom Pedro himself then offered a plan of a constitution to which the authorities swore allegiance on March 25th, 1824.

As a result of this constitution, which contained wise and liberal principles enough, Brazil enjoyed a few months of tranquillity and the government appeared to gain power. Unfortunate wars with the governments of Buenos Ayres and Montevideo, internal difficulties, which instead of diminishing went on increasing, soon moved the emperor to decide to give up the crown to his son and to leave the country. This great event took place on April 7th, 1831. The next day a provisional council of regency was formed and the day after that the imperial prince was borne in triumph into the cathedral and proclaimed emperor under the name of Pedro II. On the 13th of the same month an English vessel and a French vessel left the shores of Brazil carrying to Cherbourg him who had been Pedro I and the young princess Doña Maria, his daughter.[d]

### MISTAKES OF PEDRO I

Dom Pedro was not a tyrant; none but his calumniators have ever designated him as such; yet his errors were great and manifold. Endowed with natural talent yet devoid of prudence, an admirer of the representative form of government in perspective yet ever shrinking from its practical enforcement, energetic and yet inconstant — he was better qualified to achieve the liberation of Brazil than to direct the subsequent march of her government. Under the existing circumstances when Dom Pedro ascended the throne, it was an administrator rather than a hero that was required. Neither the ancient colonial institutions nor the circumstances of the people had been favourable to the promotion of the martial spirit. In case of war the employment of foreign military became a matter of urgency, and hence that odious and inextinguishable rivalry which was attended with fatal results. His frequent and extensive creations of nobility were also the result of an error equally glaring. Nobility could in Brazil be regarded in no other light than as the honorary recompense of merit, and the profuse and injudicious manner in which it was misapplied instead of elevating those on whom it was bestowed, tended rather on the other hand to sink and to vilify the institution.

These were, however, minor errors. His greatest, and the one which caused his overthrow was his never having known how to constitute himself truly and entirely a Brazilian. This circumstance, by irritating the jealousy and self-love of his subjects, gradually deprived him of all that éclat with which the independence and his illustrious origin had invested him; the French Revolution of 1830 gave an increased impulse to the public mind; the

foreign troops were disbanded, the native military extended their sympathies to the exaltado party without experiencing any interposition on the part of the authorities, and revolution thus became inevitable.[e]

### BRAZIL UNDER PEDRO II

The new emperor, Pedro II, was not yet six years old; accordingly, he was placed under the guardianship of José Bonifacio de Andrada, and the regency bestowed by the Cortes on the three senators, Francisco de Lima e Silva, Vergueira, and Caravellas. On June 17th a new board of regency was appointed. Padre Feijo was named minister of justice in July and succeeded in restoring order in Rio. But in the provinces there was almost continual revolution, either by the federalists (exaltados) or by the reactionary (restauradors) adherents of Dom Pedro I. A law was passed on November 7th, 1831, practically prohibiting the slave trade, but it was never enforced. Two years later the board of regency removed Andrada and put in his place the marquis d'Itanhaem, and the bishop of Chrysopolis took charge of the young prince's education. Dom Pedro refused the invitation to return to Brazil made him by the reactionary party. In the same year the chamber of deputies refused to consider a bill introduced by Ferreira Franza, declaring all children of slave parents free at birth. On September 24th of the year following Pedro I died in Lisbon, and so cut short the opposition movement, led by the Andradas, in favour of his restoration.

On October 12th, 1835, as the result of long discussion of constitutional reforms, and the passage of an Acts Addicional, the board of regency was abolished and a single regent, Padre Feijo, appointed. At the same time the policy of universal suffrage gained largely and the provinces acquired local self-government. The regent was elected by the people in the same way that they chose legislators, instead of being chosen by the legislators. But Feijo's regency lost ground before the increasing conservative sentiment in the chamber, as well as because of the fresh revolts in Para and Rio Grande, the former suppressed in January only with the assistance of a British fleet. The conservatives accused him of conniving at the revolts, if not actually promoting them.

In September, 1837, Padre Feijo resigned and the two constitutional parties of liberals and conservatives were definitely formed, the conservative leader Pedro d'Araujo Lima succeeding Feijo. This conservative regency was as bitterly attacked by the liberal opposition as the liberal Feijo's was by the conservatives when they were in opposition, and the next years were filled with continued quarrels between the regent and the legislature. A revolution in Bahia in 1837 and 1838, aiming to set up a republic of Bahia to last until Pedro attained his majority, was finally suppressed. The regency of Doña Januaria, an older sister of Pedro II was also suggested. In 1838 there was a dangerous revolution in Maranhão, and the insurgents in Rio Grande do Sul invaded Santa Catharina. Congress, with its liberal majority, stood ready to vote the immediate majority of Dom Pedro, but was blocked by the cabinet. In 1840 Araujo Lima suspended congress, which was on the point of carrying through the liberal programme and doing away with the regency, and recalled Vasconcellos to the cabinet. With the consent of the prince he was declared emperor and of age on July 23rd. The chamber of deputies was then dissolved, and a new election held in the autumn resulting in a great liberal victory.

In 1841 the liberal ministry with Hollanda Cavalcanti at its head was

forced out by the independence of the young and scholarly emperor, and a conservative cabinet entered office on March 23rd, the marquis of Paranagua being premier. The revolt in Maranhão was put down by General Lima, who was made baron of Caxias. Dom Pedro was crowned on July 17th. The Paranagua ministry was succeeded by another conservative cabinet on February 20th, 1843, the marquis of Parana being premier. On May 30th Dom Pedro married Theresa Christina, princess of Bourbon and the Two Sicilies. In 1844 the liberals again came into power, the viscount de Macahé forming a ministry on February 2nd.

After ten years' fighting in Rio Grande do Sul, in which Garibaldi first distinguished himself, the revolt there was suppressed by De Caxias on March 1st, 1845. The British parliament on August 8th passed the Aberdeen Bill, giving English vessels the right to pursue slavers into Brazilian waters, because of the failure on the part of the Brazilian government to live up to its convention with the British government secretly and unauthorisedly signed on November 13th, 1826. On May 2nd, 1846, Torres formed a liberal ministry to succeed De Macahé's.

A cabinet led by Caravellas was formed on May 22d, 1847. De Macahé succeeded Caravellas as premier on March 8th, 1848, but held office only until the 31st of May, when Paula de Sousa formed another short-lived liberal cabinet, displaced on September 29th by the marquis de Olinda and the first conservative ministry for four years. The liberals revolted in Pernambuco, but were suppressed in May, 1849, by the president of the province and General Coelho. Complete amnesty followed this the last revolt in the early years of Dom Pedro's reign. In 1849 yellow fever first appeared in Brazil, and created a strong sentiment against the slave-trade. In this year the marquis of Olinda disagreed with his cabinet on the policy to be carried out in the La Plata, and was replaced on October 8th by the marquis of Monte Alegre. In July, 1850, an agreement was arrived at between Brazil and Great Britain as to the pursuit of slavers by British vessels. Dom Pedro encouraged the growth of an abolitionist party, and on September 4th a bill was passed facilitating the repression of the slave trade. The province of Amazons, the first since the independence of the empire, was formed from the old captaincy of Rio Negro, which since 1822 had been a part of Para.

To preserve the independence of Paraguay and Uruguay, which Rosas, dictator of Buenos Ayres, was attempting to force back into the Argentine Confederation, Brazil, in 1851, joined Entre Rios and Corrientes and relieved Montevideo, whence Rosas was driven back to Buenos Ayres and defeated at Monte-Caseros, on February 3rd, 1852. Dom Pedro forced the conservative ministry out and replaced it, September 3rd, 1853, by a "conciliation cabinet," which included some liberal members and left neither party in the opposition. There were no disembarkations from slave-ships in this year. Immigration, from Germany especially, began; the Bank of Brazil, with a capital of 30,000,000 milreis, was established; the first railroads were built; and there was general prosperity. The province of Parana was created during this year. Towards the end of the year 1854 valuable gold mines were discovered in northern Brazil.

Upon the death of the marquis de Parana in 1858 the "conciliation party," now led by Olinda, was speedily overthrown by the reorganised conservatives, and Abaeti formed a cabinet on December 12th. The Abaeti ministry, however, was unable to meet the financial crisis, which had followed the previous period of prosperity, and was succeeded on August 10th by a cabinet led by Ferraz. On May 2nd, 1861, a third conservative cabinet

was formed by De Caxias. Several of the more prominent leaders of the party joined the opposition, and in 1862 Zacarias de Vasconcellos, one of the conservatives who had joined the liberal opposition, was intrusted with the formation of a new ministry on May 24th, but the financial situation was too much for him. Olinda was summoned to form a new cabinet on the 30th of the same month. Renewed difficulty with Great Britain resulted from the arrest on the charge of drunkenness and disorderly conduct of three British naval officers; the British claims for damages were not satisfactorily answered and several Brazilian ships were seized in retaliation during the last week of December and early in the following January.

In 1863 the conservative party was crushingly defeated in the elections, and at about the same time the finances of the country began to mend. There were rapid ministerial changes in 1864, due to the quarrels between the liberals and the conservatives who allied themselves with them, and nearly held the balance of power. Zacarias again became president of the council on January 15th, only to be succeeded on August 31st by Furtado.

### WAR WITH PARAGUAY

The difficulty with Great Britain was satisfactorily arranged; but in Uruguay Brazil secretly sided with the insurgents under General Flores, made heavy demands on the Uruguayan government, and, after the refusal of these, threatened to blockade the country. As a result of this policy, President Lopez of Paraguay declared war on Brazil, having previously and without warning captured a Brazilian ship in the Paraguay. In November the Brazilian army invaded Uruguay, and in December, with Flores, Brazil's insurgent ally, captured Paysandu. Simultaneously Brazil was entered by Paraguayan forces. Flores became president of Uruguay in February, Montevideo being taken on the 20th, and on the 22nd joined Brazil against Lopez's policy. Argentina became a member of this alliance on May 8th, 1865. Brazil bore the brunt of this war, largely increased both army and navy, borrowed £5,000,000 in London, and issued many paper notes. The Brazilian fleet won the sanguinary battle of Riachuelo on June 11th, and on September 17th the Paraguayan army which invaded Brazil was surrounded and forced to surrender. The marquis Olinda again became ministerial president on May 12th.

In 1866 Zacarias de Vasconcellos formed a new liberal ministry. The allies advanced a little, crossed the Parana, won the battles of Confluencia, Estero Bellaco, and Tuynty, were unsuccessful in the assault of Curupaity, on September 22nd, and soon afterwards were put under the command of De Caxias. In November all national slaves were emancipated by the emperor, and throughout the country many others were manumitted so that they might enter the army. A decree was published on December 6th, opening, after September 7th, 1867, to foreign navigation the Amazon, Tocantins, Tapajos, Madeira, and São Francisco. In 1867 the Uruguayan forces left the field, as did many of the Argentinian troops, and the Brazilians thus left facing the Paraguayans were attacked by cholera. Toward the end of the year Caxias began operations against Humaita.

The Zacarias ministry resigned on July 14th, 1868, because of the emperor's appointment of a conservative senator. A conservative cabinet was formed on July 16th, led by the viscount de Itaborahy. The liberal chamber of deputies voted no confidence in this government, and on the 20th the chamber was dissolved, the conservatives carrying the September elections. At the front the allies passed the fortifications of Curupaity and Humaita on

February 17th and 19th. Lopez then fortified Tebicuary, and as he retreated the Brazilians took possession of the deserted fortifications. Two unsuccessful attacks of the allies on Humaita on July 16th and 18th were followed by the capture of that fortress on the 25th. Lopez retired from Tebicuary to Villeta, where Caxias was repulsed on November 15th. But after a month's fighting he took the town on December 17th. On the 27th Lomas Valentinas was sharply attacked by the allies, to whom it was surrendered on the 30th. Lopez, however, escaped. Asuncion was occupied on January 2nd, 1869, by the Brazilians. Caxias left the front, without authorisation, and threw the army into great disorder. Dom Pedro's son-in-law, the count d'Eu, took the command and reorganised the allies, which gradually drove Lopez back. At the end of the year only a few Brazilian troops were left in Paraguay.

### END OF THE WAR

On March 1st, 1870, the Brazilians on the Aquidaban defeated Lopez, who was killed in battle. A provisional peace was made on June 2nd, and a provisional government established at Asuncion on August 15th. At home the conservative ministry with Itaborahy at its head blocked the emperor's measure for the abolition of slavery. The cabinet was therefore dismissed, and a new ministry, conservative but abolitionist, created by De São Vicente in August; a second ministry with the same premier was formed in October. In February, 1871, a negro insurrection in Minas Geraes was discovered and suppressed. The viscount de Rio Branco formed a new ministry on March 7th. During the absence of the emperor and empress on a tour to Europe, in the regency of the princess imperial, Izabel, the senate passed an elaborate and complex emancipation bill on September 27th. The adoption of this measure was a personal triumph for the minister Rio Branco. In 1872 Brazil received from Paraguay the disputed territory north of the Apa and Igatim and between the Paraguay and Parana rivers. A peace treaty was ratified between Paraguay and Brazil alone, *i.e.*, not with Argentina and Uruguay, the other members of the alliance, on March 26th. The other members of the alliance made peace separately.

In 1875 Rio Branco's cabinet retired. De Caxias united the conservative party, which split on the question of emancipation, and on June 25th formed a new ministry. The government borrowed £5,000,000, but was unable to meet its deficits. Boundary commissions were appointed by the Bolivian and Brazilian governments, but their work was hardly begun when it stopped because of the dishonesty of the head of the Bolivian committee. Late in the year 1877 the prime minister quarrelled with the emperor over electoral reform, insisting on direct statutory provisions for the necessary change, whereas Dom Pedro held constitutional amendment the only lawful method. The conservative cabinet thereupon resigned, and on January 5th, 1878, Consansão de Sinimbu formed a liberal cabinet, the first for ten years. The Amazon and Madeira rivers were thoroughly explored and charted by an officer of the United States Navy. In 1879 a ministerial crisis in the beginning of the year resulted from the ruling that no provincial governors should be members of the cabinet.[a]

### CHANGE IN SENTIMENT TOWARDS PEDRO II

Under the long reign of Dom Pedro II progress and material prosperity made steady advancement in Brazil. Occasional political outbreaks occurred,

but none of very serious nature except in Rio Grande do Sul, where a long guerilla warfare was carried on against the imperial authority. The emperor occupied himself to a far greater extent with economic development of his people and country than with active political life. Unostentatious in his habits, Dom Pedro always had at heart the true interests of the Brazilians. Himself a highly-educated man, he sincerely desired to further the cause of education, and devoted a large portion of his time to the study of this question. His extreme liberalism prevented his opposing the spread of the socialist doctrines preached far and wide by Benjamin Constant. Begun about 1880, this propaganda took deep root in the educated classes, creating a desire for change and culminating in the military conspiracy of November, 1889, by which monarchy was replaced by a republican form of government.

At first the revolutionary propaganda produced no personal animosity against the emperor, who continued to be treated by his people with every mark of respect and affection, but this state of things gradually changed. In 1864 the princess Izabel, the eldest daughter of the emperor and empress, had married the count d'Eu, a member of the Orleans family. The marriage was never popular in the country, owing partly to the fact that the count d'Eu was a reserved man who made few intimate friends and never attempted to become a favourite. Princess Izabel was charitable in many ways, always ready to take her full share of the duties falling upon her as the future empress, and thoroughly realising the responsibilities of her position; but she was greatly influenced by the clerical party and the priesthood, and she thereby incurred the hostility of the progressives. When Dom Pedro left Brazil for the purpose of making a tour through Europe and the United States he appointed Princess Izabel to act as regent, and she showed herself so swayed in political questions by church influence that liberal feeling became more and more anti-dynastic. Another incident which gave strength to the opposition was the sudden abolition of slavery without any compensation to slave-owners. The planters, the principal possessors of wealth, regarded the measure as unnecessary in view of the act which had been passed in 1885 providing for the gradual freeing of all slaves. The arguments used were, however, of no avail with the regent, and the decree was promulgated on May 13th, 1888. No active opposition was offered to this measure, but the feelings of unrest and discontent spread rapidly.

Towards the close of 1888 the emperor returned and was received by the populace with every demonstration of affection and esteem. Even among the advocates of republicanism there was no intention of dethroning Dom Pedro, excepting a few extreme members of the party, who now gained the upper hand. They argued that it would be much more difficult to carry out a successful *coup d'état* when the good-natured, confiding emperor had been succeeded by his more suspicious and energetic daughter. Discontented officers in the army and navy rallied to this idea, and a conspiracy was organised to depose the emperor and declare a republic.*f*

### DEPOSITION OF EMPEROR

The real intellectual head of the conspiracy was Benjamin Constant Botelho de Magalhães, teacher of mathematics and natural sciences at the national institute for the blind, who had formerly been a popular teacher at the military academy, and hence had a great influence on many officers, former pupils of his; with him was Quintino Bocayrena, editor of the *Paiz*.

Army and navy intended at first only to overthrow the ministry, but

when the ball got rolling they could not or would not stop it. Early in the morning of November 15th, 1889, various regiments, divisions of marine, the military pupils, the police and firemen's brigades assembled on Santa Anna Place, under the leadership of Deodoro da Fonseca, in front of the large barracks with the ministry of war, in which the cabinet had met for consultation. The main entrance to the barracks was treacherously opened from inside, Deodoro entered, the troops fraternised together, and the marshal, in a violent scene, declared the ministry deposed, and as a satisfaction for the army demanded the expatriation of Ouro Preto and of the war minister Candido de Oliveira. As yet there was no word of a republic. Ouro telegraphed to the emperor, who was in the summer residence Petropolis, offering the resignation of the cabinet and asking for instructions. This so important dispatch was not at once delivered by the emperor's body physician, because he wanted first to finish his daily system of douches, etc., and during the loss of this valuable time things in the capital took a wholly new turn. If the emperor had appeared quickly on the scene in person he might have changed matters, for the respect for his person had remained, although in consequence of his illness in latter times the respect for government and throne had been much diminished.

When the emperor in Petropolis finally got news of the events in Rio he at once hastened to the city, where he arrived at three in the afternoon; at the same time the republic was declared in the town hall by José de Patrocinio in the "name of the people," and the army was asked for its assent. In vain did the emperor summon Deodoro to him for consultation; the marshal was not disinclined, but his civil colleagues held him back saying that it was now a question of their heads. The imperial family in the palace was cut off from all communication, and Ouro Preto, who tried to form a new ministry, was arrested in the evening.

The "provisional government" was constituted on November 15th under the presidency of Deodoro, with Benjamin Constant as minister of war. Brazil was declared to be a republican federation, and on November 16th the emperor was ordered to leave the country with his family within twenty-four hours. In the dark of night the imperial family was taken on board the cruiser *Paranahyba*, and on Sunday, the 17th of November, the ship left the harbour, this time actually carrying the catafalque of the empire. The passenger steamer *Alagoas*, chartered by the government, which was waiting at the Ilha Grande, took the royal family on board and, accompanied by the armed cruiser *Riachuelo* as far as the equator, proceeded to Lisbon, where the royal family was welcomed with hearty sympathy by its relatives; the poor empress, the ever-faithful companion of her husband, died shortly afterwards of a broken heart, at Oporto. The emperor followed her on December 5th, 1891, and the two are now buried at Lisbon, far from the fatherland which they truly and warmly loved.*g*

### REPUBLIC OF BRAZIL

Though the overthrow of the imperial dynasty was totally unexpected throughout, the new régime was accepted without any disturbances. Under the leadership of General Deodoro da Fonseca a prætorian system of government, in which the military element was all-powerful, came into existence, and continued till February, 1891, when a national congress assembled and formulated the constitution for the United States of Brazil. The former provinces were converted into states, the only right of the federal government

to interfere in their administration being for the purposes of national defence, the maintenance of public order, or the enforcement of the federal laws. Under the terms of the constitution the legislative authority is exercised by the national congress, with the assent of the president of the republic.

General da Fonseca and General Floriano Peixoto were elected to fill the offices of president and vice-president until the 15th of November, 1894. This implied the continuance of prætorian methods of administration. The older class of more conservative Brazilians, who had formerly taken part in the administration under the emperor, withdrew altogether from public life. Many left Brazil and went into voluntary exile, while others retired to their estates. In the absence of these more respectable elements, the government fell into the hands of a gang of military adventurers and unscrupulous politicians, whose only object was to exploit the national resources for their own benefit. As a consequence, deep-rooted discontent rapidly arose. A conspiracy, of which Admiral Wandenkolk was the prime instigator, was discovered, and those who had taken part in it were banished to the distant state of Amazonas. Disturbances then broke out in Rio Grande do Sul, in consequence of disputes between the official party and the people living in the country districts. Under the leadership of Gumercindo Saravia the country people broke into open revolt in September, 1891. This outbreak was partially suppressed, but afterwards it again burst into flame with great vigour. In view of the discontent, conspiracies, and revolutionary movements, President da Fonseca declared himself dictator. This act, however, met with such strong opposition that he resigned office on 23rd of November, 1891, and Vice-President Floriano Peixoto assumed the presidency.

Floriano Peixoto had been accustomed all his life to use harsh measures. For the first year of his term of office he kept seditious attempts in check, but discontent grew apace. Nor was this surprising to those who knew the corruption in the administration. Concessions and subsidies were given broadcast for worthless undertakings in order to benefit the friends of the president. Brazilian credit gave way under the strain, and evidences were not wanting at the beginning of 1893 that an outburst of public opinion was not far distant. Nevertheless President Peixoto made no effort to reform the methods of administration. Meanwhile, the revolution in Rio Grande do Sul had revived; and in July, 1893, the federal government was forced to send most of the available regular troops to that state to hold the insurgents in check.

### REVOLT OF 1893

On September 6th prevailing discontent took definite shape in the form of a naval revolt in the bay of Rio de Janeiro. Admiral Custodio de Mello took command of the naval forces, and demanded the resignation of the president. General Peixoto replied by organising a defence against any attack from the squadron. Admiral Mello, finding that his demands were not complied with, began a bombardment of the city, but did not effect his purpose of compelling Peixoto to resign. The foreign ministers then arranged a compromise between the contending parties, to the effect that President Peixoto should place no artillery in the city, on condition that Admiral Mello should refrain from bombarding the town, provided the president did not place in it heavy artillery. Shortly afterwards the cruiser *Republica* and a transport ran the gauntlet of the government forts at the entrance of the bay, and proceeded south to the province of Santa Catharina, taking possession of

[1893-1894 A.D.]

Desterro, its capital. A provisional government was proclaimed by the insurgents, with headquarters at Desterro, and communication was opened with Gumercindo Saraïva, the leader of the insurrection in Rio Grande do Sul. It was proposed that the army of some ten thousand men under his command should advance northwards towards Rio de Janeiro, while the insurgent squadron threatened the city of Rio. In November Admiral Mello left Rio de Janeiro in the armoured cruiser *Aquidaban* and went to Desterro, the naval forces in Rio Bay being left in charge of Admiral Saldanha da Gama, an ardent monarchist, who had thrown in his lot with the insurgent cause. All was, apparently, going well with the revolt, Saraïva having invaded the states of Santa Catharina and Parana, and defeated the government troops in several encounters. Meanwhile, President Peixoto had fortified the approaches to the city of Rio de Janeiro, bought vessels of war in Europe and the United States, and organised the national guard.

Early in 1894 dissensions occurred between Saraïva and Mello, which prevented any advance of the insurgent forces, and allowed Peixoto to perfect his plans. Admiral da Gama, unable to leave the bay of Rio de Janeiro on account of lack of transport for the sick and wounded and the civilians claiming his protection, could do no more than wait for Admiral Mello to return from Desterro. In the mean time the ships bought by President Peixoto arrived off Rio de Janeiro and prevented Da Gama from escaping. On March 15th, 1894, the rebel forces evacuated their positions on the islands of Villegaignon, Cobras, and Enxadas, abandoned their vessels, and were received on board two Portuguese warships then in the harbour, whence they were conveyed to Montevideo. The action of the Portuguese commander was prompted by a desire to save life, for, had the rebels fallen into the hands of Peixoto, they would assuredly have been executed.

When the news of the surrender of Saldanha da Gama reached Gumercindo Saraïva, then at Curitiba in Paraná, he proceeded to retire to Rio Grande do Sul. Government troops were despatched to intercept his retreat, and in one of the skirmishes which followed Saraïva was killed. The rebel army then dispersed. Admiral Mello made an unsuccessful attack on the town of Rio Grande, and then sailed to Buenos Ayres, there surrendering the rebel squadron to the Argentine authorities, by whom it was immediately delivered to the Brazilian government. After six months of civil war peace was once more established, but there still remained some small rebel groups in Rio Grande do Sul. These were joined by Admiral da Gama and a number of the naval officers, who had escaped from Rio de Janeiro; but in June, 1895, the admiral was killed in a fight with the government troops. After the cessation of hostilities, the greatest barbarities were practised upon those who, although they had taken no part in the insurrection, were known to have desired the overthrow of President Peixoto. The baron Cerro Azul was shot down without trial; Marshal de Gama Eza, an old imperial soldier of eighty years of age, was murdered in cold blood, and numerous executions of men of lesser note took place, among these being two Frenchmen for whose death the Brazilian government was subsequently called upon to pay heavy compensation.

General Peixoto was succeeded as president on November 15th, 1894, by Doctor Prudente de Moraes Barros. It was a moot question whether Peixoto, after the revolt was crushed, would not declare himself dictator; certainly many of his friends were anxious that he should follow this course, but he was broken down by the strain which had been imposed upon him, and was glad to surrender his duties. He did not recover his health, and died shortly afterwards.

PRESIDENCY OF MORAES

From the first day that he assumed office President Moraes showed that he intended to suppress prætorian systems and reduce militarism to a minimum. This policy received the approval and sympathy of the majority of Brazilians, but naturally met with bitter opposition from the military element. The president gradually drew to him some members of the better conservative class to assist in his administration, and felt confident that he had the support of public opinion. Early in 1895 murmurings and disorderly conduct against the authorities began to take place in the military school at Rio de Janeiro, which had always been a hotbed of intrigue. Some of the officers and students were promptly expelled, and the president closed the school for several months. This salutary lesson had due effect, and no more discontent was fomented from that quarter. Two great difficulties stood in the way of steering the country to prosperity. The first was the chaotic confusion of the finances resulting from the maladministration of the national resources since the deposition of Dom Pedro II, and the corruption that had crept into every branch of the public service. Much was done by President Moraes to correct abuses, but the task was of too herculean a nature to allow of accomplishment within the four years during which he was at the head of affairs. The second difficulty was the war waged by religious fanatics under the leadership of Antonio Maciel, known as "Conselheiro," against the constituted authorities of Brazil.

The story of Conselheiro is a remarkable one. A native of Pernambuco, when a young man he married against the wishes of his mother, who took a violent dislike to the bride. Shortly after the marriage the mother assured her son that his wife held clandestine meetings with a lover, and stated that if he would go to a certain spot not far from the house that evening he would himself see that her assertion was true. The mother invented some plea to send the wife to the trysting-place, and then, dressing herself in male clothing, prepared to come suddenly on the scene as the lover, trusting to be able to make her escape before she was recognised. The three met almost simultaneously. Conselheiro, deeming his worst suspicions confirmed, shot and killed his wife and his mother before explanations could be offered. He was tried and allowed to go at liberty after some detention in prison. From that time Conselheiro was a victim of remorse, and to expiate his sin became a missionary in the *sertao* or interior of Brazil, among the wild Jagunço people. He built places of worship in many different districts, and at length became the recognised chief of the people among whom he had thus strangely cast his lot.

Some few years ago Conselheiro formed a settlement near Canudos, situated about four hundred miles inland from Bahia. Difficulty arose between the governor of Bahia and this fanatical missionary, with the result that Conselheiro was ordered to leave the settlement and take away his people. This order was met with a sturdy refusal to move. Early in 1897 a police force was sent to eject the settlers, but encountered strong resistance, and suffered heavy loss without being able to effect the purpose intended. In March, 1897, a body of fifteen hundred troops, with four guns, was despatched to bring the Jagunçoes to reason, but was totally defeated. An army comprising some five thousand officers and men was then sent to crush Conselheiro and his people at all costs. Little progress was made, the country being difficult of access, and the Jagunçoes laying ambuscades at every available place. Finally strong reinforcements were sent forward, the minister of war himself

proceeding to take command of the army, now numbering nearly thirteen thousand men. Canudos was besieged and captured in September, 1897, Conselheiro being killed in the final assault. The expense of these expeditions was very heavy, and prevented President Moraes from carrying out many of the retrenchments he had planned.

## RECENT HISTORY

Soon after the Canudos affair a conspiracy was hatched to assassinate the president. He was watching the disembarkation of some troops when a shot was fired which narrowly missed him and killed General Bitencourt, the minister of war. The actual perpetrator of the deed, a soldier, was tried and executed, but he was apparently ignorant of the persons who procured his services. Three other men implicated in the conspiracy were subsequently sentenced to imprisonment for a term of thirty years. The remainder of the presidency of Doctor Moraes was uneventful; and on November 15th, 1898, he was succeeded by Doctor Campos Salles, who had previously been governor of the state of São Paulo. President Salles publicly promised political reform, economy in the administration, and absolute respect for civil rights, and speedily made efforts to fulfil these pledges.

Brazil lacks to-day the first principles of republican government. The people have no real voice in the election of congress or president. Political representation is governed by groups forming miniature oligarchies in the different states, and these autocratically determine how the elections shall result. Only a small proportion of the population entitled to vote can be induced to attend the ballot, those who do so only coming forward because of influence brought to bear upon them, and not of their own free will; the great mass of the population is not at present capable of understanding the meaning of political freedom, and of the responsibility which such a state of affairs entails upon the inhabitants of any country where universal suffrage is granted.*f*

## GERMANS IN BRAZIL

In late years the question of the German colonisation of Brazil has been much discussed. The American press has talked of the "German danger," and of the advisability of enforcing the Monroe Doctrine against Germany's imperialistic schemes. It will be interesting in this connection to notice a Brazilian view of the matter as quoted by H. Schüler[h] from the *Jornal de Comercio* of December 5th, 1901. "We have been told that Germany is like an over-full bee-hive which must find room every year for its swarm of bees," the report declares. Accepting this view of the case, the writer goes on to inquire if there is to be found in all the world any regions more suitable, richer, or more healthful, than those that Brazil can offer. Here it is asserted there is room enough for all, and on no other condition but that the settlers shall spread themselves throughout the union, instead of clustering in one zone. If such a broadcast dispersal of the German elements can be effected, the fusion of the races will go on in a way to produce the most happy results; but on the other hand, should the Germans insist on forming a small colony within the state, the results cannot be so favourable. In the one case they would take part in the national unity, they would become a new strong race, blended of sundry elements, and would help to produce a people full of energy and progressiveness, like the North American nation, which, it is

declared, owes many of its good traits to the infusion of German blood. But if this desirable end is to be attained, it is declared to be indispensable that the German government should repeal the law which limits the emigration of its sons to the three southern states only. While this law stands, it is asserted there is every right to doubt the sincerity of the German government, and that the North American press may continue with justice to accuse Germany of imperialistic purposes. Should this state of things continue, it is declared, the Brazilians must take precautions against such German aspirations.

It appears that there are no fewer than 140,000 Germans settled in Brazil. Alfred Funke[i] in his preface to *Aus Deutsch-Brasilien* declares that the interest in the German colonists of southern Brazil "has very much increased since the abolishing of the rescript of the Heydt." Schüler declares that "Brazil is an eminently important land for German commerce and for German navigation"; and it is obvious that this view is one which is shared by a large number of his countrymen. In 1902 Campos Salles was succeeded in the president's office by Doctor Rodrigues Alves.[a]

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[The letter [a] is reserved for Editorial Matter.]

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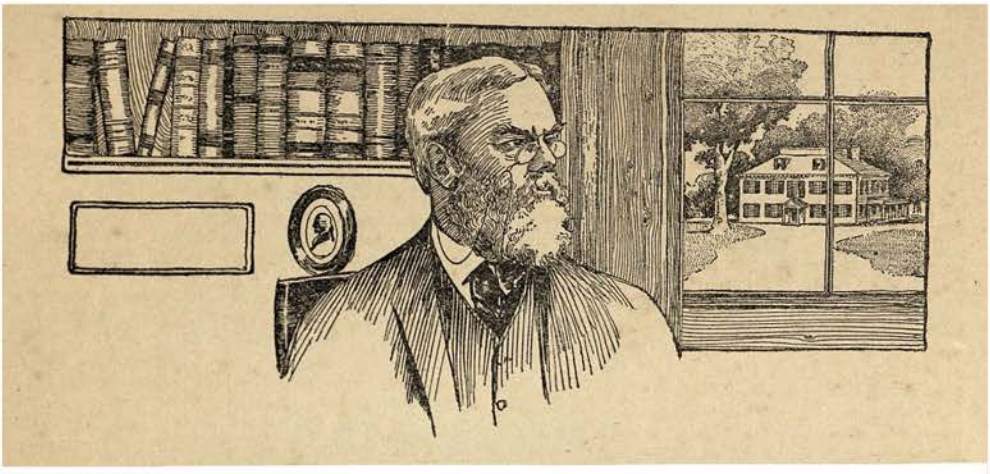

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*Charles Kendall Adams,* (1832-1902), an educator and historian trained in German methods, who greatly promoted the study of history in the United States, was president of Cornell University and of the University of Wisconsin.

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*Henry Adams* was born at Boston, February 16th, 1838, educated at Harvard, in which university he became professor of history in 1870. His professorial duties interfering with his desire for independent research, he removed to Washington about 1880, where he made special study in the national archives of the administrations of Jefferson and Madison. The fruit of this labour appeared in his *History of the United States from 1801 to 1817,* one of the foremost historical works of the country.

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*George Bancroft*, American diplomat and historian, was born at Worcester, Mass., October 3rd, 1800, and was educated at Harvard, Göttingen, and Heidelberg. He was a pupil of Heeren, becoming imbued with the new ideas of that great teacher. During an extended tour of Europe he became the friend of many of its most distinguished scholars. Upon his return in 1832 he was for a time a tutor at Harvard, but soon became engrossed in his *History of the United States*, which was based exclusively on the sources. The first volume appeared in 1834 and the tenth in 1874. Two volumes were added in 1882 which covered the period of the formation of the government. This great work, whose preparation occupied the major portion of Bancroft's active life, did not interfere with an honourable political and diplomatic career. He was secretary of the Navy under Polk, and organised the Naval Academy at Annapolis besides greatly increasing the effectiveness of the Washington Naval Observatory. The prompt seizure of California at the outbreak of the Mexican War was due to his foresight. From 1846 to 1849 he was minister to England, and from 1867 to 1874 represented the United States at Berlin. He received numerous literary honours at home and abroad, and passed his last years in well-earned ease at Washington, where he died January 17th, 1891. As a historian Bancroft possessed incontestable ability. His style is at times turgid and rhetorical, but normally is full of dignity, even of nobility. He was full of enthusiasm for his subject, and thoroughly imbued with the democratic spirit necessary for the proper portrayal of American history. He was indefatigable in research, just and accurate in judgment, and his work will always hold high rank in the historic literature of the United States.

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*Hubert Howe Bancroft* was born at Granville, Ohio, May 5th, 1832. He is not related to George Bancroft. He entered the book business at Buffalo, and in 1852 was sent to California to establish a branch office for his firm. He soon became interested in the early history of the Pacific Coast, and began the collection of ancient documents. Having gained a fortune, he has since 1868 devoted himself to the compilation and publication of these records, employing a large force of assistants to classify and arrange his vast collection of forty-five thousand volumes. With the aid of his collaborators he has issued a series of works covering the history of the Pacific States as well as that of the native races of that region. These works are valuable as preserving in compact form the records of an interesting period and throwing much light upon the dim past of North America.

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vols. — **Boston Town Records,** (1634-1789), Boston, 1876-1896, 30 vols. — **Bozman, J. L.,** History of Maryland, 1633-1660, with a Preliminary Sketch 1492-1633, Baltimore, 1837, 2 vols. — **Bradford, A.,** History of Massachusetts from 1764 to 1820, Boston, 1822-1829, 3 vols. — **Bradford, W.,** History of Plymouth Plantation, 1602-1647, edited by C. Deane, Boston, 1856, London, 1896 (facsimile reprint). [For his biography see our history of the Puritan settlement of New England.] — **Brodhead, J. R.,** History of the State of New York, 1609-1691, New York, 1853-1871, 2 vols.; Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York, Albany, 1856-1886, 14 vols.

*John Romeyn Brodhead* (1814-1873) was born in Pennsylvania, but removed to New York at an early age and devoted his life to the study of the early history of that state. While connected with the legation at the Hague he made most searching investigation of the Dutch archives, and collected copies of more than five thousand documents relating to New Amsterdam, which were arranged and published at the expense of the state. His *History of the State of New York* is the authority for the period covered (1609-1691).

**Brown, A.,** Genesis of the United States, Boston and New York, 1890, 2 vols.; The First Republic in America, New York, 1898; English Politics in Early Virginia, New York, 1901.

*Alexander Brown* (1843) has devoted much of his life to the study of the early history of Virginia and to the correction of what he deems the erroneous impression given by the writers of the court party of the character and actions of the founders of that colony. Upon this and allied topics his writings are numerous and valuable.

**Brown, H.,** The History of Illinois from its Discovery to Present Times, New York, 1844. — **Brownson, O. A.,** The American Republic: its Constitution, Tendencies and Destiny, New York, 1866. — **Bruce, P. A.,** Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, New York, 1896, 2 vols. — **Bryant, W. C., and S. H. Gay,** A Popular History of the United States, New York, 1876-1882, 4 vols. — **Bryce, J.,** The American Commonwealth, London and New York, 1888, 2 vols.

*James Bryce* (1838), an eminent English writer and legislator, has given in *The American Commonwealth* a singularly accurate and complete exposition of the constitution and government of the United States in their relation to its history and the character and habits of its people. Though written by a foreigner, it has found high favor among Americans.

**Burgess, J. W.,** The Middle Period of United States History, New York, 1897; The Civil War and the Constitution, New York, 1901, 2 vols.; Reconstruction and the Constitution, New York, 1902.

*John William Burgess,* (1844), born at Cornersville, Tenn., and educated at Amherst, Göttingen, and Leipsic, has been for many years connected with Columbia College as lecturer and professor of constitutional and international law. His writings upon the constitutional history of the United States are of much value.

**Burk, J.,** The History of Virginia from its First Settlement to Present Times, Petersburg, Va., 1804-1805, 3 vols. — **Burke, E.,** Speeches on the American War, Boston, 1891. — **Butler, J. D.,** article on "British Convicts Shipped to American Colonies," in American Historical Review, October, 1896.

**Cabeza de Vaca, A. N.,** Relacion, Zamora, 1542, English translation by B. Smith, Washington, 1851, 2nd edition, Albany, 1871. — **Calef, R.,** More Wonders of the Invisible World, Boston, 1700. — **Calhoun, J. C.,** Works, New York, 1853-1856, 6 vols. — **Campaigns of the Civil War,** New York, 1881-1883, 17 vols. — **Campbell, C.,** History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia, Philadelphia, 1860. — **Campbell, D.,** The Puritan in Holland, England and America, an Introduction to American History, New York, 1892, 2 vols. — **Campbell, J. V.,** Outlines of the Political History of Michigan, Detroit, 1876. — **Carlier, A.,** Histoire du peuple américain, Paris, 1864, 2 vols. — **Carrington, H. B.,** Battles of the American Revolution 1775-1781, New York, 1876; Battle Maps and Charts of the American Revolution, New York, 1881. — **Carnegie, A.,** Triumphant Democracy, or Fifty Years' March of the Republic, New York, 1886. — **Carroll, B. R.,** Historical Collections of South Carolina (1492-1776), New York, 1836, 2 vols. — **Catlin, G.,** Illustrations of the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians, London, 1839-1841, 2 vols. — **Challeux** (Challus), N. le, Discours de l'histoire de la Floride, Dieppe, 1566, edited by G. Gravier, Rouen, 1872. — **Chalmers, G.,** Political Annals of the Present United Colonies, from their Settlement to the Peace of 1763, London, 1780; An Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the American Colonies, Boston, 1845.

*George Chalmers,* Scottish antiquarian and historian, was born at Fochabers, Elginshire, in 1742. After completing his law studies at Edinburgh, he went to America in 1763 and practised in Baltimore until the Revolution. Not favouring the cause of the colonies he returned to England, and in 1786 became chief clerk of the Board of Trade, a position which he retained until his death, May 31st, 1825. During his residence in Maryland he was diligent in the collection of historical documents and records, and after his return to England his studies were continued in the English archives, leading to the pub-

lication of his *Political Annals* in 1780. This work was prepared with care, and is in the main accurate though tinged with his strong royalist sentiments. The portion relating to Maryland has been of especial value to later historians. Chalmers' reputation is mainly based upon his *Caledonia*, which is a work of vast erudition and research.

**Champlain,** S. de, Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France, Paris, 1632, English translation by C. P. Otis, Boston, 1878-1882, 3 vols.; Œuvres de Champlain, publiées sous le patronage de l'Université Laval, Quebec, 1870, 6 vols. [For his biography see our history of the French settlements in Canada.] — **Channing,** E., Town and County Government in the English Colonies of North America, Baltimore, 1884; The United States of America 1765-1865, New York, 1896.

*Edward Channing* was born at Dorchester, Mass., June 15th, 1856. Soon after his graduation from Harvard University he became instructor in history in that institution, and in 1897 was appointed professor. He has published valuable text-books besides two important works on American history. He contributed scholarly articles to Winsor's *History of America*, and with A. B. Hart prepared the *Guide to the Study of American History*.

**Channing,** E. and A. B. **Hart,** Guide to the Study of American History, Boston, 1896. — **Charlevoix,** P. F. X. de, Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France, Paris, 1744, 3 vols., English translation by J. G. Shea, New York, 1865-1872, 6 vols.

*Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix* was born in St. Quentin, France, October 29th, 1682, became a member of the Jesuit order in 1698, and from 1705 to 1709 taught in the college at Quebec. Returning to France he was employed in teaching until 1720, when he was again sent to America to explore the Mississippi valley, and, if possible, discover the "Western Ocean." His travels extended through the great lakes and down the Mississippi to its mouth. Upon his return to France he was employed in various missions for his order and in the preparation of the journals of his travels. His *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* contains much valuable material, and has been of great service to later writers. Charlevoix died at La Flèche, February 1st, 1761.

**Charnay,** C. J. D., Les anciennes villes de nouveau monde, Paris, 1884, English translation by T. Gonino and H. S. Conant, The Ancient Cities of the New World, London and New York, 1887.

*Claude Joseph Désiré Charnay* (1828), French traveller and antiquarian, has made notable researches in the ancient cities of Mexico and Yucatan.

**Clarendon,** Lord, History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, Oxford, 1702, 3 vols., 1888, 6 vols. — **Clark,** J. H. V., Onondaga, Syracuse, 1849. — **Classon,** A. W., Seven Conventions, New York, 1888. — **Clay,** H., Works, New York, 1855, 6 vols. — **Clemente,** C., Tablas cronologicas, Valencia, 1689. — **Clinton,** De Witt, Life and Writings, New York, 1849. — **Codex Flatoyensis,** Christiania, 1860, edited by Vigfusson and Unger, Christiania, 1868. — **Colden,** C., History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada, London, 1747. — **Collins,** L., Historical Sketches of Kentucky, Cincinnati, 1847. — **Colon,** Fernando (Ferdinand Columbus), Historie del S. D. Fernando Colombo, nelle quali s' ha particolare e vera relatione della vita e de' fatti dell' ammiraglio D. Christoforo Colombo suõ padre, Venice, 1571.

*Fernando Colon* (Ferdinand Columbus), a natural son of Christopher Columbus, was born at Cordova, Spain, August 15th, 1488. He accompanied his father on his last voyage, and in 1509 went to Hispaniola with his brother Diego. After his return to Spain he became a writer upon geography and navigation, and travelled extensively in Europe, visiting England in 1522. He was active in political life, and held important official positions. In the course of his career as a cosmographer he accumulated a large library, which he left to the cathedral chapter of Seville, where he died July 12th, 1539. Colon's reputation is largely based upon a life of his father, which now exists only in an Italian version and has formed the foundation of all subsequent biographies. The question of its authorship has been warmly discussed and is still undetermined.

**Colton,** C., The Life and Times of Henry Clay, New York, 1846, 2 vols.; The Last Seven Years of the Life of Henry Clay, New York, 1856. — **Comte de Paris** (Louis Philippe d'Orléans), Histoire de la guerre civile en Amérique, Paris, 1874-1875, 2 vols., translation by L. F. Tasistro, History of the Civil War in America, Philadelphia, 1875-1876, 2 vols., 1876-1888, 4 vols.

*Louis Philippe d'Orléans, Comte de Paris* (1838-1894), became interested in the Civil War and offered his services to the Federal government, serving on the staff of General McClellan during his campaigns in Virginia. His history is an able résumé from the military standpoint, and is interesting to the general reader.

**Conway,** M. D., Omitted Chapters of History Disclosed in the Life of Edmund Randolph, New York, 1887. — **Cooke,** J. E., Virginia, a History of the People (American Commonwealth Series), New York, 1883. — **Cooper,** J. F., History of the United States Navy, New York, 1839, continued to 1860, New York, 1861. — **Cooper,** T. V., and H. T. **Fenton,** American Politics from the Beginning to Date, Philadelphia, 1882. — **Coronado,** F. V. de, Relacion del Don Mendoca, in Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. III., London, 1850, translation by

Winship, "The Colorado Expedition," in the Fourteenth Annual Report of the United States Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1896. — **Cotton,** J., Controversy with Roger Williams, in Publications of the Narragansett Club, Providence. — **Cox,** S. S., Three Decades of Federal Legislation, Providence, 1885. — **Crawford,** W., and G. **Washington,** Correspondence Concerning Western Lands, 1767-1781, Cincinnati, 1877. — **Cronau,** R., Amerika, die Geschichte seiner Entdeckung von der altesten bis auf die neuesten zeit, Leipsic, 1892, 2 vols. — **Cullum,** G. W., Campaigns of the War of 1812-1815, New York, 1879. — **Curtis,** G. T., History of the Origin, Formation, and Adoption of the Constitution of the United States, New York, 1854, 2 vols.; Life of Daniel Webster, New York, 1869, 2 vols.; Life of James Buchanan, New York, 1883; Constitutional History of the United States from the Declaration of Independence to the Close of the Civil War, New York, 1889-1896, 2 vols.

*George Ticknor Curtis* (1812-1894), American jurist and constitutional historian, noted for his authoritative works upon the origin and development of American institutions and his valuable biographies of Buchanan and Webster.

**Cusick,** D., Ancient History of the Six Nations, 1825, reprinted in Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, Philadelphia, 1851-1857, 6 vols.

**Davis,** J., The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government, New York, 1881, 2 vols. [A full and able presentation of the Southern view of that important epoch of United States history.] — **Davis,** W. H. H., El Gringo, or New Mexico and Her People, Doylestown, Pa., 1856; The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico, Doylestown, 1869. — **Dawes,** A. L., Charles Sumner, New York, 1895. — **Dawson,** H. B., Battles of the United States by Sea and Land; Embracing those of the Revolutionary and Indian Wars, the War of 1812, and the Mexican War, New York, 1858, 2 vols. — **Dawson,** T. C., South American Republics, London and New York, 1903, 2 vols. — **Deberle,** A., Histoire de l'Amérique de Sud depuis la Conquête jusqu' à nos jours, Paris, 1876. — **Decosta,** B. F., Verrazano the Explorer, New York, 1881. — **De Guignes,** Recherches sur le navigation des Chinois du côté de l'Amérique et sur quelques peuples situés à l'extremité orientale de l'Asie, Paris, 1761, translated in E. P. Vining's An Inglorious Columbus, New York, 1885. — **De Vries,** D. P., Korte Historiaal ende Journaels Aenteyckeninge van verscheyden Voyagien in der vier Teelen des Wereldts Ronde, Alkmaar, 1655. — **Dexter,** H. M., Roger Williams and His Banishment from the Massachusetts Colony, Boston, 1876; article on "Plymouth Rock" in the Congregationalist, November 9th, 1881. — **Doniol,** J. H. A., Histoire de la participation de la France à l'etablissement des États-Unis d'Amérique, Paris, 1886-1900, 5 vols. — **Doyle,** J. A., The American Colonies Previous to the Declaration of Independence, London, 1869; A History of the United States, London, 1875; The English in America, London, 1882-1887, 3 vols.

*John Andrew Doyle,* an English historian of the United States, was born May 14th, 1844. During his course at Oxford he became interested in the early history of America and won the Arnold prize by his essay on *The American Colonies,* which aroused great interest as an English defence of the Revolution. He has since published several works upon colonial history which display great accuracy and assiduity in research.

**Drake,** S. A., A Book of New England Legends and Folklore in Prose and Poetry, Boston, 1888. — **Drake,** S. G., Biography and History of the Indians of North America, Boston, 1832-1833, 2 vols. — **Draper,** J. W., History of the American Civil War, New York, 1867-1870, 3 vols.

*John William Draper,* who was born at St. Helens, Lancashire, May 5th, 1811, was educated at London University, and in 1831 removed to the United States. After taking his degree as doctor of medicine at Philadelphia in 1836, he passed most of his life as an instructor, and was one of the founders of the New York University Medical School. Dr. Draper was distinguished for his researches in photochemistry, and for the many improvements which he suggested in photography. He was a voluminous writer on scientific subjects, but his reputation as an author will rest most securely on his philosophical histories. *The History of the Civil War,* while accurate in its record of events, is more notable for its discussion of the causes which rendered the war inevitable. Dr. Draper died at Hastings, N. Y., January 4th, 1882.

**Duyckinck,** G. L., and A. E., A Cyclopædia of American Literature, New York, 1855, 2 vols.

**Ebeling,** C. D., Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte von Amerika, Hamburg, 1796-1816, 7 vols. — **Eden,** R., The Decades of the Newe Worlde, London, 1576.

*Richard Eden* (ca. 1577) was the first Englishman to collect and publish the narratives of the voyages following the discovery of America. His works are largely translations, and by some he has been considered superior to Hakluyt.

**Edwards,** W., History of Illinois from 1798-1833, Springfield, Ill. 1870. — **Eggleston,** E., A Household History of the United States, New York, 1888; The Beginners of a Nation, New York, 1896; The Transit of Civilisation, New York, 1900.

*Edward Eggleston* was born at Vevay, Indiana, December 10th, 1837. He was largely self-educated, and began life as a Methodist circuit-rider. In 1866 he engaged in editorial

work in Chicago, but removed to New York in 1870, becoming connected with the *Independent* as literary editor. After a short pastorate in Brooklyn he retired to private life in 1879. His first writings were novels, in which he used with great success the materials afforded by his early life in the middle west. He afterwards wrote a number of biographies of prominent Indian chiefs, and became so interested in historical research that he prepared to devote his life to a history of the American people. The last two works mentioned above were published as parts of this scheme, but he died before carrying it further.

**Egle,** W. H., An Illustrated History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, 1882. — **Eliot,** S., Manual of United States History from 1492 to 1850, Boston, 1856, 2 vols. [A work whose brevity has not robbed it of importance. It is based on the sources and aims to express the great principles rather than to detail the minute events. In this it succeeds admirably.] — **Eliot,** J., The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, Philadelphia, 1861, 5 vols. — **Elliott,** C. W., The New England History 986-1776, New York, 1857, 2 vols. — **Ellis,** G. E., The Aims and Purposes of the Founders of Massachusetts and their Treatment of Intruders and Dissentients, Boston, 1869; The Red Man and the White Man, Boston, 1882; articles in J. Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, Boston, 1881-1889, 8 vols.

*George Edward Ellis,* (1814-1894), clergyman, editor and historian, has made valuable contributions to the early history of Massachusetts, and has published excellent memoirs of Anne Hutchinson, William Penn, Jared Sparks and John Mason.

**Elson,** H. W., Side Lights on American History, New York, 1899-1900, 2 vols.; History of the United States of America, New York and London, 1904. — **Enault,** L., l'Amérique centrale et méridionale, Paris, 1866. — **Everett,** E., Orations and Speeches on Various Occasions, Boston, 1850-1892, 4 vols.

**Fergus,** H., The United States, in Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia, London, 1830, 2 vols. — **Fisher,** G. P., The Colonial Era, New York, 1892. — **Fiske,** J., The Critical Period of American History, 1783–1789, Boston, 1888; The Beginnings of New England, Boston, 1889; Civil Government of the United States, Boston, 1890; The American Revolution, Boston, 1891, 2 vols.; The Discovery of America, Boston, 1892, 2 vols.; Old Virginia and Her Neighbours, Boston, 1897, 2 vols.; Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America, Boston, 1899, 2 vols.

*John Fiske* was born at Hartford, Conn., March 20th, 1842, and was educated at Harvard. He studied law, but never engaged in its practice, as his literary and philosophical bent was too strongly defined. At the age of nineteen he published in the *International Review* a criticism of Buckle which aroused much interest, and in 1869 he became lecturer on philosophy at Harvard. His reputation became international, and he delivered lectures on American history at Cambridge and before the Royal Society. In 1885 he began a series of investigations into American history which were continued for fifteen years, and resulted in the publication of a number of volumes constituting, as a whole, a connected history from the period of discovery to the federal union. These works are among the most important contributions to the subject that have been written, and display marked ability for clear and entertaining narrative. Mr. Fiske accomplished an immense amount of literary labour, achieving an enviable reputation, but died in the full noon of his career and at the highest development of his powers, July 4th, 1901.

**Flanders,** H., Lives and Times of the Chief Justices of the Supreme Court, New York, 1855-1858, 2 vols., last edition, 1881. — **Force,** P., Tracts and Other Papers Relating to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America, from the Discovery of the Country to 1776, Washington, 1836-1847, 4 vols.; American Archives, Washington, 1847-1853, 9 vols.

*Peter Force* (1790-1868), editor and historian, distinguished for his unique collection of documents and records which now forms part of the library of Congress.

**Ford,** P. L., Pamphlets on the Constitution, Brooklyn, 1888; Franklin Bibliography, Brooklyn, 1889; Writings of Thomas Jefferson, New York, 1892-1899, 10 vols. — **Ford,** T., A History of Illinois from its Commencement as a State 1818-1847, Chicago, 1854. — **Foster,** J. W., Prehistoric Races of the United States, Chicago, 1873. — **Franklin,** B., Works, Boston, Philadelphia, and London, 1836-1840, 10 vols. — **French,** B. F., Historical Collections of Louisiana, New York and Philadelphia, 1846-1853, 5 vols.; Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, New York, 1869-1875, 2 vols. — **Frost,** J., Pictorial History of the United States, Boston, 1844, 2 vols.; The Presidents of the United States, Boston, 1889.

*John Frost,* who was born at Kennebunk, Maine, January 26th, 1800, was educated at Harvard, and taught for many years in Boston and Philadelphia. He compiled many historical and biographical works which attained large circulation and popularity. He died at Philadelphia, December 28th, 1859.

**Frothingham,** R., The Rise of the Republic of the United States, Boston, 1872.

*Richard Frothingham* (1812-1880), editor and proprietor of the Boston *Post* for many years, was prominent in public life, and made some valuable contributions to American history.

**Fuller,** T., The Worthies of England, London, 1661. — **Funke,** A., Aus Deutsch-Brasilien, Leipsic, 1902.

**Gales,** J., and W. W. **Seaton,** Register of Debates in Congress, Washington, 1827-1837, 29 vols.; Annals of Congress 1798-1824, Washington, 1834-1856, 42 vols. — **Gallatin,** A., Writings, edited by H. Adams, Philadelphia, 1879, 3 vols. — **Garland,** H. H., The Life of John Randolph, of Roanoke, New York, 1860, 2 vols. — **Gay,** S. H., James Madison, Boston, 1884; article on "Plymouth Rock" in Atlantic Monthly, Vol. XLVIII. — **Gay,** S. H., and W. C. **Bryant,** A Popular History of the United States, New York, 1876-1882, 4 vols. — **Gayarré,** C. E. A., Louisiana, its Colonial History and Romance, New York, 1851; History of Louisiana, New York, 1851-1854, 5 vols.; 1866, 4 vols. — **Getchell,** G. H., Our Nation's Executives, and their Administrations, New York, 1885. — **Gibson,** T. W., Chart History of the Civil War, 1861-65, Chicago, 1894. — **Gilman,** A., History of the American People, Boston, 1884; The Discovery and Exploration of America, Boston, 1887. — **Gilman,** D. C., James Monroe, Boston, 1883. — **Goodell,** W., Slavery and Anti-Slavery, New York, 1855. — **Goodrich,** S. G., Pictorial History of America, Philadelphia, 1877. — **Gordon,** W., The History of the Rise, Progress and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America, London, 1788, 4 vols. — **Gordy,** W. F., and W. I. **Twitchell,** A Pathfinder in American History, Boston, 1893. — **Gorges,** F. A., Briefe Narration of the Originall Undertakings of the Advancement of Plantations into the Parts of America, Especially Showing the Beginning, Progress, and Continuance of that of New England, 1658, in Maine Historical Society Collections, Vol. II., Portland, 1831, in progress. — **Gorges Society,** Reprints, Portland, 1884-1893, 5 vols. — **Grahame,** J., The History of the Rise and Progress of the United States of America, London, 1836, 4 vols., Philadelphia, 1845, 4 vols.

*James Graham* was born at Glasgow, Scotland, in the year 1790. He was educated at Cambridge, and practised law for a time, but soon devoted himself entirely to the composition of his *History of the United States*, a work which aroused much attention and was pronounced by Prescott the best history before Bancroft's. He also wrote a bitter denunciation of American slavery, which was published just before his death at Glasgow in 1842.

**Grant,** U. S., Memoirs, New York, 1885, 2 vols. — **Gravier,** G., Text explicatif pour accompagner le première planche historique relative à la Louisiane, Paris, 1868. — **Greeley,** H., The American Conflict, Hartford, 1864-1867, 2 vols.

*Horace Greeley* (1811-1872) one of the most unique and forceful characters of the last century. A man of intense feeling, strong and vivid expression, who as editor of the New York *Tribune* was a power in the nation for many years. He was nominated for the presidency.

**Greene,** G. W., Historical View of the American Revolution, New York, 1865; Life of Nathaniel Greene, New York, 1867-1871, 3 vols. — **Greg,** P., History of the United States from the Founding of Virginia, London, 1886, 2 vols.

**Hakluyt,** R., Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, etc., London, 1589, 1599-1600, 3 vols., 1809-1812, Hakluyt Society Reprint, London, 1851, edited by E. Goldsmid, Edinburgh, 1885-1890, 16 vols.

*Richard Hakluyt* (ca. 1552-1616). An English compiler of the voyages and discoveries of the sixteenth century, and one of the principal authorities for that adventurous period.

**Hale,** E. E., Hawkins and Drake, and The Naval History of the American Revolution, in J. Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, Boston, 1881-1889, 8 vols.

*Edward Everett Hale* (1822), for many years prominent as clergyman and author; a voluminous writer upon social and historical topics, whose influence has been widespread and always for good.

**Haliburton,** R. G., The Past and the Future of Nova Scotia, Halifax, 1862. — **Hamilton,** J. C., Memoirs of the Life of Alexander Hamilton, Philadelphia, 1834-1840, 2 vols.; History of the Republic of the United States as Traced in the Writings of Alexander Hamilton and His Contemporaries, Philadelphia, 1850-1858, 8 vols. — **Hammond,** J. D., The History of the Political Parties in the State of New York, Buffalo, 1850, 2 vols. — **Hamor,** R., A True Discourse on the Present Estate of Virginia, etc., London, 1615, reprint Albany, 1860. — **Hannay,** J., History of Acadia, St. John, N. B., 1879. — **Hariot,** T., A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia, London, 1588, reprinted in Hakluyt's Voyages (q.v.). — **Harrison,** W. H., Discourse on the Aborigines of the Ohio, Cincinnati, 1838. — **Harrisse,** H., Bibliotheca Americana vetustissima, New York, 1866; Christophe Colombe, son origine, sa vie, ses voyages, etc., Paris, 1884-1885, 2 vols.; Excerpta Columbiana, Paris, 1887; Découverte de l'Amérique du Nord, Paris, 1892.

*Henry Harrisse*, a French bibliographer and historian, was born at Paris in 1830. He came to the United States in early life, and for some years practised law in the United States. His interest in the history of American discovery caused him to make it his life work, and he has explored the archives of Europe for material which has been used in the

preparation of many important works. Harrisse is an ardent controversialist, and has attacked many long-accepted views of Columbus' life and deeds with vigour and at least partial success. His biography of Columbus is, perhaps, the best yet published, and he has written entertaining and authoritative biographies of other early discoverers, besides compiling the most extensive bibliography of Columbian literature extant.

**Hart**, A. B., Epoch Maps, Illustrating American History, Boston, 1891; The Formation of the Union 1750-1829, in Epoch Series, New York and London, 1892; American History Told by Contemporaries, New York, 1898-1901, 4 vols.

*Albert Bushnell Hart* was born at Clarkesville, Pa., July 1st, 1854. After his graduation from Harvard in 1880 he continued historical study in Paris, Berlin, and Freiburg. Since 1883 he has been connected with Harvard University as instructor, assistant and full professor of history, and his influence in the promotion of scientific study has been widespread. His writings have been wholly confined to American history, and are invaluable guides to original sources of information. He is an editor of the *American Historical Review* and a frequent contributor to magazines and reviews.

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*Richard Hildreth*, who was born at Deerfield, Mass., June 28th, 1807, was educated at Harvard and began the practice of law, but in 1832 became editor of the Boston *Atlas*. He did much to mould public sentiment in opposition to slavery and to the annexation of Texas, besides publishing several works on social, financial, and political topics, but is best known for his *History of the United States*. This work was projected while he was a student, and occupied his attention for many years. His aim was to present the founders of the republic in their true characters. He was in his later life on the editorial staff of the New York *Tribune*, and while acting as consul at Trieste died at Florence, Italy, July 11th, 1865.

**Hock**, C. F. von, Die Finanzen und die Finanzgeschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, Stuttgart, 1867. — **Holmes**, A., The Annals of America from the Discovery of Columbus, 1492-1826, Cambridge, 1829, 2 vols.

*Abiel Holmes*, an American clergyman and annalist, was born at Woodstock, Conn., December 24th, 1763. He was educated at Yale, entered the ministry, and after a short pastorate in Georgia removed to Cambridge, Mass., where he remained for forty years. He made diligent and accurate study of the early records of America, and his *Annals* constitute a mine of valuable information. The work was republished in England in 1813. His contributions to the *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society were very numerous. He died at Cambridge, June 4th, 1837.

**Holst**, H. E. von, Verfassung und Demokratie die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, Düsseldorf and Berlin, 1873-1891, 5 vols., English translation, The Constitutional and Political History of the United States, Chicago, 1876-1892, 5 vols.

*Hermann Eduard von Holst* was born at Fillin in Livonia, June 19th, 1841. He was educated at Dorpat and Heidelberg, and became a tutor in St. Petersburg, but was banished from Russia in 1867 and emigrated to America. In 1872 he returned to Germany, was professor of history at Strasburg for two years, and afterwards at the University of Freiburg for eight years. In 1892 he became the head of the department of history in Chicago University, retaining the position until 1900, when ill health compelled his return to Germany. Von Holst's writings are wholly upon American subjects, and his *Constitutional History* furnishes an able presentation of the federalist and anti-slavery view of

American history. He is accused of anti-Americanism in his attitude, and his criticism of motives is ruthless, but he is admittedly accurate and learned to an unusual degree. He has also published interesting biographies of John C. Calhoun and John Brown.

**Hopp,** E. O., Brüderstaat und Brüderskriege in Nord Amerika, Berlin, 1886. — **Howard,** G. E., Local Constitutional History of the United States, Baltimore, 1889, 2 vols. — **Howitt,** M., Popular History of the United States, London, 1859. — **Howorth,** H. H., The Mammoth and the Flood, London, 1887. — **Hubbard,** W., A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England, Boston, 1667, revised edition by S. G. Drake, Boston, 1865. — **Humphreys,** A. A., The Virginia Campaigns of 1864 and 1865, New York, 1882. — **Hunter,** J., Collections Concerning the Founders of New Plymouth, London, 1849, reprinted in Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, vol. XXIII, Boston, 1852. — **Hutchinson,** P. O., The Diary and Letters of His Excellency Thos. Hutchinson, Boston, 1884. — **Hutchinson,** T., The History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay from 1628 to 1774, vols. I and II, London, 1764-1767, vol. III, London, 1828.

*Thomas Hutchinson* (1711-1780), the last royal governor of the province of Massachusetts Bay. His history is of great value, calm and judicious in tone, but wholly lacking in style.

**Ingersoll,** C. J., Historical Sketch of the Second War Between the United States of America and Great Britain 1812-1815, Philadelphia, 1845-1852, 4 vols. — **Ingle,** E., Local Institutions of Virginia, in Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, Baltimore, 1885. — **Irving,** W., History of New York by Diedrich Knickerbocker, New York, 1809; History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus, New York, 1828, 4 vols.; Life of George Washington, New York, 1856-1860, 5 vols.

*Washington Irving* was born in New York City, April 3rd, 1783. His literary career began at an early age, the *Knickerbocker History,* being published in 1809. This satirical production, a fitting vehicle for Irving's quiet humour, brought him deserved reputation and determined his career. A residence of several years in England furnished material for some of his most finished sketches, and introduced him to the most intellectual society of the kingdom. His *Sketch Book* appeared in 1819, and greatly enhanced his reputation. From 1826 to 1829 he resided in Spain, where he collected material for his life of Columbus and other works connected with Spanish history. From 1843 to 1846 he resided in Madrid as United States minister. The rest of his life was passed in the quiet seclusion of his beautiful country-seat at Irvington on the Hudson, and was filled with biographical and historical labour. The *Life of Washington* was completed just before his death on November 28th, 1859. As an historical biographer he did not attempt philosophic investigation, but confined himself to depicting the picturesque features of the age.

**Jay,** J., Correspondence and Public Papers, New York, 1890-1893, 4 vols. — **Jay,** W., Life of John Jay, New York, 1833, 2 vols.; A Review of the Causes and Consequences of the Mexican War, Boston, 1849. — **Jefferson,** Thomas, Works, Washington, 1853-1855, 9 vols.; edited by P. L. Ford, New York, 1892-1899, 10 vols. — **Jogues,** I., Novum Belgium, edited by J. G. Shea, New York, 1862. — **Johnson,** E., History of New England, etc., London, 1654. — **Johnson,** O., William Lloyd Garrison and His Times, Boston, 1880. — **Johnson,** R., History of the War of 1812-1815 Between United States and Great Britain, New York, 1882; History of the War of Secession, New York, 1887. — **Johnson,** R. U., and C. C. **Buel,** Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, New York, 1887-1888, 4 vols. — **Johnston,** A., History of American Politics, New York, 1879; Representative American Orations to Illustrate American Political History, 1775-1881, New York, 1884, 3 vols.; History of Connecticut, New York, 1887.

*Alexander Johnston* was born in Brooklyn, N. Y., April 29th, 1849. He was educated at Rutgers College, and from 1883 until his death, July 21st, 1889, he was professor of political economy at Princeton. His works upon the political history of the United States are of value, and are distinguished for clearness and careful research.

**Johnston,** J. E., Narrative of Military Operations During the Late War, New York, 1874. — **Jones,** C. C., Antiquities of the Southern Indians, New York, 1877; History of Georgia, Augusta, 1883; Siege and Evacuation of Savannah, Augusta, 1890. — **Jones,** T., History of New York During the Revolutionary War, edited by F. Delancey, New York, 1879, 2 vols. — **Joutel,** H., Journal historique du dernier voyage que feu M. de la Salle fit dans le Golfe du Méxique pour trouver l'embouchure du Mississippi, Paris, 1713, English translation, Paris, 1714, reprinted in French's Historical Collections of Louisiana (q.v.).

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*Friedrich Kapp* (1824-1884), German-American publicist and historian, a native of

Westphalia, but for more than twenty years a resident of the United States, a strong opponent of slavery and one of the founders of the Republican party.

**Kasson,** J. A., History of the Formation of the United States Constitution, Philadelphia, 1889. — **Knight,** G. W., History of Land Grants for Education in the Northwest Territory, New York, 1885. — **Kohl,** J. G., History of the Discovery of the East Coast of North America, Particularly of the Coast of Maine, Washington, 1861.

**Laboulaye,** E. R. L. de, Histoire politique des États-Unis 1620-1789, Paris, 1855-1866, 3 vols.

*Édouard René Lefebvre de Laboulaye* (1811-1883), French jurist and publicist, devoted much attention to American institutions and history, and was greatly instrumental in breaking down Napoleonic power in France.

**Lactantius Firmianus,** Divinarum institutionum libri septem, edited by Dufresnoy, Paris, 1748, 2 vols. — **Ladd,** H. O., History of the War with Mexico, New York, 1883. — **La Hontan,** Baron, Nouveaux voyages dans l'Amérique septentrionale, Le Haye, 1703, 2 vols., English edition, New Voyages to North America, London, 1703, 2 vols. — **Lalor,** J. J., Cyclopædia of Political Science, Political Economy and Political History of the United States, Chicago, 1881-1884, 3 vols. — **Lamb,** M. J., History of the City of New York, New York, 1877, 2 vols. — **Lamphere,** G. N., The United States Government, Its Organisation and Practical Workings, Philadelphia, 1880. — **Landon,** J. S., The Constitutional History and Government of the United States, Boston, 1889.

*Judson Stuart Landon* was born in Connecticut in 1832, studied law and practised in Schenectady, N. Y., until his election to the supreme court in 1887. He has been for many years a lecturer on constitutional law at the Albany law school.

**Lane,** R., Letters and Narrative, in Hakluyt's Voyages (q.v.), also in Archæologia Americana, vol. IV., 1860. — **Lanman,** C., Biographical Annals of the Civil Government of the United States, 1776-1886, Washington, 1886. — **Lanman,** J. H., History of Michigan, Civil and Topographical, New York, 1839. — **Las Casas,** B. de, Brevissima relacion de la destruccion de los Indios, Seville, 1552-1553, English translation by J. Phillips, The Tears of the Indians, London, 1656; Historia de las Indias, Madrid, 1875-1876, 5 vols. [For his biography see our chapter on "The First Colonies" in vol. XXII.] — **Laudonnière,** R., L'histoire notable de la Floride, in Hakluyt's Notable History, London, 1587, reprinted in French's Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, New York, 1869-1875, 2 vols. — **Leboucher,** O. J., Histoire de la guerre de l'indépendance, Paris, 1787, 1830. — **Lecky,** W. E. H., History of England in the Eighteenth Century, London, 1878-1890, 8 vols. (vols. III and IV). — **Le Clercq,** C., Etablissement de la foi, Paris, 1691, 2 vols., English translation by J. G. Shea, Establishment of the Faith, New York, 1881, 2 vols. — **Le Jeune,** P., Relations des Jésuites en la Nouvelle France, Paris, 1634-1640, 7 vols. — **Leland,** C. G., Fu Sang, or the Discovery of America by Chinese Buddhist Priests in the Fifth Century, Philadelphia, 1875. — **Lemoyne de Morgues,** J., Brevis narratio, in T. De Bry's Collectiones Peregrinationum in Indiam, Orientalem et Occidentalem, Frankfort, 1590-1634, 39 vols., English translation by F. B. Perkins, Narrative of Lemoyne, Boston, 1875. — **Lester,** E. E., History of the United States, New York, 1883. — **Lieber,** F., Life and Letters, Boston, 1882. — **Lincoln,** A., Life of, by J. G. Holland, Springfield, Mass., 1865; by W. Lamon, Boston, 1872; by C. G. Leland, New York, 1879; by W. H. Herndon and J. G. Weik, Chicago, 1889, 3 vols.; by J. G. Nicolay and J. Hay, New York, 1890, 10 vols.; by I. M. Tarbell, New York, 1900; Reminiscences of, by Distinguished Men of His Time, New York, 1885; Complete Works, New York, 1894; Political Debates Between A. Lincoln and S. A. Douglas in 1858, Cleveland, 1894; Political Speeches, New York, 1895. — **Livermore,** A. A., The War with Mexico Reviewed, Boston, 1850. — **Lodge,** H. C., Life and Letters of George Cabot, Boston, 1877; Short History of the English Colonies in America, New York, 1881; Alexander Hamilton, Boston, 1882; The Story of the American Revolution, Boston, 1898; The War with Spain, Boston, 1900.

*Henry Cabot Lodge,* American statesman and historian, was born in Boston, May 12th, 1850. He was educated at Harvard, and from 1873 to 1876 edited the *North American Review.* After three years as lecturer on history at Harvard he assumed, in 1879, the editorship of the *International Review.* In 1881 he entered political life, serving two terms in the Massachusetts legislature and five years in Congress. He succeeded Henry L. Dawes as senator in 1893, and was reëlected in 1899. His public life has been marked by strong support of legislation for the protection of the franchise and the restriction of immigration. Senator Lodge has published several interesting and instructive works upon special periods of United States history, and valuable biographies of American statesmen.

**Long,** A. A., Memoir of Robert E. Lee, His Military and Personal History, London, 1886. — **Loskiel,** G. H., Geschichte der Mission der Evangelischen Brüder unter den Indianern von Nordamerika, 1789, English translation by La Trobe, Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians, London, 1794. — **Lossing,** B. J., Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution, New York, 1850-1852, 2 vols.; Pictorial Field Book of the Civil War, New York, 1866-1869, 3 vols.; Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812, New York, 1868; The Ameri-

can Centenary, Philadelphia, 1876; Cyclopædia of United States History, New York, 1881, 2 vols.; History of New York City, New York, 1884.

*Benson John Lossing*, who was born at Beekman, N. Y., February 12th, 1813, was by profession an engraver, and began his historical work by collecting materials for his profusely illustrated *Field Books*. The interest thus aroused was supplemented by much study and research for later works of a more purely historical character, which have attained wide circulation. He did much to popularise the study of American history, and ended his busy life June 3rd, 1891.

**Lowell,** E. J., The Hessians and Other German Auxiliaries of Great Britain in the Revolutionary War, New York, 1886. — **Lucas,** F. W., Appendiculæ Historicæ, London, 1891. — **Ludlow,** J. M., War of American Independence 1775-1783 (Epochs of Modern History), London, 1876.

**McClure,** A. K., Abraham Lincoln and Men of War Times, Philadelphia, 1892. — **MacCulloch,** H., Men and Measures of Half a Century, New York, 1888. — **MacKay,** C., Founders of the American Republic, London, 1885. — **McKee,** T. H., Presidential Inaugurations from Washington to Cleveland, Washington, 1893. — **McMaster,** J. B., A History of the People of the United States, New York, 1883-1902, 6 vols.

*John Bach McMaster* was born at Brooklyn, N. Y., June 29th, 1852. He graduated from the College of the City of New York, studied civil engineering, and in 1877 became instructor in that subject at Princeton. In 1883 he was chosen professor of American history at the University of Pennsylvania. His *History of the People of the United States*, only recently completed, is already a standard work. It covers the period from 1783 to 1860, is written in lively, narrative form, displays great research, and is especially strong in its description of the formative period of the nation. He aims to picture the social life and development of the people rather than the constitutional and political history of the country, and tells the story of national evolution in a remarkably clear and simple style.

**McPherson,** E., Political History of the United States During the Great Rebellion, Washington, 1864, 1882; Political History of the United States During the Period of Reconstruction 1865-1870, Washington, 1871, 1880. — **McSherry,** J., History of Maryland, Baltimore, 1849, edited and continued by B. B. James, Baltimore, 1904. — **Madison,** J., Letters and Other Writings, Philadelphia, 1865, 4 vols. — **Maguire,** J. M., The Campaign in Virginia, London, 1891. — **Mahan,** A. T., Gulf and Inland Waters, New York, 1883; Life of Admiral Farragut, New York, 1892; The Interest of the United States in Sea Power, New York, 1897; Lessons of the Spanish War, New York, 1899. — **Maine Historical Society,** Collections, Portland, 1831, in progress. — **Major,** R. H., Select Letters of Columbus, London, 1847. — **Malte-Brun,** C., and J. B. B. **Eyries,** Annales des Voyages de la Géographie et de l'Histoire, Paris, 1808.— **Marest,** J. J., in R. G. Thwaite's Jesuit Relations, Cleveland, 1896-1901, 73 vols. — **Margry,** P., Mémoires et documents pour servir à l'histoire des origines française de pays d'outre mer, Paris, 1879-1886, 6 vols. — **Marquette,** J., Recueil de voyages, Paris, 1681, English translation in J. G. Shea's Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, New York, 1852. — **Marshall,** H., The History of Kentucky, Frankfort, Ky., 1824, 2 vols. — **Marshall,** J., The Life of George Washington, London and Philadelphia, 1804-1807, 5 vols. — **Martyr,** Peter de Anghiera, De rebus oceanicis et orbe novo decades, Alcala, 1530; Opus epistolarum, Alcala, 1530. — **Massachusetts Historical Society,** Boston, 1791-1896, 30 vols.; Collections, Boston, 1792-1896, 60 vols. — **Mather,** C., Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcraft and Possessions, Boston, 1689; Wonders of the Invisible World, Boston, 1693, reprinted in Library of Old Authors, Boston, 1862; Magnalia Christi Americana, London, 1702, Hartford, 1820, 1855, 2 vols.

*Cotton Mather*, who was born in Boston, February 12th, 1663, graduated from Harvard at the age of fifteen. At seventeen he preached his first sermon, and at twenty-five succeeded his father in the pastorate of the North Church of Boston. He at once became most influential in the colony, and was the conservative leader of his day. He was prominent in the witchcraft trials, and strongly upheld his theories upon the subject. In 1693 he began his ecclesiastical history, which was completed in 1702. His life was embittered by domestic trials as well as by the growth of more liberal opinions in the state, but he was always a strong force in the community. Against his activity in persecuting witches may be placed his advocacy of inoculation at a time when it was considered sacrilegious, and was opposed by mob violence. His writings are very numerous, and testify to his learning and extreme conservatism. He died February 13th, 1728.

**Mayer,** B., Mexico; Aztec, Spanish and Republican, New York, 1851. — **Menendez de Aviles,** P., Cartas escritas al rey, 1565, in F. Parkman's Pioneers of France in the New World (q.v.). — **Mercier,** Relation des Hurons, Paris, 1637. — **Minot,** G. R., Continuation of the History of the Province of Massachusetts from 1748, Boston, 1798-1803, 2 vols. — **Monette,** J. W., History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi, New York, 1846, 2 vols. — **Moore,** F., Diary of the American Revolution from Newspapers and Original Documents, New York, 1859, 2 vols.; The Rebellion Record, New York, 1861-1869, 11 vols. — **Moore,** T. W., The American Congress, 1774-1895, London, 1895. — **Morgan,**

L. H., The League of the Iroquois, Rochester, 1854. — **Morse,** J. T., Life of Alexander Hamilton, Boston, 1876; Life of John Quincy Adams, Boston, 1883; Life of John Adams, Boston, 1884; Life of Benjamin Franklin, Boston, 1889; Life of Abraham Lincoln, Boston, 1893.

*John Torrey Morse* (1840), an American biographer, born at Boston, graduated at Harvard, and active in literary work since 1870. He has edited, and largely contributed to, the "American Statesmen" Series, besides making numerous contributions to magazines and reviews.

**Morton,** N., New England's Memorial, Cambridge, Mass., 1869. — **Mourt's Relation,** 1622, edited by H. M. Dexter, Boston, 1865. — **Mulford,** I. S., A Civil and Political History of New Jersey, Philadelphia, 1851. — **Murphy,** H. C., The Voyage of Verrazano, New York, 1875.

**Nadaillac,** J. F. A., Du Pouget, Marquis de, L'Amérique préhistorique, Paris, 1882, English translation, Prehistoric America, New York, 1884. — **Navarrete,** M. F. de, Coleccion de los viages y descubrimientos, que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde fines del siglo XV. Madrid, 1825-1865, 7 vols. [The largest and most complete collection of original sources yet published.] — **Neill,** E. D., The History of Minnesota from the Earliest French Explorations, Philadelphia, 1858; Terra Mariæ, a History of Early Maryland, Philadelphia, 1867; English Colonisation of America During the Seventeenth Century, London, 1871; Virginia Vetusta Carolorum; The Colony under the Rule of Charles the First and Second, Albany, 1886.

*Edward Duffield Neill* (1823-1893), American educator, whose works are drawn entirely from original sources and contain much valuable matter.

**Neumann,** K. F., Ost Asien und West Amerika nach Chinesischen Quellen, in Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde (new series, vol. XVI.), Berlin, 1856-1865, 10 vols.; Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, Berlin, 1863-1866, 3 vols. — **New Jersey Historical Society,** Collections, New York, 1811-1890, 30 vols. — **Niles,** H., Weekly Register, Baltimore and Washington, 1811-1849, 75 vols. — **Niles,** J. M., A History of the Revolution in Mexico and South America, with a View of Texas, Hartford, 1829. — **Nolte,** F., Histoire des États-Unis de l'Amérique depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu' à nos jours, Paris, 1879, 2 vols. — **North Carolina,** The Colonial Records of, edited by W. L. Saunders, Raleigh, 1886-1890, 10 vols.

**O'Callaghan,** E. B., History of New Netherlands, or New York under the Dutch, New York, 1845-1848, 2 vols.; Documentary History of the State of New York, Albany, 1849-1851, 4 vols; Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York, Albany, 1855-1861, 11 vols. — **Oldmixon,** J., The British Empire in America, London, 1771. — **Old South Leaflets,** Boston, 1888-1897, 3 vols. — **Oliver,** P., The Puritan Commonwealth, Boston, 1856. — **Olmstead,** F. L., The Cotton Kingdom, New York, 1861, 2 vols. — **Oviedo y Valdes,** G. F. de, Historia de las Indias, Seville and Valladolid, 1535-1557, 20 books, Madrid, 1851-1855, 4 vols.

**Palfrey,** J. G., A Compendious History of New England from the Discovery by Europeans to the First General Congress of the Anglo-American Colonies, Boston, 1873, 4 vols.; History of New England from the Revolution of the Seventeenth Century to the Revolution of the Eighteenth Century, edited by F. W. Palfrey, Boston, 1890.

*John Gorham Palfrey* (1796-1881), theologian and historian, distinguished for his opposition to slavery and for his researches in the colonial history of New England.

**Paravey,** C. H. de, Nouvelles preuves que le pays de Fousang est l'Amérique, Paris, 1847. — **Paris,** Comte de, see Comte de Paris. — **Parkman,** F., The Conspiracy of Pontiac, Boston, 1851, 2 vols; The Jesuits in North America, Boston, 1867; Pioneers of France in the New World, Boston, 1868; La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West, Boston, 1869; The Old Régime in Canada under Louis XIV, Boston, 1875; Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV, Boston, 1877; Montcalm and Wolfe, Boston, 1884, 2 vols.; Collected Works, London and New York, 1885-1886, 10 vols.

*Francis Parkman* was born at Boston, September 16th, 1823. He was educated at Harvard, and becoming interested in American history, chose as his life work the period of French power. He personally visited all the localities important at that epoch, and spent much time among the Indian tribes of Canada and the West. Although broken in health, he prosecuted his design with unabated ardour, visiting Europe seven times in search of material, and subjecting every authority to rigid examination. As a result he has produced works which place him in the highest rank of American historians, and will always retain their interest. Parkman was a master of literary style, and the charm of his animated narrative is reinforced by the accuracy of his statements and the breadth and proportion of his view. For nearly thirty years he worked against the odds of failing eyesight and weakened health, but his mental vigour and enthusiasm sustained him to

the end, and a few months after the completion of his great work he died at Jamaica Plain, Mass., November 8th, 1893.

**Parton,** J., Life and Times of Aaron Burr, New York, 1857; Life of Andrew Jackson, New York, 1859-1860, 3 vols.; Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin, New York, 1864, 2 vols.; Life of Thomas Jefferson, Boston, 1874.

*James Parton* (1822-1891), American biographer, whose writings gained great popularity and are valuable for style and matter.

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*David Ramsay* (1749-1815), physician and author, prominent in the Continental Congress, and a gifted and accurate writer.

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*James Ford Rhodes* was born at Cleveland, Ohio, May 1st, 1848. He was for some years foreign correspondent of the Chicago *Times*, and investigated social and industrial conditions in Europe. In 1885 he began the preparation of his history, which is a political analysis of the results of the Civil War and reconstruction period, giving special prominence to speeches and debates and to extensive characterisations of the public men of the time. While written from the northern standpoint it is eminently impartial, and ranks as the best view of the period yet written.

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*Theodore Roosevelt,* who was born at New York City, October 27th, 1858, was educated at Harvard and at the Columbia law school. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the incidents of his career crowded with political, civic, and military achievements, which in twenty years from his entrance into public life placed him in the presidential chair. The qualities which have made him prominent in the nation are noticeable in his literary work. Vigour, fearlessness, independence of thought and action characterise his mental and material life. His historical and biographical writings are sustained in interest, abundant in incident, and scholarly in the apt and accurate use of material.

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*John Codman Ropes* (1836-1899), lawyer and military historian, has produced the best account of the early campaigns of the Civil War to the end of 1862. His monograph on *The Battle of Waterloo* is the most complete ever produced.

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*James Schouler* (1839), an eminent lawyer and constitutional historian, has produced one of the best histories of the United States as a nation; while mainly political, it does not neglect social conditions, and is thorough in treatment, temperate and judicial in tone.

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*John Dawson Gilmary Shea* (1824-1892) devoted his life to the history of French colonisation and Jesuit missions. His writings are scholarly, and while his criticisms are often radical, they are the result of diligent research.

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*Reuben Gold Thwaites* was born at Dorchester, Mass., May 15th, 1853; he became an editor in Wisconsin, and in 1886 secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society. He has made careful study of the records of the discovery and settlement of the region bordering the great lakes, and in his monumental work, *The Jesuit Relations* has exhibited the utmost care and scholarly editorship. His individual works are numerous and of much value.

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*Woodrow Wilson* was born at Staunton, Va., December 28th, 1856, educated at Princeton and Johns Hopkins University. His thesis on *Congressional Government* established his reputation as a clear and original thinker. He has held professorships at Bryn Mawr, Wesleyan University and Princeton, and in 1902 was chosen president of Princeton University.

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*Justin Winsor,* historian and bibliographer, was born in Boston, January 2nd, 1831. He was educated at Harvard, Paris, and Heidelberg, and for twenty years was librarian of Harvard University. He is especially distinguished for his historical bibliographies, which are by far the most complete and accurate published. He died at Cambridge, Mass., October 22nd, 1897. His works are numerous, and the *Narrative and Critical History of America,* which he edited, owes much of its value to his individual contributions. This work is a collection of monographs by many writers to whom we have referred frequently in the text.

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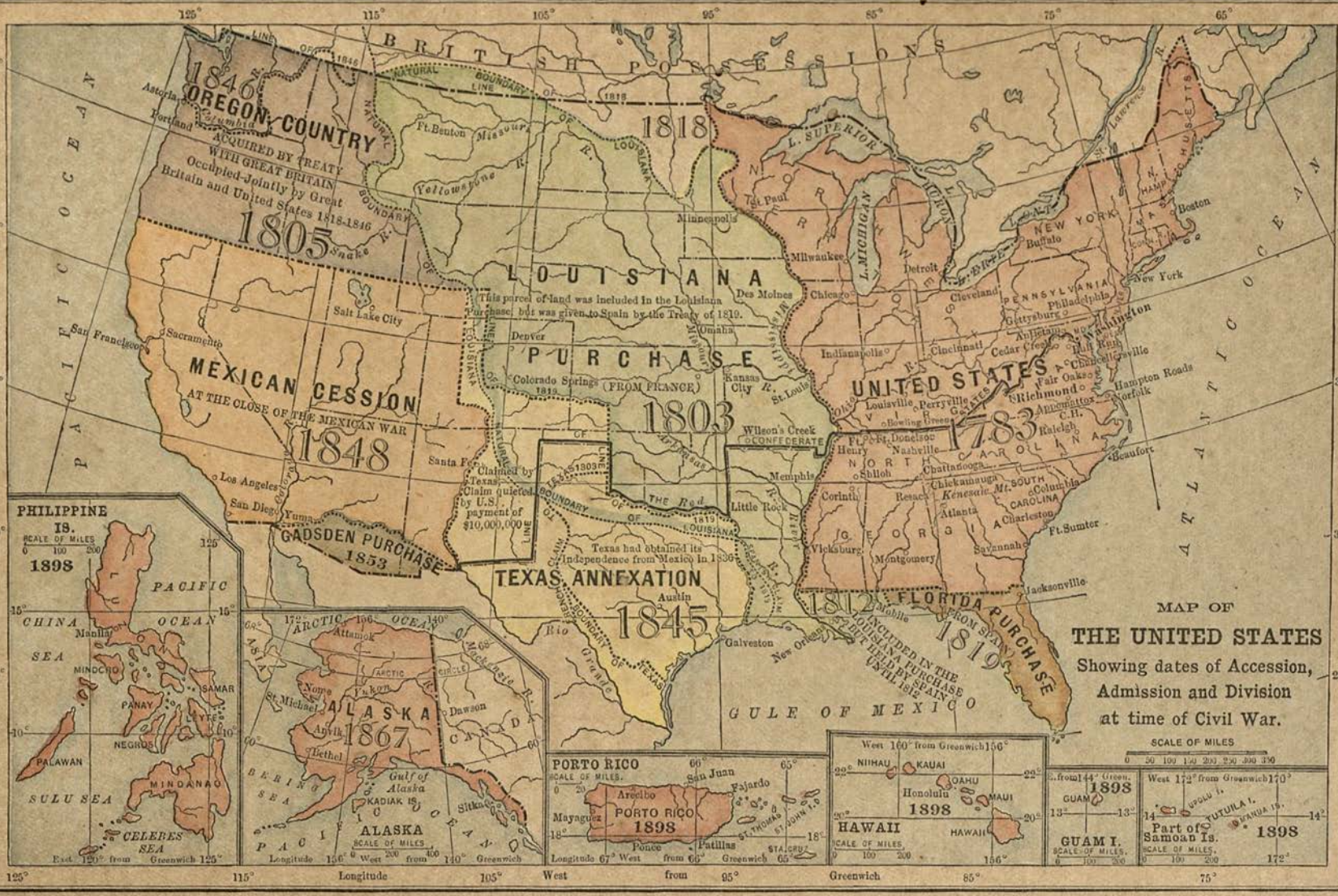
OREGON COUNTRY
1846
ACQUIRED BY TREATY WITH GREAT BRITAIN
Occupied Jointly by Great Britain and United States 1818-1846
1818
LOUISIANA PURCHASE
1803
This parcel of land was included in the Louisiana Purchase, but was given to Spain by the Treaty of 1819.
1805
MEXICAN CESSION
AT THE CLOSE OF THE MEXICAN WAR
1848
GADSDEN PURCHASE
1853
Claimed by Texas. Claim quieted by U.S. payment of $10,000,000
TEXAS ANNEXATION
1845
Texas had obtained its Independence from Mexico in 1836
UNITED STATES
1783
INCLUDED IN THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE BUT HELD BY SPAIN UNTIL 1812
FLORIDA PURCHASE
1819
FROM SPAIN
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
Astoria
Portland
Ft. Benton
Missouri R.
Yellowstone R.
Snake R.
Salt Lake City
San Francisco
Sacramento
Los Angeles
San Diego
Yuma
Santa Fe
Denver
Colorado Springs
Kansas City
St. Louis
Omaha
Des Moines
Chicago
Milwaukee
Minneapolis
St. Paul
L. Superior
L. Michigan
L. Huron
L. Erie
L. Ontario
Detroit
Cleveland
Buffalo
Boston
New York
Philadelphia
Washington
Cincinnati
Indianapolis
Louisville
Perryville
Bowling Green
Nashville
Memphis
Little Rock
Wilson's Creek
Shiloh
Corinth
Vicksburg
Montgomery
Atlanta
Chattanooga
Chickamauga
Kenesaw Mt.
Resaca
Columbia
Charleston
Savannah
Ft. Sumter
Jacksonville
Mobile
Galveston
New Orleans
Austin
Rio Grande
Richmond
Fredericksburg
Chancellorsville
Fair Oaks
Hampton Roads
Norfolk
Raleigh
Beaufort
Appomattox C.H.
Ft. Donelson
Henry
Cedar Creek
Gettysburg
Harper's Ferry
Antietam
Hall Rock
PHILIPPINE IS.
SCALE OF MILES
1898
Manila
MINDORO
SAMAR
PANAY
LEYTE
NEGROS
PALAWAN
MINDANAO
SULU SEA
CELEBES SEA
CHINA SEA
PACIFIC OCEAN
ALASKA
1867
SCALE OF MILES
Attamuk
Nome
Yukon
St. Michael
Arctic Circle
Dawson
Arctic Ocean
Asia
Bering Sea
Gulf of Alaska
Kadiak Is.
Sitka
Mackenzie R.
CANADA
PORTO RICO
1898
SCALE OF MILES
San Juan
Arecibo
Fajardo
Mayaguez
Ponce
Patillas
St. Thomas
St. John I.
St. Croix
HAWAII
1898
SCALE OF MILES
NIIHAU
KAUAI
OAHU
Honolulu
MAUI
HAWAII
GUAM I.
1898
SCALE OF MILES
GUAM
Part of Samoan Is.
1898
SCALE OF MILES
TUTUILA I.
TAU I.
OLOSEGA I.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 140 200 250 300 350
MAP OF
THE UNITED STATES
Showing dates of Accession, Admission and Division at time of Civil War.
Longitude West from Greenwich

00035832

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